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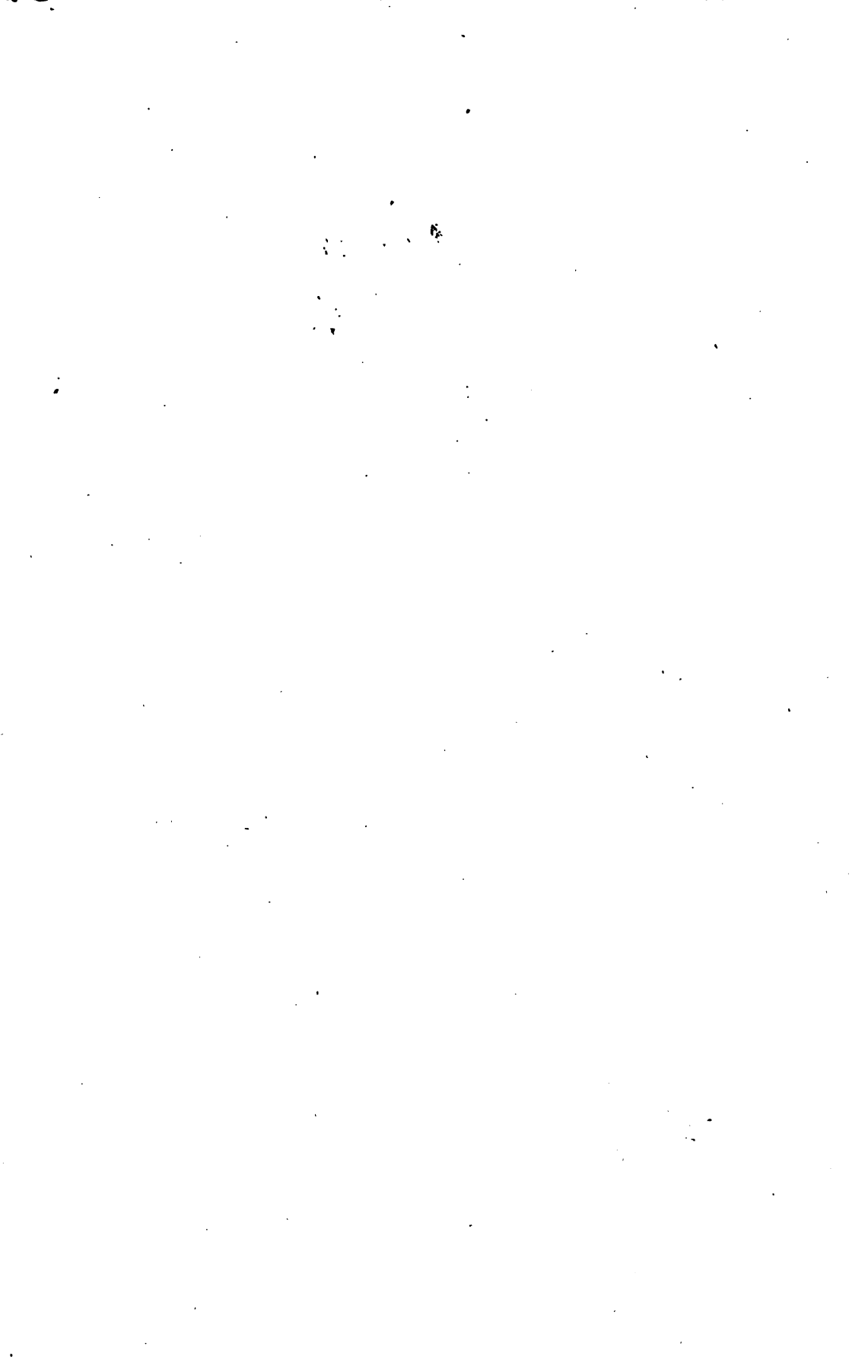
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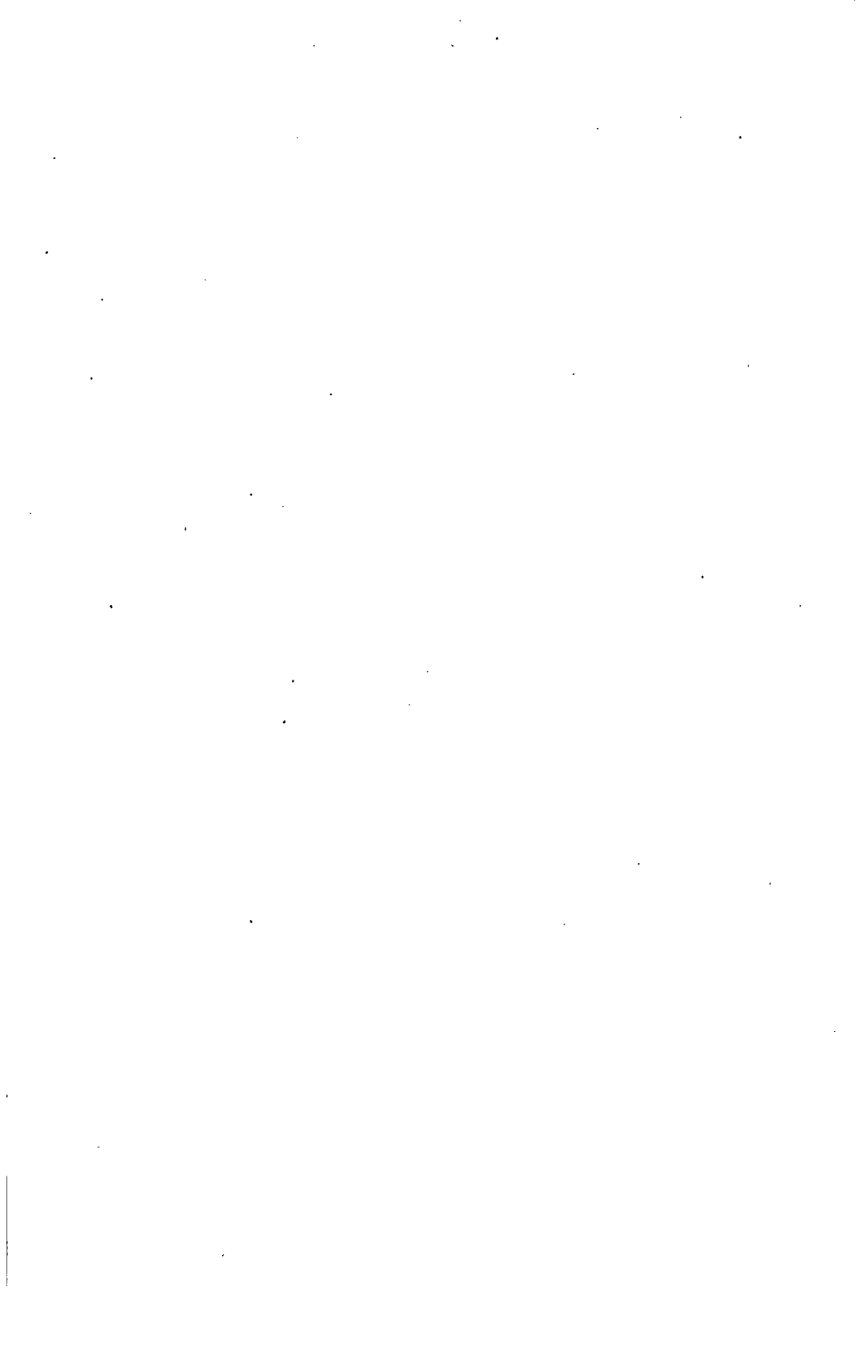
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AARON'S ROD BLOSSOMING;

OR,

THE DIVINE ORDINANCE

OF

CHURCH GOVERNMENT VINDICATED;

SO AS THE PRESENT ERASTIAN CONTROVERSY CONCERNING
THE DISTINCTION OF CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT, EXCOMMUNICATION AND SUSPENSION,
IS FULLY DEBATED AND DISCUSSED, FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, FROM THE JEWISH AND
CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES, FROM THE CONSENT OF LATER WRITERS, FROM
THE TRUE NATURE AND RIGHTS OF MAGISTRACY,
AND
FROM THE GROUNDLESSNESS OF THE CHIEF OBJECTIONS MADE AGAINST THE PRESBYTERIAL
GOVERNMENT, IN POINT OF A DOMINEERING ARBITRARY UNLIMITED POWER.

BY GEORGE GILLESPIE,
MINISTER AT EDINBURGH.

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder.—Isa. ix. 6.

Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour.—1 Tim. v. 17.

And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not the author of confusion but of peace.—1 Cor. xiv. 33, 33.

Ne forte aut indisciplinata patientia foveat iniquitatem, aut impatiens disciplina dissipet unitatem.—August. lib. contra Donat. post collat. cap. 4.

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ERRATA.—Page 20, col. 2, line 2 of note, for נרִי read נרִי. P. 25, l. 6, note, for נ read נ. P. 26, c. 2, l. 27, for ב read ב. P. 59, c. 2, line 5 from bottom, for ר read ר. P. 60, l. 11 from bottom, for נר read נר. P. 190, c. 2, l. 4 from bottom, for אסך read אסר.

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A transition from church government in general to excommunication and suspension in particular. The present controversy ten ways misstated by Mr Prynne. That which was publicly depending between the Parliament and Assembly did rather concern the practical conclusion itself than the mediums to prove it. The strength of the Assembly's proofs for suspension scarce touched by Mr Prynne. That the power of suspension is neither in the minister alone, nor unlimited. The question is practically stated by Aretius. The present controversy how different from the prelati- cal? The power desired to elderships, is not to judge men's hearts, but to judge of external evidences. The distinction of converting and confirming ordinances, how necessary in this ques- tion? Excommunication and suspension confounded by Mr Prynne (as likewise by the Separatists), contrary to the manner both of the Jewish church, and of the ancient and reformed Christian churches. Mr Prynne's assertion concerning suspension is contrary to the ordinances of parliament. The question stated as it ought to be stated.

CHAP. II.—Whether Matt. xviii. 15—17 prove excommunication, 162

The Erastians cannot avoid an argument *ex consequenti* from this text for excommunication, al- though we should grant that the literal sense and direct intendment of the words is not concern- ing excommunication. Of the word *ἡσυχία*. That the trespass meant ver. 16, is sometime known to more than one at first. That the meaning is not of a civil personal injury, but of a scandalous sin, whether there be materially a personal injury in it or not. This confirmed by six reasons. That if it were granted these words, "If thy brother trespass against thee," are under- stood of a personal injury, this could be no advantage to the Erastian cause, in six respects. Erastus's argument, that the trespass here meant is such as one brother may forgive to another, answered. That the law of two or three witnesses belongeth to ecclesiastical, as well as to civil courts. That "Tell the church" here, cannot be, Tell the civil sanhedrim or court of justice among the Jews. Of the meaning of these words, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a pub- lican." Mr Prynne's argument retorted. That the heathens might not enter into the temple, to wit, into the court of Israel, but into the *intermurale* they might come and worship. That there is not the like reason for excluding excommunicate persons wholly from our churches. Of Solo- mon's porch. That Mr Prynne confoundeth the devout penitent publican with the profane un- just publicans. The objection from the publican's going up to the temple to pray, examined. Publicans commonly named as the worst and wickedest of men. Another objection, "Let him be to thee (not to the whole church) as an heathen," &c., discussed.

CHAP. III.—A further demonstration that these words, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," are not meant of avoiding civil, but religious or church fellowship, 170

The great disorder and confusion which Mr Prynne's sense of this text might introduce. That it was not unlawful to the Jews to have civil company or fellowship with heathens, unless it were for religious respects, and, in case of the danger of an idolatrous ensnarement, which is cleared by a passage of *Elias in Tishbite*. In what sense Peter saith, Acts x. 28, that a Jew might not keep company, or come unto one of another nation. That the Jews did keep civil and familiar fellowship with *Ger toschav*, or *Ger schagnar*, the proselyte indweller, or the proselyte of the gate, who yet was uncircumcised, and no member of the Jewish church, nor an observer of the law of Moses, but only of the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah; which cleareth the reason why the synod of the apostles and elders, who would not impose circumcision, nor any other of the Mosaical ceremonies upon the believing Gentiles, did, nevertheless, impose this as a necessary burden upon them, to abstain from blood and things strangled. Christians are permitted by Paul to eat and drink with them that believe not. Further proofs, that some uncircumcised heathens had civil fellowship with the Jews, and some circumcised Hebrews had not ecclesiastical communion with the Jews. The question decided out of Maimonides. That these words, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," do imply somewhat negative, and somewhat positive. The negative part is, that he must not be worse used in civil things than an heathen man or publican; that excommunication breaketh not natural and moral duties; neither is any civil fellowship at all forbidden to be kept with an excommunicate person, except under a spiritual notion and for spiritual ends, not *qua* civil fellowship. The positive part is, that he must be used in the same manner as an heathen man and a publican in spiritual things, and in church communion. Heathens five ways excluded from communion with the Jews in the holy things. "Let him be as a publican," implieth two things more than "Let him be as an heathen;" but exclusion from some ordinances was common both to heathens and scandalous publicans. That the Pharisee's speech concerning the publican who went up to the temple to pray, sheweth that he was not esteemed a profane publican.

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The word *ἐκκλησία* never given to any lawful assembly simply because of majority of number. This interpretation provideth no effectual remedy for offences. *Kahal* by the Hebrews, and *ἐκκλησία* by the Grecians, often used for an assembly of such as had jurisdiction and ruling power. Whether the two or three witnesses, Matt. xviii. 16, be only witnesses or assistants in the admonition, or whether the intention be, that they shall prove the fact before the church forensically (if need be), and whether two or three witnesses must be taken when the offence is known to him only that gives the first rebuke, discussed. This, their interpretation, brings a brother under the greatest yoke of bondage. Grotius's interpretation of the word *church* not inconsistent with ours. Divers authors of the best note for our interpretation; that is, that by the church here, is meant the elders of the church assembled. The name of the church given to the elders for four considerations.

CHAP. VI.—"Of the power of binding and loosing," Matt. xviii. 18, 190

Our opposites extremely difficulted and divided in this point. Binding and loosing, both among Hebrews and Grecians, authoritative and forensical words. Antiquity for us, which is proved out of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Isidorus, Pelusiotas, Hilarius, Theophylact. That this power of binding and loosing belongeth neither to private persons nor to civil magistrates, but to church officers; and that in reference, 1. To the bonds of sin and iniquity; 2. To the dogmatical decision of controversy concerning the will of Christ. That this power of binding and loosing is not merely doctrinal, but juridical or forensical, and meant of inflicting or taking off ecclesiastical censure. This cleared by the coherence and dependency between ver. 17 and 18 (which is asserted against Mr Prynne), and further confirmed by eleven reasons. In which the agreement of two on earth, ver. 19; the restriction of the rule to a brother or church member, also Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 23; Psal. cxlix. 6—9, are explained. Another interpretation

of the binding and loosing, that it is not exercised about persons, but about things or doctrines, confuted by five reasons. How binding and loosing are acts of the power of the keys, as well as shutting and opening.

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The weight of our proofs not laid upon the phrase of delivering to Satan. Which phrase being set aside, that chapter will prove excommunication. Ver. 8, "Let us keep the passover," &c., applied to the Lord's supper, even by Mr Prynne himself. Mr Prynne's first exception from 1 Cor. x. 16, 17; xi. 20, 21, concerning the admission of all the visible members of the church of Corinth, even drunken persons, to the sacrament, answered. His second, a reflection upon the persons of men. His third, concerning these words, "No not to eat," confuted. Hence suspension by necessary consequence. His fourth exception taken off. His three conditions which he requir-eth in arguments from the lesser to the greater, are false and do not hold. Our argument from this text doth not touch upon the rock of separation. Eight considerations to prove an ecclesiastical censure, and, namely, excommunication from, 1 Cor. v. compared with 2 Cor. ii. 2. More of that phrase, "To deliver such an one to Satan."

CHAP. VIII.—Whether Judas received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, 204

The question between Mr Prynne and me concerning Judas much like unto that between Papists and Protestants concerning Peter. Two things premised. 1. That Matthew and Mark, mentioning Christ's discourse at table concerning the traitor, before the institution and distribution of the Lord's supper, place it in its proper order, and that Luke placeth it after the sacrament by an *ἀνακάλυψις* or recapitulation, which is proved by five reasons. 2. That the story, John xiii., concerning Judas and the sop, was neither acted in Bethany two days before the passover, nor yet after the institution of the Lord's supper. The first argument to prove that Judas received not the Lord's supper, from John xiii. 30, "he went out immediately after the sop." Mr Prynne's four answers confuted. His opinion, that Christ gave the sacrament before the common supper, is against both Scripture and antiquity. Of the word *immediately*. The second argument from Christ's words at the sacrament. That which Mr Prynne holds, viz., that at that time (when Christ infallibly knew Judas to be lost) he meant conditionally that his body was broken and his blood shed for Judas, confuted by three reasons. The third argument from the different expressions of love to the apostles, with an exception, while Judas was present; without an exception, at the sacrament. Mr Prynne's arguments from Scripture to prove that Judas did receive the sacrament, answered. That Judas received the sacrament is no indubitable verity, as Mr Prynne calls it, but hath been much controverted both among fathers, Papists and Protestants. That the Lutherans, who are much of Mr Prynne's opinion in the point of Judas's receiving of the Lord's supper, that they may the better uphold their doctrine of the wicked's eating of the true body of Christ, yet are much against his opinion in the point of admitting scandalous persons, not excommunicated, to the sacrament. Mr Prynne's bold assertion, that all the ancients, except Hilarius only, do unanimously accord that Judas received the Lord's supper, without one dissenting voice, disproved as most false, and confuted by the testimonies of Clemens, Dionysius Areopagita, Maximus, Pachymerus, Ammonius Alexandrinus, Tacinus, Innocentius III. Rupertus Tuitiensis, yea, by those very passages of Theophylact and Victor Antiochenus, cited by himself. Many modern writers also against his opinion, as of the Papists,—Salmeron, Turrianus, Barradius; of Protestants,—Danaus, Kleinwitzius, Piscator, Beza, Tossanus, Musculus, Zanchinus, Gomarus, Diodati, Grotius. The testimonies cited by Mr Prynne for Judas's receiving of the sacrament examined; some of them found false, others prove not his point, others who think that Judas did receive the sacrament, are clear against the admission of known profane persons. The Confession of Bohemia and Belgia not against us, but against Mr Prynne.

CHAP. IX.—Whether Judas received the sacrament of the passover that night in which our Lord was betrayed, 216

That Christ and his apostles did eat the passover not before, but after that supper at which he did wash his disciples' feet and give the sop to Judas. These words, "Before the feast of the passover," John xiii. 1, scanned. The Jews did eat the passover after meal, but they had no meal after the paschal supper. *Διήρουν γαστήρουν*, John xiii. 2, needeth not be turned "supper being ended," but may suffer two other readings. Christ's sitting down with the twelve is not meant of the paschal supper, and if it were, it proves not that Judas did eat of that passover, more than 1 Cor. xv. 5 proves that Judas did see Christ after his resurrection. A pious observation of Cartwright. Another of Chrysostom.

CHAP. X.—That if it could be proved that Judas received the Lord's supper, it maketh nothing against the suspension of known wicked persons from the sacrament, 219

Christ's admitting of Judas to the sacrament, when he knew him to be a devil, could no more be a precedent to us, than his choosing of Judas to be an apostle, when he knew also that he was a devil. Judas's sin was not scandalous but secret at that time when it was supposed that he did receive the sacrament. The same thing which Mr Prynne makes to have been after the sacrament, to prove that Judas did receive the sacrament, the very same he makes to have been before the sacrament, to prove that Judas was a scandalous sinner when he was admitted to the sacra-

ment. He yieldeth upon the matter that Judas received not the sacrament. That before Judas went forth none of the apostles knew him to be the traitor except John, yea some hold that John knew it not. That Christ's words to Judas, "Thou hast said," did not make known to the apostles that he was the traitor, and if they had, yet (by their principles, who hold that Judas received the sacrament) these words were not spoken before the sacrament. Divers authors hold that Judas was a secret, not a scandalous sinner at that time when it is supposed he received the sacrament, yea Mr Prynne himself holdeth so in another place. He loseth much by proposing as a precedent to ministers what Christ did to Judas in the last supper. Christ did upon the matter excommunicate Judas, which many gather from these words, "That thou doest do quickly." And if Christ had admitted him to the sacrament it could be no precedent to us.

CHAP. XI.—Whether it be a full discharge of duty to admonish a scandalous person of the danger of unworthy communicating; and whether a minister, in giving him the sacrament, after such admonition, be no way guilty, 223

Mr Prynne doth here mistake his mark, or not hit it, whether the question be stated in reference to the censure of suspension, or in reference to the personal duty of the minister. Five duties of the minister in this business beside admonition. Admonition no church censure, properly. Six conclusions premised by Mr Prynne, examined. His syllogism concerning the true right of all visible members of the visible church to the sacrament, discussed. Four sorts of persons, beside children and fools, not able to examine themselves, and so not to be admitted to the Lord's supper, by that limitation which Mr Prynne yieldeth. His argument from the admission of carnal persons to baptism upon a mere external slight profession, answered. His eleven reasons for the affirmative of this present question answered. The Erastian argument from 1 Cor. xi. 28, "Let a man examine himself," not others, nor others him, faileth many ways. Mr Prynne endeavours to pacify the consciences of ministers by persuading them to believe, that a scandalous person is outwardly fitted and prepared for the sacrament. How dangerous a way it is to give the sacrament to a scandalous person, upon hopes that omnipotency can at that instant change his heart and his life. Of a man's eating and drinking judgment to himself.

CHAP. XII.—Whether the sacrament of the Lord's supper be a converting or regenerating ordinance, 229

Mr Prynne in this controversy joineth not only with the more rigid Lutherans, but with the Papists. The testimonies of Calvin, Bullinger, Ursinus, Musculus, Bucerus, Festus Honnius, Aretius, Vossius, Pareus, the Belgic Confession and form of administration, the Synod of Dort, Gerhardus, Walaeus, Chamlerus, Polanus, Amesius, are produced against Mr Prynne, all these and many others denying the Lord's supper to be a converting ordinance. How both Lutherans and Papists state their controversy with Calvinists (as they call them) concerning the efficacy of the sacraments. Mr Prynne's distinctions of two sorts of conversion and two sorts of sealing, being duly examined, do but the more open his error instead of covering it. Of the words *sacrament* and *seal*, concerning which Mr Prynne, as he leaneth toward the Socinian opinion, so he greatly calls in question that truth, without the knowledge whereof the ordinance of parliament appointeth men to be kept back from the sacrament. Four distinctions of my own premised, that the true state of the question may be rightly apprehended. The 1st Distinction, between the absolute power of God, and the revealed will of God. 2. Between the sacrament itself, and other ordinances which do accompany it. 3. Between the first grace, and the following graces. 4. Between visible saints and invisible saints.

CHAP. XIII.—Twenty arguments to prove that the Lord's supper is not a converting ordinance, 236

1. From the nature of signs instituted to signify the being or having of a thing. The significancy of sacraments, *a parte ante*.
2. Sacraments suppose faith and an interest had in Christ, therefore do not give it.
3. The Lord's supper gives the new food, therefore it supposeth the new life.
4. It is a seal of the righteousness of faith, therefore instituted for justified persons only.
5. From the example of Abraham's justification before circumcision.
6. From the duty of self-examination, which an unregenerate person cannot perform.
7. From the necessity of the wedding garment.
8. Faith comes by hearing, not by seeing or receiving.
9. Neither promise nor example in Scripture of conversion by the Lord's supper.
10. Every unconverted and unworthy person if he come (while such to the Lord's table), cannot but eat and drink unworthily, therefore ought not to come.
11. The wicked have no part in an eucharistical consolatory ordinance.
12. Christ calleth none to this feast but such as have spiritual gracious qualifications.
13. They that are visibly no saints ought not to partake in the communion of saints.
14. Baptism itself (at least when administered to persons of age) is not a regenerating but a sealing ordinance.
15. From the necessity of the precedency of baptism before the Lord's supper.
16. From the method of the parable of the lost son.
17. From the doctrinal deborting of all impenitent unworthy persons from coming to the sacrament, unless they repent, reform, &c. (allowed by Mr Prynne himself), which a minister may not do, if it be a converting ordinance.
18. From the incommunicableness of this ordinance to pagans, or to excommunicated Christians for their conversion.
19. From the instrumental causality of a converting ordinance, which in order doth not follow, but precede conversion, and therefore is administered to men, not *qua* penitent, but *qua* impenitent, which cannot be said of the sacrament.
20. Antiquity against Mr Prynne in this point.

Witness the *Sancta Sanctis*. Witness also Dionysius Areopagita, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, Augustine, Isidorus Pelusiota, Prosper, Beda, Isidorus Hispalensis, Rabanus Maurus, besides Scotus, Alensis, and other schoolmen.

CHAP. XIV.—Mr Prynne's twelve arguments, brought to prove that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance, discussed and answered, . . . 245

His first argument answered by three distinctions. His second proveth nothing against us, but yieldeth somewhat which is for us. His third charged with divers absurdities. His fourth, concerning the greatest proximity and most immediate presence of God and of Christ in the sacrament, retorted against himself, and moreover not proved nor made good by him. His fifth argument hath both universal grace and other absurdities in it. His sixth, concerning conversion by the eye, by the book of nature, by sacrifices, by miracles, as well as by the ear, examined and confuted in the particulars. His seventh not proved. Nor yet his eighth, concerning conversion by afflictions without the word. His ninth, concerning the rule of contraries, is misapplied by him. His tenth, concerning the ends of the sacrament, yieldeth the cause and mireth himself. His eleventh, a gross *petitio principii*. His twelfth, appealing to the experience of Christians, rectified in the state, and repelled for the weight. That this debate concerning the nature, end, use, and effect of the sacrament, doth clearly cast the balance of the whole controversy concerning suspension. Lucas Osiander, cited by Mr Prynne against us, is more against himself.

CHAP. XV.—Whether the admission of scandalous and notorious sinners to the sacrament of the Lord's supper be a pollution and profanation of that holy ordinance, and in what respects it may be so called, . . . 253

The true state of this question cleared by five distinctions. Nine arguments to prove the affirmative. That the admitting of the scandalous and profane to the sacrament gives the lie to the word preached, and looseth those whom the word bindeth. That it is a strengthening of the hands of the wicked. It is a profanation of baptism to baptize a catechumen Jew, or a pagan, being of a known profane life, although he were able to make confession of the true faith by word of mouth. That such as are found unable to examine themselves (whether through natural or sinful disability) or manifestly unwilling to it, ought not to be admitted to the Lord's supper. The reason for keeping back children and fools holds stronger for keeping back known profane persons. Hag. ii. 11—14, explained. A debate upon Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs," &c., wherein Mr Prynne is confuted from Scripture, from antiquity, from Erastus also and Grotius.

CHAP. XVI.—An argument of Erastus (drawn from the baptism of John), against the excluding of scandalous sinners from the Lord's supper, examined, . . . 259

That John baptized none but such as confessed their sins, and did outwardly appear penitent. It is a great question whether those Pharisees who came to his baptism, Matt. iii. were baptized. The coincidence of that story, Matt. iii. with the message of the Pharisees to John Baptist, John i. The argument retorted.

CHAP. XVII.—Antiquity for the suspension of all scandalous persons from the sacrament, even such as were admitted to other public ordinances, . . . 260

Of the four degrees of penitents in the ancient church, and of the suspension of some unexcommunicated persons from the Lord's supper, who did join with the church in the hearing of the word and prayer, proved out of the ancient canons of the councils of Ancyra, Nice, Arles, the sixth and eighth General Councils, out of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and Basilus Magnus, confirmed also out of Zonaras, Balsamon, Albaspinus. The suspension of all sorts of scandalous sinners in the church from the sacrament further confirmed out of Isidorus Pelusiota, Dionysius Areopagita with his scholiast Maximus, and his paraphrast Pachymeres. Also out of Cyprian, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregorius Magnus, Walfridus Strabo.

CHAP. XVIII.—A discovery of the instability and looseness of Mr Prynne's principles, even to the contradicting of himself in twelve particulars, . . . 268

An argument hinted by Mr Prynne from the gathering together all guests to the wedding supper, both bad and good, examined, and four answers made to it. That Mr Prynne doth profess and pretend to yield the thing for which his antagonists contend with him, but indeed doth not yield it; his concessions being clogged with such things as do evacuate and frustrate all church discipline. That Mr Prynne contradicteth himself in twelve particulars. Four counter-queries to him.

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A discourse of Mr Fox, the Author of the *Book of Martyrs*, concerning three sorts of persons who are unwilling that there should be a discipline or power of censures in the church.

TO THE
REVEREND AND LEARNED
ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES

CONVENED AT WESTMINSTER.

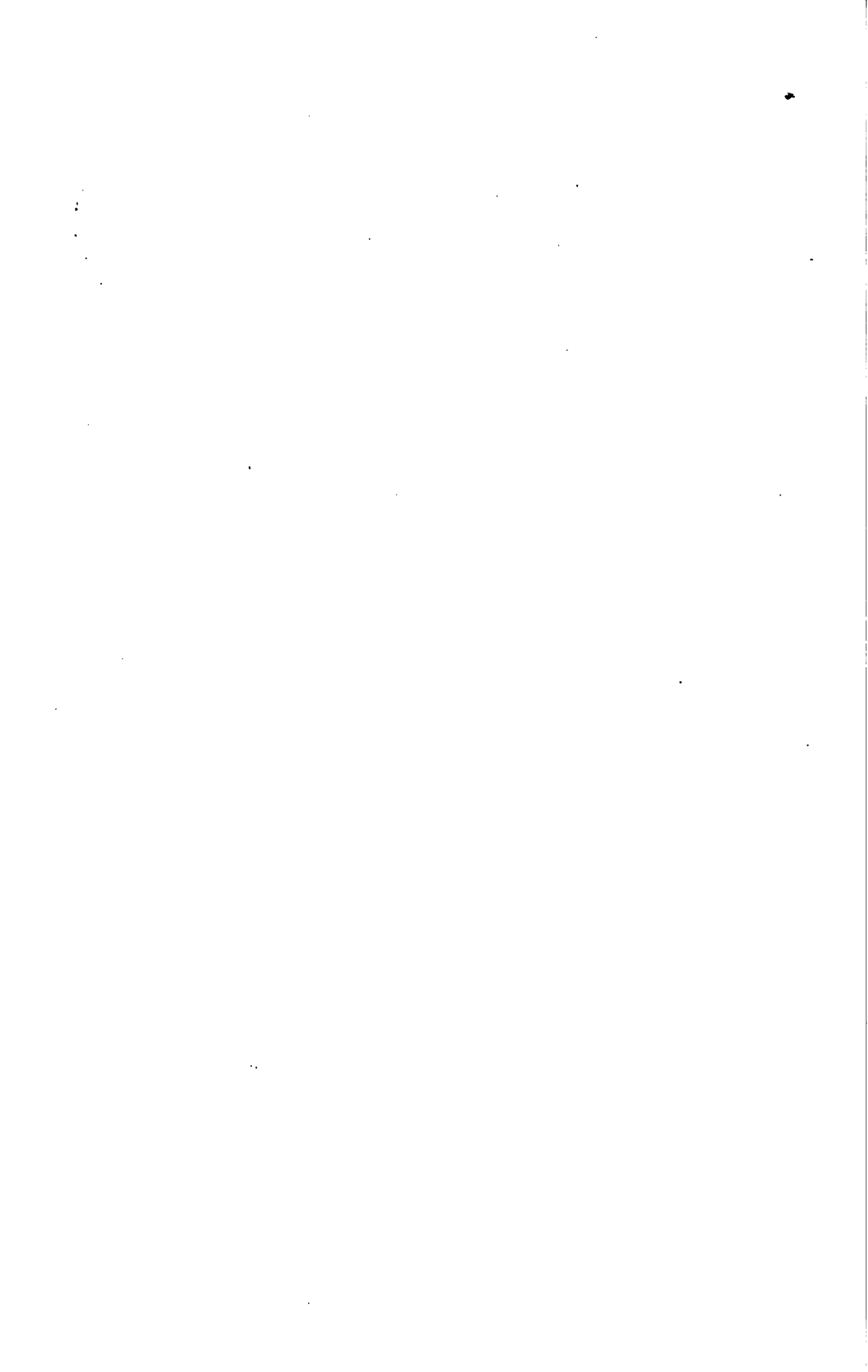
RIGHT REVEREND,

Though many faithful servants of God did long ago desire to see those things which we see, and to hear those things which we hear, yet it hath been one of the special mercies reserved for this generation, and denied to the times of our ancestors, that divines of both kingdoms, within this island, should be gathered and continued together, to consult peaceably and freely concerning a reformation of religion in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government. It is a mercy yet greater, that two nations, formerly at so great a distance in the form of public worship and church government, should (to their mutual comfort and happiness, and to the further endearing of each to other), through the good hand of God, be now agreed upon one directory of worship, and, with a good progress, advanced as in one confession of faith, so, likewise, in one form of church government; for all which, as the other reformed churches (in regard of their common interest in the truth and ordinances of Christ), so especially your brethren in the Church of Scotland, are your debtors. Your name is as precious ointment among them, and they do esteem you very highly in love, for your work's sake,—a work which, as it is extraordinary and unparalleled, requiring a double portion of the Spirit of your Master, so you have very many hearts and prayers going along with you in it, that the pleasure of the Lord may prosper in your hand.

As for my reverend colleagues and myself, it hath been a good part of our happiness that we have been partakers of, and assistants in, your grave and learned debates. Yet (as we declared from our first coming amongst you) we came not hither presuming to prescribe anything unto you, but willing to receive as well as to offer light, and to debate matters freely and fairly from the word of God, the common rule both to you and us. As herein you were pleased to give testimony unto us in one of your letters to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, so the great respects which, in other things and at other times, you have expressed, both towards that church from which we are entrusted, and particularly towards ourselves, do call for a return of all possible and public testimonies of gratitude; for which purpose I do, for my part, take hold of this opportunity. I know that I owe much more unto you than I have either ability to pay, or elocution to set forth. Yet, although I cannot retaliate your favours, nor render that which may be worthy of yourselves, I beseech you to accept this part of my retribution of respects. I do offer and entitle unto you this enucleation of the Erastian controversy, which is *dignus vindice nodus*. I hope here is a word in season concerning it. Others might have done better, but such furniture as I had I have brought to the work of the tabernacle. I submit what is mine unto your greater learning and judgment, and shall ever continue,

Yours to serve you,

GEO. GILLESPIE.



TO THE CANDID READER.

I HAVE often and heartily wished that I might not be distracted by, nor engaged into, polemic writings, of which the world is too full already, and from which many more learned and idoneous have abstained; and I did, accordingly, resolve that, in this controversial age, I should be slow to write, swift to read and learn. Yet there are certain preponderating reasons which have made me willing to be drawn forth into the light upon this subject; for beside the desires and solicitations of divers Christian friends, lovers of truth and peace, seriously calling upon me for an answer to Mr Prynne's *Vindication of his Four Questions* concerning excommunication and suspension, the grand importance of the Erastian controversy, and the strong influence which it hath into the present juncture of affairs, doth powerfully invite me.

Among the many controversies which have disquieted and molested the Church of Christ, those concerning ecclesiastical government and discipline are not the least, but among the chief, and often managed with the greatest animosity and eagerness of spirit, whence there have grown most dangerous divisions and breaches, such as this day there are, and for the future are to be expected, unless there shall be (through God's mercy) some further composing and healing of these church-consuming distractions, which, if we shall be so happy as once to obtain, it will certainly contribute very much toward the accommodation of civil and state-shaking differences; and, contrariwise, if no healing for the church, no healing for the state. Let the Gallios of this time (who care for no intrinsical evil in the church) promise to themselves what they will, surely he that shall have cause to write with Nicolaus de Clemangis, a book of lamentation, *de corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, will find also cause to write with him *de lapsu et reparatione justitiæ*.

As the thing is of high concernment to these so much disturbed and divided churches, so the elevation is yet higher by many degrees. This controversy reacheth up to the heavens, and the top of it is above the clouds. It doth highly concern Jesus Christ himself, in his glory, royal prerogative, and kingdom, which he hath and exerciseth as Mediator and Head of his church. The crown of Jesus Christ, or any part, privilege, or pendicle thereof, must needs be a noble and excellent subject. This truth, that Jesus Christ is a king, and hath a kingdom and government in his church

distinct from the kingdoms of this world, and from the civil government, hath this commendation and character above all other truths, that Christ himself suffered to the death for it, and sealed it with his blood; for, it may be observed from the story of his passion, this was the only point of his accusation,* which was confessed and avouched by himself, was most aggravated, persecuted, and driven home by the Jews,† was prevalent with Pilate as the cause of condemning him to die,‡ and was mentioned also in the superscription upon his cross.¶ And although, in reference to God and in respect of satisfaction to the divine justice for our sins, his death was *largus*, a price of redemption, yet, in reference to men who did persecute, accuse, and condemn him, his death was *martiricus*, a martyr's testimony to seal such a truth. This kingly office of Jesus Christ (as well as his prophetic) is administered and exercised, not only inwardly and invisibly, by the working of his Spirit in the souls of particular persons, but outwardly also, and visibly in the church, as a visible, political, ministerial body, in which he hath appointed his own proper officers, ambassadors, courts, laws, ordinances, censures, and all these administrations, to be in his own name, as the only King and Head of the church. This was the thing which Herod and Pilate did, and many princes, potentates, and states, do look upon with so much fear and jealousy, as another government co-ordinate with the civil. But what was upon the one side to them, hath been light upon the other side to those servants of Jesus Christ who have stood, contended, and sometime suffered much for the ordinance of church government and discipline, which they looked upon as a part of Christ's kingdom. So Buccerus,§ so Parker,¶ so

* Luke xiii. 3; John xviii. 28, 36, 37.

† Luke xiii. 3; John xix. 12, 15.

‡ John xix. 12, 13.

¶ John xix. 12.

§ *De Regno Christi*, lib. 1, cap. 4. — Non deferunt quoque inter hos triginta annos, presertim in Germania, qui videret volumus iustam evangelii predicationem plane amplecti, sed, verum perperam aditus reperiri sicut qui se Christi evangelio et regno omnino subdiderunt: imo qui post fulment Christi religionem et ecclesiarum disciplinam restitui per omnia iuxta leges regis nostri. Et cetera. In Hungaria, gratia Domino non paucæ jam existunt ecclesiæ quæ cum pure Christi doctrina, solidam etiam ejus disciplinam repperunt, custodiuntque religiose. Rex noster Christus fuit at harum ecclesiarum exemplum quam plurimæ sequuntur.

¶ *De Polit. Ecclesiæ*, lib. 1, cap. 2. — Politela ecclesiastica est pars regni Christi.

Mr Welsh,* my countryman of precious memory, who suffered much for the same truth, and was ready to seal it with his blood. Beside divers others who might be named, especially learned Didoclaus in his *Alcare Damascenum*, cap. 1, and throughout.

I am not ignorant that some have an evil eye upon all government in a nation, distinct from civil magistracy; and, if it were in their power, they would have all Anti-Erastians (and so, consequently, both Presbyterians and Independents) looked upon as guilty of treason, at least, as violators of, and encroachers upon, the rights and privileges of magistracy, in respect of a distinct ecclesiastical government. And, indeed, it is no new thing for the most faithful ministers of Jesus Christ to be reproached and accused as guilty of treason, which was not only the lot of Mr Calderwood and (as hath been now shown) of Mr Welsh, and those that suffered with him, but of Mr Knox† before them, as likewise of many martyrs and confessors, and of the apostles themselves.‡ Yet (if we will judge righteous judgment, and weigh things in a just balance) we do not rob the magistrate of that which is his, by giving unto Christ that which is Christ's. We desire to hold up the honour and greatness, the power and authority of magistracy, against Papists, Anabaptists, and all others that "despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities."§ We do not compare (as Innocentius did) the civil and the ecclesiastical powers to the two great lights; that to the moon, this to the sun.¶ We hold "it is proper to kings, princes, and magistrates, to be called lords and dominators over their subjects whom they govern civilly; but it is proper to Christ only to be called Lord and Master in the spiritual government of the church; and all others that bear office therein, ought not to usurp dominion therein, nor be called lords, but only ministers, disciples, and servants."¶ We acknowledge and affirm, that magistracy and civil government in empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities, is an ordinance of God for his own glory, and for the great good of mankind, so that whoever are enemies to magistracy, they are enemies to mankind, and to the revealed will of God. "That such persons as are placed in authority are to be beloved, honoured, feared, and holden in a most reverend estimation, because they are the lieutenants of God, in whose seat God himself doth sit and judge." We teach "that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever." We confess "that such as resist the supreme power, doing

that thing which appertaineth to his charge, do resist God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltless. And, further, we affirm, that whosoever deny unto them their aid, counsel and comfort, whilst the princes and rulers vigilantly travel in execution of their office, that the same men deny their help, support, and counsel to God, who, by the presence of his lieutenant, doth crave it of them."¶ We know and believe "that, though we be free, we ought wholly, in a true faith holly to submit ourselves to the magistrate, both with our body, and with all our goods and endeavour of mind, also to perform faithfulness, and the oath which we made to him, so far forth as his government is not evidently repugnant to him, for whose sake we do reverence the magistrate."† That we ought to yield unto kings and other magistrates in their own stations, fear, honour, tribute, and custom, whether they be good men or evil, as likewise to obey them in that which is not contrary to the word of God, it being always provided, that in things pertaining to our souls and consciences, we obey God only, and his holy word.‡ We believe that God hath "delivered the sword into the hands of the magistrates, to wit, that offences may be repressed, not only those which are committed against the second table, but also against the first."§ We do agree and avouch, "that all men, of what dignity, condition, or state soever they be, ought to be subject to their lawful magistrates, and pay unto them subsidies and tributes, and obey them in all things which are not repugnant to the word of God. Also, they must pour out their prayers for them, that God would vouchsafe to direct them in all their actions, and that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life under them, with all godliness and honesty."¶ We teach that "it doth belong to the authority and duty of the magistrate, to forbid and (if need be) to punish such sins as are committed against the ten commandments, or the law natural;" as likewise "to add unto the law natural some other laws, defining the circumstances of the natural law, and to keep and maintain the same by punishing the transgressors."¶ We hold that "the laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences." And "that it is lawful for Christian men, at the command of the magistrate, to bear arms, and to serve in just wars."¶ All these things we do sincerely, really, constantly, faithfully, and cheerfully yield unto and assert in behalf of the civil magistrate. So that the cause, which I now take in hand, doth not depress but exalt, doth not weaken but strengthen, magistracy. I do not plead against "the power of the sword," when I plead for "the power of the keys."†† These two are most distinct, they ought not to be confounded, neither need they to clash or interfere between themselves. The controversy is not about taking from the magistrate what is his, but about giving to Christ that which is his. We hold a reciprocal subordination of persons, but a co-ordination of powers. "As the ministers and others of the

* Mr John Welsh's Letter to the Lady Fleming, written from his prison at Blackness in Jan. 1616.—"Who am I that he should first have called me and then constituted me a minister of glad things, of the gospel of salvation, these fifteen years already, and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom, to witness that good confession, that Jesus Christ is the King of saints, and that his church is a most free kingdom; yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold and keep her meetings, conventions, and assemblies, but also to judge of all her affairs, in all her meetings and conventions, among his members and subjects! These two points, that Christ is the head of his church; secondly, that she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except Christ's: these two points are the special causes of our imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for maintaining thereof. We have been waiting with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it would please our God to be so favourable as to honour us with that dignity." Thus he.

† Discourse of the Troubles at Francfort, first published in the year 1675, and reprinted at London in the year 1683, p. 37.

‡ Acts xvii. 6, 7.

§ Jude 6.

¶ Fr. a. S. Clara Apolog. Episcop., cap. 2.

¶ The Second Book of the Discipline of the Church of Scotland, c. 1.

* The Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, art. 26.

† The Confession of Helvetia, in the head of Magistracy.

‡ The Confession of Bohemia, cap. 14.

§ The French Confession, art. 39.

¶ The Confession of Belgia, art. 36.

¶ The Confession of Saxony, art. 32.

** Irish Articles of Religion, art. 61, 62.

†† Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18, which is meant of laying on or taking off church censure. August., tract. 60, in John, si autem in ecclesia sit, ut quis in terra ligatur in celo ligetur, et quis solvatur in terra, solvatur in celo: quicum excommunicat ecclesia, in celo ligatur excommunicatus: cum reconciliatur ab ecclesia, in celo solvitur reconciliatus, &c.

ecclesiastical estate are subject to the magistrate civil, so ought the person of the magistrate be subject to the church spiritually, and in ecclesiastical government; and the exercise of both these jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinarily.* Again, "The magistrate neither ought to preach, minister the sacrament, nor execute the censures of the church, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done, but command the ministers to observe the rule commanded in the word, and punish the transgressors by civil means. The ministers exercise not the civil jurisdiction, but teach the magistrate how it should be exercised according to the word." The laws and statutes of Geneva do at once ratify the ecclesiastical presbyterial power of jurisdiction or censure, and withal appoint, that ministers shall not take upon them any civil jurisdiction, but where there shall be need of compulsion or civil punishments, that this be done by the magistrate.† Yea, under a popish magistrate (as in France), and even under the Turk himself, many churches do enjoy not only the word and sacraments, but a free church government and discipline within themselves, *rectio disciplina libera*, which is thought no prejudice to the civil government, they that govern the churches having no dominion nor share of magistracy. Vide *D. Chytræi orat. de Statu Ecclesiarum in Græcia*, &c.

I know well that there are other horrid calumnies and misrepresentations of presbyterial government, besides that of encroaching upon magistracy; but they are as false as they are foul. And although we go upon this disadvantage which Demosthenes‡ (being loaden with a heavy charge and grievous aspersions by Æschines§) did complain of, that, though by right, both parties should be heard, yet the generality of men do, with pleasure, hearken to reproaches and calumnies, but take little or no pleasure to hear men's clearing of themselves or their cause; and that his adversary had chosen that which was more pleasant, leaving to him that which was more tedious. Nevertheless I must needs expect from all such as are conscionable and faithful in this cause and covenant, that their ears shall not be open to calumnies, and shut upon more favourable informations. And, however, let the worst be said which malice itself can devise, it shall be no small comfort to me, that our Lord and Master hath said, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my name's sake."§

I know also that a government and discipline in the church (the thing which I now undertake to plead for) is a very displeasing thing to those that would fain enjoy liberty, either of pernicious errors or gross profaneness.¶ But (as Maimonides saith well) "we must not judge of the easiness or heaviness of a law, according to the affections and lust of any evil man, being rash (in judgment) and given to the worst vices, but according to the understanding of one who is most perfect among men, like unto whom, according to the law, all others ought to be." *More Novechim*, part 2, cap. 39. No marvel that the licentious hate that way wherein they shall find themselves hemmed in, if not hedged up, with thorns. And that they may

the more flatter themselves in their sinful licentiousness, they imagine that Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden light, to the flesh as well as to the spirit, to carnal as well as to spiritual men. For my part, if I have learned Christ aright, I hold it for a sure principle, that in so far as a man is spiritual and regenerate, in as far his flesh is under a yoke; and in so far as he is unregenerate, in as far his flesh is *sine iugo* without a yoke. The healing of the spirit is not without the smiting of the flesh.**

When I speak of this divine ordinance of church government, my meaning is not to allow, much less to animate any in the too severe and over-strict exercise of ecclesiastical discipline and censures. It was observed by Jerome, as one of the errors of the Montanists: *illi ad omne pene delictum ecclesie oberrant fores*:† They shut the church door (that is, they excommunicate and shut out of the church) almost at every offence. I confess the greater part are more apt to fail in the defect than in the excess, and are like to come too short rather than to go too far. Yet a failing there may be, and hath been, both ways. The best things, whether in church or state, have been actually abused, and may be so again, through the error and corruption of men. The Holy Scripture itself is abused to the greatest mischiefs in the world, though in its own nature it serves for the greatest good in the world. The abuse of a thing which is necessary, and especially of a divine ordinance, whether such abuse be feared or felt, ought not, may not, prejudice the thing itself. My purpose and endeavour shall be (wherein I beseech the Lord to help my infirmities) to own the thing, to disown the abuses of the thing, to point out the path of Christ's ordinance without allowing either rigour against such as ought to be tenderly dealt with, or too much lenity towards such as must be saved with fear, and pulled out of the fire, or at all any aberration to the right or left hand.

I have had much ado to gain so many *hæres subcivica* from the works of my public calling, as might suffice for this work. I confess it hath cost me much pains, and I think I may say without presumption, he that will go about solidly to answer it will find it no easy matter. Subitane lucubrations will not do it. But if any man shall, by unanswerable contrary reasons or evidences, discover error or mistake in any of my principles, let truth have the victory, let God have the glory. Only this favour (I may say this justice) I shall protest for: First, That my principles and conclusions may be rightly apprehended, and that I may not be charged with any absurd, dangerous or odious assertion, unless my own words be faithfully cited from which that assertion shall be gathered, yea also without concealing my explanations, qualifications, or restrictions, if any such there be; which rule, to my best observation, I have not transgressed in reference to the opposites. Secondly, That as I have not dealt with their *nauvi*, but with their *nucleus*, I have not scratched at their shell, but taken out their kernel (such as it is), I have not declined them, but encountered, yea sought them out where their strength was greatest, where their arguments were hardest, and their exceptions most probable; so no man may decline or dissemble the strength of my arguments, inferences, authorities, answers

* The Second Book of the Discipline of the Church of Scotland, c. 1.

† See the Laws and Statutes of Geneva, translated out of the French, and printed at London 1643, p. 9, 10.

‡ De Corona, orat. 5, in initio.

§ In orat. contra Ctesiphontem.

|| Matt. v. 11.

¶ Psalm ii. 3; Luke xix. 14.

* Origin. in Lev., hom. 3.—Quid percutit? carnem. Quid sanat? spiritum. Propterea ut illa deficiat, iste proficiat.

† Jerom. ad Marcellum.

and replies, nor think it enough to lift up an axe against the outermost branches, when he ought to strike at the root. Thirdly, If there be any acrimony, let it be in a real and rational conviction, not in the manner of expression. In which also I ask no other measure to myself than I have given to others. It is but in vain for a man to help the bluntness of *reason* with the sharpness of *passion*; for thereby he looseth more than he gaineth with intelligent readers; the simpler sort may peradventure esteem those *disputations*, those despicable nothings, to be something, but then they are *deceived* not *edified*. Therefore let not a man cast forth a flood of passionate words when his arguments are like broken cisterns which can hold no water.

If any replier there be of the Erastian party, who will confine himself within these rules and conditions, as I do not challenge him, so (if God spare me life and liberty) I will not refuse him. But if any shall so reply as to prevaricate and do contrary to these just and reasonable demands,

I must (to his greater shame) call him to the orders, and make his tergiversation to appear.

I shall detain thee (good reader) no longer. The Lord guide thee and all his people in ways of truth and peace, holiness and righteousness, and grant that this controversy may (I trust it shall) have a happy end to the glory of God, to the embracing and exalting of Jesus Christ in his kingly office, to the ordering of his house according to his own will, to the keeping pure of the ordinances, to the advancing of holiness, and shaming of profaneness, and finally to the peace, quiet, well-being, comfort, and happiness of the churches of Christ. These things (without thoughts of provoking any either public or private person) the searcher of hearts knoweth to be desired and intended by him who is

Thine, to please thee,

for thy good to edification.

GEO. GILLESPIE.

AARON'S ROD BLOSSOMING.

THE FIRST BOOK.

OF THE JEWISH CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THAT IF THE ERASTIANS COULD PROVE WHAT THEY ALLEGE CONCERNING THE JEWISH CHURCH GOVERNMENT, YET IN THAT PARTICULAR THE JEWISH CHURCH COULD NOT BE A PRECEDENT TO THE CHRISTIAN.

OBSERVING that very much of Erastus's strength, and much of his followers' confidence, lieth in the Old Testament, and Jewish church, which, as they aver, knew no such distinction as civil government and church government, civil justice and church discipline,—I have thought good, first of all, to remove that great stumbling-block, that our way may afterward lie fair and plain before us. I do heartily acknowledge, that what we find to have been an ordinance, or an approved practice in the Jewish church, ought to be a rule and pattern to us, such things only excepted which were typical or temporal, that is, for which there were special reasons proper to that infancy of the church, and not common to us. Now if our opposites could prove that the Jewish church was nothing but the Jewish state, and that the Jewish church government was nothing but the Jewish state government, and that the Jews had never any supreme sanhedrim but one only, and that civil and such as had the temporal coercive power of magistracy (which they will never be able

to prove), yet there are divers considerable reasons for which that could be no precedent to us.

First. Casaubon (*exerc. 13, anno 31, num. 10*) proves, out of Maimonides, that the sanhedrim was to be made up, if possible, wholly of priests and Levites; and that if so many priests and Levites could not be found as were fit to be of the sanhedrim, in that case some were assumed out of other tribes. Howbeit I hold not this to be agreeable to the first institution of the sanhedrim. But thus much is certain, that priests and Levites were members of the Jewish sanhedrim, and had an authoritative decisive suffrage in making decrees, and inflicting punishments, as well as other members of the sanhedrim. Philo, the Jew (*de vita Moysis*, p. 530), saith, that he who was found gathering sticks upon the Sabbath, was brought *ad principem et sacerdotum consistorium*, *לפי רוב המצותא ד' עומדין* *לפני הקדש*, that is, to the prince or chief ruler (meaning Moses), together with whom the priests did sit and judge in the sanhedrim. "Jehoshaphat did set of the Levites, of the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord," &c. 2 Chron. xix. 8.

Secondly. The people of Israel had God's own judicial law, given by Moses, for their civil law, and the priests and Levites instead of civil lawyers.

Thirdly. The sanhedrim did punish no

man unless admonition had been first given to him for his amendment. Maimonides, *de fundam. legis*, cap. 5, sect. 6, yea, saith Gul. Vorstius upon the place, though a man had killed his parents the sanhedrim did not punish him unless he were first admonished; and when witnesses were examined, seven questions were propounded to them, one of which was, whether they had admonished the offender, as the Talmud itself tells us, *ad tit. Sanhedrim*, cap. 5, sect. 1.

Fourthly. The sanhedrim, *respondebat de jure*, did interpret the law of God, and determine controversies concerning the sense and intent thereof, Deut. xvii. 8—11; and it was on this manner, as the Jerusalem Talmud, in *Sanhedrim*, cap. 10, sect. 2, records: "There were there (in Jerusalem) three assemblies of judges,—one sitting at the entry to the mountain of the sanctuary, another sitting at the door of the court, the third sitting in the conclave made of cut stone. First, addresses were made to that which sat at the ascent of the mountains of the sanctuary; then the elder (who came to represent the cause which was too hard for the courts of the cities) said on this manner,—'I have drawn this sense from the holy Scripture, my fellows have drawn that sense; I have taught thus, my fellows so and so.' If they had learned what is to be determined in that cause, they did communicate it unto them, if not, they went forward together to the judges sitting at the door of the court, by whom they were instructed, if they, after the laying forth of the difficulty, knew what resolutions to give. Otherwise all of them had recourse to the great sanhedrim; for from it doth the law go forth unto all Israel." It is added in *Exc. Gemar. Sanhed.* cap. 10, sect. 1, that the sanhedrim did sit in the room of cut stone (which was in the temple) from the morning to the evening daily sacrifice. The sanhedrim did judge cases of idolatry, apostacy, false prophets, &c., *Talm. Hieros. in Sanhed.* cap. 1, sect. 5.

Now all this being unquestionably true of the Jewish sanhedrim, if we should suppose that they had no supreme sanhedrim but that which had the power of civil magistracy, then, I ask, where is that Christian state which was, or is, or ought to be, moulded according to this pattern? Must ministers have vote in parliament? Must they be civil lawyers? Must all criminal and capital judgments be according to the

judicial law of Moses, and none otherwise? Must there be no civil punishment without previous admonition of the offender? Must parliaments sit, as it were, in the temple of God, and interpret Scripture, which sense is true and which false, and determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience, and judge of all false doctrines? Yet all this must be if there be a parallel made with the Jewish sanhedrim. I know some divines hold that the judicial law of Moses, so far as concerneth the punishments of sins against the moral law, idolatry, blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, adultery, theft, &c., ought to be a rule to the Christian magistrate; and, for my part, I wish more respect were had to it, and that it were more consulted with. This by the way. I am here only showing what must follow if the Jewish government be taken for a precedent, without making a distinction of civil and church government. Surely the consequences will be such as I am sure our opposites will never admit of, and some of which (namely, concerning the civil places or power of ministers, and concerning the magistrate's authority to interpret Scripture) ought not to be admitted.

Certainly, if it should be granted that the Jews had but one sanhedrim, yet there was such an intermixture of civil and ecclesiastical, both persons and proceedings, that there must be a partition made of that power which the Jewish sanhedrim did exercise, which, taken whole and entire together, can neither suit to our civil nor to our ecclesiastical courts. Nay, while the Erastians appeal to the Jewish sanhedrim (suppose it now to be but one) they do thereby engage themselves to grant unto church officers a share, at least, yea, a great share, in ecclesiastical government; for so they had in the supreme sanhedrim of the Jews.

And further, the Jews had their *synagoga magna*, which Grotius on Matt. x. 17, distinguishes from the sanhedrim of seventy-one; for both prophets and others of place and power among the people, *præter, tunc sordidius*, besides the members of that sanhedrim were members of that extraordinary assembly, which was called *the great synagogue*, such as that assembly (Ezra x.) which did decree forfeiture and separation from the congregation to be the punishment of such as would not gather themselves unto Jerusalem, in which assembly were others beside those of the sanhedrim. Of the men

of the great synagogue I read in Tzemach David, p. 56, edit. Hen. Vorstius, that they did receive the traditions from the prophets; and it is added, *Viri synagoga magnæ ordinarunt nobis preces nostras*.—The men of the great synagogue did appoint unto us our prayers,—meaning their liturgies, which they fancy to have been so instituted. The Hebrews themselves controvert whether all the men of the great synagogue did live at one and the same time, or successively; but that which is most received among them is, that these men did flourish all at one time, as is told us in the passage last cited, where also these are named as men of the great synagogue, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, Ezra, Jehoshua, Seria, Behaliah, Mispah, Rechum, Nehemiah. Rambam addeth Chananiah, Mischael and Azariah.

Finally, as prophets, priests, and scribes of the law of God, had an interest in the *synagoga magna* after the captivity, so we read of occasional and extraordinary ecclesiastical synods before the captivity, as that assembly of the priests and Levites under Hezekiah, 2 Chron. xxix. 4, 15, and that synod of the four hundred prophets, 1 Kings xxii. 6. Herod also gathered together the chief priests and scribes, Matt. ii. 4. I conclude that if it should be granted there was no ecclesiastical sanhedrim among the Jews distinct from the civil, yet, as the necessity of a distinct ecclesiastical government among us is greater than it was among them, in respect of the four considerations above-mentioned, so likewise the priests had a great deal more power and authority in the Jewish church, not only by occasional synods, but by their interest in *synagoga magna*, and in the civil sanhedrim itself, than the Erastians are willing that church officers should have in the Christian church.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE JEWISH CHURCH WAS FORMALLY
DISTINCT FROM THE JEWISH STATE OR
COMMONWEALTH.

It hath been by some (with much confidence and scorn of all who say otherwise) averred, that excommunication and church government distinct from the civil hath no pattern for it in the Jewish church. "I

am sure," saith Mr Coleman in his *Brotherly Examination Re-examined*, p. 16, "the best reformed church that ever was, went this way, I mean the church of Israel, which had no distinction of church government and civil government." Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar shalt thou go. Have you appealed to the Jewish church? thither shall you go. Wherefore I shall endeavour to make these five things appear: 1. That the Jewish church was formally distinct from the Jewish state. 2. That there was an ecclesiastical sanhedrim and government distinct from the civil. 3. That there was an ecclesiastical excommunication distinct from civil punishments. 4. That in the Jewish church there was also a public exomologesis, or declaration of repentance, and, thereupon, a reception or admission again of the offender to fellowship with the church in the holy things. 5. That there was a suspension of the profane from the temple and passover.

First. The Jewish church was formally distinct from the Jewish state. I say *formally*, because ordinarily they were not distinct *materially*, the same persons being members of both; but formally they were distinct, as now the church and state are among us Christians. 1. In respect of distinct laws, the ceremonial law was given to them in reference to their church state, the judicial law was given to them in reference to their civil state. Is. Abrabanel, *de capite fidei*, cap. 13, putteth this difference between the laws given to Adam and to the sons of Noah, and the divine law given by Moses,—that those laws were given for conservation of human society, and are in the classes of judicial or civil laws. But the divine law given by Moses doth direct the soul to its last perfection and end. I do not approve the difference which he puts between these laws. This only I note, that he distinguisheth judicial or civil laws for conservation of society, though given by God, from those laws which are given to perfect the soul, and to direct it to its last end, such as he conceives the whole moral and ceremonial law of Moses to be. Halichoth Olam, tract 5, cap. 2, tells us that such and such rabbies were followed in the ceremonial laws; other rabbies followed in the judicial laws. 2. In respect of distinct acts, they did not worship God and offer sacrifices in the temple, nor call upon the name of the Lord, nor give thanks, nor receive the sacraments as that state, but as that church. They

did not punish evil-doers by mulets, imprisonment, banishment, burning, stoning, hanging, as that church, but as that state. 3. In respect of controversies, some causes and controversies did concern the Lord's matters, some the king's matters, 2 Chron. xix. 11. To judge between blood and blood was one thing; to judge between law and commandment, between statutes and judgments, that is, to give the true sense of the law of God when it was controverted, was another thing. 4. In respect of officers, the priests and Levites were church officers: magistrates and judges not so, but were ministers of the state. The priests might not take the sword out of the hand of the magistrates; the magistrates might not offer sacrifice nor exercise the priest's office. 5. In respect of continuance, when the Romans took away the Jewish state and civil government yet the Jewish church did remain, and the Romans did permit them the liberty of their religion. And now, though the Jews have no Jewish state, yet they have Jewish churches; whence it is, that when they tell where one did or doth live, they do not mention the town but the church: "In the holy church at Venice, at Frankford," &c. See Buxtorf. *Lex. Rabbin.* p. 1983. 6. In respect of variation, the constitution and government of the Jewish state was not the same, but different, under Moses and Joshua, under the judges, under the kings, and after the captivity; but we cannot say that the church was remodelled as often as the state was. 7. In respect of members; for, as Mr Selden hath very well observed concerning that sort of proselytes who had the name of *Proselyti Justitie*.¹ They were initiated into the Jewish religion by circumcision, baptism and sacrifice; and they were allowed not only to worship God apart by themselves, but also to come into the church and congregation of Israel, and to be called by the name of Jews,—nevertheless they were restrained and secluded from dignities, magistracies and preferments in the Jewish republic, and from divers marriages which were free to the Israelites, even as strangers initiated and associated into the church of Rome have not therefore the privilege of

Roman citizens. Thus Mr Selden, who hath thereby made it manifest that there was a distinction of the Jewish church and Jewish state, because those proselytes, being embodied into the Jewish church as church members, and having a right to communicate in the holy ordinances among the rest of the people of God, yet were not properly members of the Jewish state, nor admitted to civil privileges; whence it is also that the names of Jews and proselytes were used distinctly, Acts ii. 10.

CHAPTER III.

THAT THE JEWS HAD AN ECCLESIASTICAL
SANHEDRIM AND GOVERNMENT DISTINCT
FROM THE CIVIL.

I come to the second point, that there was an ecclesiastical government and an ecclesiastical sanhedrim among the Jews. This distinction of the two sanhedrims, the civil and the ecclesiastical, is maintained by Zepperus, *de polit. eccles.* lib. 3, cap. 7; Junius, in Deut. xvii.; Piscator, *ibid.*; Wolfphius, in 2 Kings xxiii.; Gerhard Harm. *de pass.* cap. 8; Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, lib. 5, cap. 1; Bucerus *de gubern. eccl.*, p. 61, 62; Walæus, tom. 2, p. 9; Pelargus, in Deut. xvii.; Sopingius *ad bonam fidem Sibrandi*, p. 261, *et seq.*; the Dutch Annotations on Deut. xvii. and 2 Chron. xix.; Bertramus *de polit. Jud.* cap. 11; Apollonii *jus Majest.*, part 1, p. 374; Strigelius, in 2 Paralip. cap. 19; the professors of Groningen (*vide Judicium facult. Theol. academice Groningane, apud Cabeljav. def. potest. Eccl.*, p. 54). I remember Raynolds, in the conference with Hart, is of the same opinion; also Mr Paget, in his Defence of Church Government, p. 41, besides divers others. I shall only add the

¹ De Jure natur. et Gentium, lib. 2. cap. 4. Proselytus Justitiæ utcumque novato patriæ nomine Judæus diceretur, non tam quidem civis Judæicus simpliciter censendus esset quam peregrinus semper, cui jura quamplurima inter cives. See the like, lib. 5, c. 20.

* Buxtorf. *Lexic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.* p. 408. Proselyti justitiæ sunt qui non rerum externarum, sed solius religionis causa, et gloriæ Dei studio, religionem Judæicam amplectuntur, et totam legem Moysi dicto modo recipiunt. Hi nati Judæis habentur æquales: understand in an ecclesiastical, not in a civil capacity. In which sense also Matthias Martinus, in *lexic. philol.*, p. 2922, saith that these proselytes, cum ad sacrorum Judæicorum communionem admittebantur, etc., veri Judæi censebantur; and that to be made a proselyte and to be made a Jew, are used promiscuously in the rabbinical writings. So also Drusus præf. l. 4, in lo. 12, 20.

testimony of Constantinus L'Empereur, a man singularly well acquainted with the Jewish antiquities, who hath expressed himself concerning this point both in his Annotations upon Bertram, p. 389, and *Annot. in Cod. Middoth.* p. 187, 188. The latter of these two passages is in the note,¹ expressing not only his opinion, but the ground of it. And it is no obscure footstep of the ecclesiastical sanhedrim,² which is cited out of Elias by Dr Buxtorff, in his *Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabbin.* p. 1514.

The first institution of an ecclesiastical sanhedrim appeareth to me to be held forth in Exod. xxiv. 1, where God saith to Moses, "Come up unto the Lord, thou and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel." It is a controversy among interpreters who those seventy elders were. Tostatus maketh it clear³ that they were not the seventy elders chosen for the government of the commonwealth, Num. xi.; nor yet the judges chosen by the advice of Jethro, Exod. xviii.; nor yet any other judges who had before-time judged the people. These three negatives Willet upon

the place holdeth with Tostatus. Not the first, for this was done at Mount Sinai, shortly after their coming out of Egypt. But on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year, they took their journey from Sinai to the wilderness of Paran, Num. x. 11, 12, and there pitched at Hibroth-hataavath, Num. xxxiii. 16, where the seventy elders were chosen, to relieve Moses of the burden of government. So that this election of seventy, Exod. xxiv., was before that election of seventy, Num. xi. Not the second, for this election of seventy, Exod. xxiv., was before that election of judges by Jethro's advice, Exod. xviii., Jethro himself not having come to Moses till the end of the first year, or the beginning of the second year, after the coming out of Egypt, and not before the giving of the law; which Tostatus proves by this argument: the law was given the third day after they came to Sinai, but it was impossible that Jethro could in the space of three days hear that Moses and the people of Israel were in the wilderness of Sinai, and come there unto them,—that Moses should go forth and meet him, and receive him, and entertain him,—that Jethro should observe the manner of Moses' government, in litigious government from morning till evening, and give counsel to rectify it,—that Moses should take course to help it. How could all this be done in those three days, which were also appointed for sanctifying the people against the receiving of the law? Therefore he concludeth that the story of Jethro, Exod. xviii., is an anticipation.¹ Lastly, he saith, the seventy elders mentioned Exod. xxiv., could not be judges who did judge the people before Jethro came, because Jethro did observe the whole burden of government did lie upon Moses alone, and there were no other judges.

Now it is to be observed that the seventy elders chosen and called, Exod. xxiv., were also invested with authority in judging controversies,² wherein Aaron or Hur were to preside, verse 14. They are joined with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and are called up as a representative of the whole church, when God was making a covenant with his

¹ Ceterum supremus Senatus cujus in hoc conclavi sedes, duplex fuisse videtur, pro rerum ecclesiasticarum et politicarum diversitate: quoniam Deut. xvii. 12, ubi de supremis senatoribus agitur, manifeste sacerdos a Judice distinguitur; ad sacerdotem aut ad Judicem, i. e., sacerdotes aut Judices, ut com. 9, indicio est, ubi pro sacerdote ponuntur sacerdotes. Adde Jehoshaphat, cum Judicia Hierosolymis restauraret, duos ordines constituisse, sacerdotes et capita familiarum, ad judicium Dei et ad litem: similiter duos praesides com. 11, unum ad omnes causas Dei; alterum scilicet ducem Judaeorum ad omne negotium regis. Quibus succedunt verba, Jer. xix. 1, quibus seniores populi ab senioribus sacerdotum distinguntur. Quocirca in N. T. sublato (ut videtur) per Herodem, uno synedrio, sc. politico; alteram apostolorum seculo superfluit, in quo politici etiam manebant reliquae: nam ab ecclesiasticis seniores populi distinguntur, Matt. xxvi. 3, 59; xxvii. 1. Ni magis placeat, quod ab aliis observatum fuit, Herodem, sublati 70. Senioribus e familia Davidica, alios inferiores substituisse: quod judiciorum quibusdam exemplis firmari videtur. Adeo ut illis temporibus duplex quoque Synedrium fuerit, quamvis utriusque senatores subinde convenirent: quo forte referendum est *ἐν συνεδρίῳ Ἰσραὴλ*, quod Matt. xxvi. 59; Mark xiv. 55: xv. 1; Acts xxii. 30, occurrit. (Quin etiam c. 1, cod. Jomae, eadem distinctio his verbis confirmatur ubi de praeparatione sacerdotis magni ad diem expiationis agitur) tradunt eum seniores domus Judicii, senioribus sacerdotil.

² Propter meritum assessorum Synedrii, qui occupati sunt in lege, et illuminant Judicium. Et descendit in Babyloniam ad concilium sapientum. Id non fuit Synedrium Judicum et magistratus summi, sed collegium doctorum.

³ In Exod. xxiv. Quest. 3.

¹ In Exod. xviii. Quest. 2.

² Menochius in Exod. xxiv. 14, redite ad populum, ut illum regatis, et in officio continetis. Pelargus upon the place saith that Moses would not leave the church without rulers to avoid the danger of popular anarchy.

people. It is after the judicial laws, Exod. xxi., xxii., xxiii., and that xxiv. chapter is a transition to the ceremonial laws concerning the worship of God and structure of the tabernacle, which are to follow. Neither had the seventy elders, of which now I speak, any share of the supreme civil government, to judge hard civil causes, and to receive appeals concerning those things from the inferior judges; for all this did still lie upon Moses alone, Num. xi. 14. Furthermore they saw the glory of the Lord, and were admitted to a sacred banquet, and to eat of the sacrifices in his presence, Exod. xxiv. 5, 10, 11, and were thereby confirmed in their calling. All which laid together may seem to amount to no less than a solemn interesting and investing of them into an ecclesiastical authority.

The next proof for the ecclesiastical sanhedrim shall be taken from Deut. xvii. 8—12, where observe, 1. It is agreed upon, both by Jewish and Christian expositors, that this place holds forth a supreme civil court of judges; and the authority of the civil sanhedrim is mainly grounded on this very text. Now if this text holds forth a superior civil jurisdiction, as is universally acknowledged, it holds forth also a superior ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from the civil; for the text carrieth the authority and sentence of the priests as high as the authority and sentence of the judges, and that in a disjunctive way, as two powers, not one, and each of them binding respectively and in its proper sphere. 2. The Hebrew doctors tell us of three kinds of causes, which, being found difficult, were transmitted from the inferior courts to those at Jerusalem: (1.) Capital causes; (2.) Mulcts; (3.) Leprosy, and the judgment of clean or unclean. Now this third belonged to the cognisance and judgment of the priests; yea, the text itself holdeth forth two sorts of causes and controversies: some forensical, between blood and blood; some ceremonial, *between stroke and stroke*. Not only Jerome, but the Chaldee and Greek readeth, *between leprosy and leprosy*. Grotius noteth the Hebrew word is used for leprosy many times in one chapter, Lev. xiii. *Plea and plea* seemeth common to both, there being difference of judgment concerning the one and the other. 3. Here are two judicatories distinguished by the disjunctive *or*, verse 12, which we have both in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and in our English translation; so that, verse 9,

and is put for *or*, as Grotius noteth, expounding that verse by verse 12; and as the priests and Levites are put in the plural, verse 9, the like must be understood of the judge, whereby we must understand judges; and so the Chaldee readeth, verse 9, even as, saith Ainsworth, many captains are in the Hebrew called *an head*, 1 Chron. iv. 42. And so you have there references of difficult cases from the inferior courts to the priests, or to the judges at Jerusalem. 4. There is also some intimation of a two-fold sentence; one concerning the meaning of the law: "according to the sentence of the law, which they shall teach thee," verse 11; and this belonged to the priests, Mal. ii. 7, "for the priest's (it is not said the judge's) lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth." Another concerning matter of fact: "and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee thou shalt do." Grotius upon the place acknowledgeth a judgment of the priests distinct from that of the judges, and he addeth a simile from the Roman synod, consisting of seventy bishops, which was consulted in weighty controversies. But he is of opinion that the priests and Levites did only endeavour to satisfy and reconcile the dissenting parties, which if they did, well; if not, that then they referred the reasons of both parties to the sanhedrim, who gave forth their decree upon the whole matter. The first part of that which he saith helpeth me; but this last hath no ground in the text, but is manifestly inconsistent therewith; verse 12, "The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, or unto the judge, even that man shall die;" which proves that the judgment of both was supreme *in suo genere*,¹ that is, if it was a controversy ceremonial between leprosy and leprosy, or between clean and unclean, Lev. x. 9—11; Ezek. xxii. 26; or dogmatical and doctrinal, concerning the sense of the law, and answering *de jure*, when the sense of the law was controverted by the judges of the cities, then he that would not stand to the ecclesiastical sanhedrim, whereof the high priest was president, was to die the death. But if the cause was criminal, as between blood and blood, where-

¹ Erastus Confirm thes. lib. 4, cap. 3, Moses aperte ait, interficiendum esse illum, qui vel sacerdotis sententiæ vel Judicis assentire nollit. Non ergo liberum facit ab illo ad hunc provocare.

in the nature or proof of the fact could not be agreed upon by the judges of the cities, then he that would not submit to the decree of the civil sanhedrim at Jerusalem should die the death. And thus the English divines, in their late annotations, give the sense according to the disjunction, ver. 12. While the priest bringeth warrant from God for the sentence which he passeth in the cause of man, Ezek. xlv. 23, 24, he that contumaciously disobeyeth him, disobeyeth God, Luke x. 16; Matt. x. 14. The cause is alike, if the just sentence of a competent judge be condemned in secular affairs.

In the third place, we read that David did thus divide the Levites (at that time eight-and-thirty thousand), four-and-twenty thousand of them were to set forward the work of the house of the Lord; four thousand were porters, and four thousand praised the Lord with instruments, and six thousand of them were made, some *schoterim* officers, and some *schophitim* judges, 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. Some understand by *schoterim*, rulers, or those who were over the charge. To speak properly, *schophitim* were those that gave sentence, *schoterim*, those that looked to the execution of the sentence, and to the keeping of the law, like the *νομοφύλακες* among the Grecians; for *νομοφύλας* was one thing, *νομοφυλακία* another: so 1 Chron. xxvi. 29, "Chenaniah and his sons were for the outward business over Israel, for officers (or rulers, or over the charge), and judges;" that is, they were not tied to attendance and service in the temple, as the porters and singers, and those that did service about the sacrifices, lights, washings, and such like things in the temple; but they were to judge and give sentence concerning the law, and the meaning thereof,¹ when any such controversy should be brought before them from any of the cities in the land. They were not appointed to be officers and judges over the rest of the Levites, to keep them in order, for which course was taken in another way, but to be rulers and judges over Israel, saith the text, in "the outward business" which came from without to Jerusalem, in judging

of which, peradventure, they were to attend by course, or as they were called. If any say that all those Levites who were judges did not sit in judgment at Jerusalem, but some of them in several cities of the land, that there might be the easier access to them; I can easily grant it, and I verily believe it was so, and it maketh the more for a church government in particular cities, which was subordinate to the ecclesiastical sanhedrim at Jerusalem. However the Levites had a ruling power, and, Deut. xxxi. 28, those who are *schoterim* in the original the Septuagints call *γραμματουσαγωγῆς*, Jerome, *doctors*, because their teachers were officers over the charge, and had a share in government. Now no man can imagine that there were no other officers over the charge not judges in Israel except the Levites only; for it followeth in that same story, 1 Chron. xxviii. 1, "And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies that ministered unto the king by course, and the captains over the thousands," &c. Nor yet will any man say that the Levites were officers over the charge, and judges of the same kind, in the same manner, or for the same ends, with the civil rulers or judges, or the military commanders; or that there was no distinction between the ruling power of the princes and the ruling power of the Levites. Where, then, shall the difference lie, if not in this,—that there was an ecclesiastical government besides the civil and military? I grant those Levites did rule and judge not only in all the business of the Lord, but also in the service of the king, 1 Chron. xxvi. 30, 32. But the reason was, because the Jews had no other civil law but God's own law, which the priests and Levites were to expound; so that it was proper for that time, and there is not the like reason that the ministers of Jesus Christ in the New Testament should judge or rule in civil affairs; nay, it were contrary to the rule of Christ and his apostles for us to do so, yet the Levites' judging and governing in all the business of the Lord, is a pattern left for the entrusting of church officers in the New Testament with a power of church government: there being no such reason for it, as to make it peculiar to the Old Testament, and not common to the New.

The fourth scripture which proves an ecclesiastical government and sanhedrim, is

¹ Menochius in 1 Paral. xxiii. 4, idem sunt præpositi et Judges, quorum munus erat Israelitarum causas quæ juxta legem finiebantur, judicare, quod patet ex 2 Paral. xix. 8, ubi habemus constituit Jehoshaphat in Jerusalem levitas et sacerdotes et principes familiarum ex Israel, ut judicium et causam domini judicarent.

2 Chron. xix. 8, 10, 11, where Jehoshaphat restoreth the same church government which was first instituted by the hand of Moses, and afterward ordered and settled by David. "Moreover (saith the text) in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites, and of the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies," &c. It is not controverted whether there was a civil sanhedrim at Jerusalem, but that which is to be proved from the place is an ecclesiastical court, which I prove thus: Where there is a court made up of ecclesiastical members, judging spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, for a spiritual and ecclesiastical end, moderated by an ecclesiastical president, having power ultimately and authoritatively to determine causes and controversies brought before them by appeal or reference from inferior courts, and whose sentence is put into execution by ecclesiastical officers, there it must needs be granted that there was a supreme ecclesiastical court, with power of government. But such a court we find at Jerusalem in Jehoshaphat's time; therefore, the proposition, I suppose, no man will deny; for a court so constituted, so qualified, and so authorised, is the very thing now in debate. And he that will grant us the thing which is in the assumption, shall have leave to call it by another name if he please. The assumption I prove by the parts.

1. Here are Levites and priests in this court, as members thereof, with power of decisive suffrage, and with them such of the chief of the fathers of Israel as were joined in the government of that church; whence the reverend and learned Assembly of Divines, and many Protestant writers before them, have drawn an argument for ruling elders. And this is one of the scriptures alleged by our divines against Bellarmine, to prove that others beside those who are commonly, but corruptly, called the clergy, ought to have a decisive voice in synods.

2. Spiritual and ecclesiastical causes were here judged: which are called by the name

of "the judgment of the Lord," ver. 8, and "the matters of the Lord," distinguished from "the king's matters," ver. 11; so ver. 10, beside controversies "between blood and blood," that is, concerning consanguinity and the interpreting of the laws concerning forbidden degrees in marriage (it being observed by interpreters that all the lawful or unlawful degrees are not particularly expressed, but some only, and the rest were to be judged of by parity of reason, and so it might fall within the cognisance of the ecclesiastical sanhedrim), though it may be also expounded otherwise, "between blood and blood," that is, whether the murder was wilful or casual (which was matter of fact), the cognisance whereof belonged to the civil judge; it is further added, "between law and commandment, statutes and judgments, noting seeming contradictions between one law and another (such as Manasseh Ben Israel hath spoken of in his Conciliator), or when the sense and meaning of the law is controverted (which is not matter of fact, but of right), wherein special use was of the priest, whose lips should preserve knowledge, and the law was to be sought at his mouth, Mal. ii. 7, and that not only ministerially and doctrinally, but judicially, and in the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, such controversies concerning the law of God were brought before them, as in 2 Chron. xix., the place now in hand: "Ye shall even warn them," &c., which, being spoken to the court, must be meant of a synedrical decree, determining those questions and controversies concerning the law which should come before them. As for that distinction in the text of "the Lord's matters and the king's matters," Erastus, p. 274, saith, that by the Lord's matters is meant any cause expressed in the law which was to be judged, whereby he takes away the distinction which the text makes; for in his sense the king's matters were the Lord's matters; which himself (it seems) perceiving, he immediately yieldeth our interpretation, that by the Lord's matters, are meant things pertaining to the worship of God, and by the king's matters, civil things. *Si per illas libet res ad cultum Dei spectantes, per hæc res civiles accipere, non pugnabo.* "If you please (saith he) by those to understand things pertaining to the worship of God, by these, civil things, I will not be against it."

3. It was for a spiritual and ecclesiastical

¹ Salmasius apparat. ad libros de Primatu, p. 302. Quæ ad res sacras ac divinas pertinebant, de his præcipue judicium sacerdotum fuit, de aliis civilibus et regalibus, præsidet si rege constituti, ut patet ex lib. 2 Chron. xix. Tirinus in 2 Chron. xix. 11, Ubi nota distinctionem forfori seu magistratus ecclesiastici et civilis, contra Anglo-Calvinistas et nostros Arminianos.

end,—“Ye shall even warn them that they trespass not against the Lord.” It is not said, *against one another*, but, *against the Lord*, for two reasons: 1. Because mention had been made of the commandments, statutes and judgments after the general word *law*, ver. 10, by which names interpreters used to understand (both in this and many other places of Scripture) the laws moral, ceremonial and judicial. Now the case to be judged might be part of the ceremonial law, having reference to God and his ordinances, and not part of the judicial law, or any injury done by a man to his neighbour; and, in reference to the moral law, it might be a trespass against the first table, not against the second. 2. Even in the case of a personal or civil injury, or whatsoever the controversy was that was brought before them, they were to warn the judges in the cities not to trespass against the Lord, by mistaking or misunderstanding the law, or by righting men's wrongs so as to wrong divine right; and for that end they were to determine the *jus*, and the intendment of the law, when it was controverted.

4. Whatsoever cause of their brethren that dwelt in the cities should come unto them, ver. 10 (whether it should come by appeal, or by reference and arbitration), this court at Jerusalem was to give out an ultimate and authoritative determination of it; so that what was brought from inferior courts to them, was brought no higher to any other court.

5. This court had an ecclesiastical prolocutor or moderator, ver. 11, “Amariah the chief priest is over you in all matters of the Lord;” whereas Zebadiah, the ruler of the house of Judah, was speaker in the civil sanhedrim for all the king's matters. Amariah and Zebadiah were not only with the sanhedrim as members, or as counsellors, but *over* them as presidents. *Eis summos magistratus (Æexerus) ex amicorum numera præposuit, Amasiam sacerdotem, et ex Judæ tribu Zebadiam*, saith Josephus, *Antiq.* l. 9, cap. 1. Erastus confesseth, p. 273, that both of them were presidents set over the sanhedrim, and, p. 275, *Si sacerdotem in Dei nomine, Zebadiam autem regis præsedisse affirmetur, non refragabor*. He confesseth also that the one was more especially to take care of the Lord's matters, the other of the king's matters. What then? He saith they were

presidents both of them to the whole sanhedrim, not the one to one number and the other to another. Yet in this he yieldeth also, p. 273, *Quanquam non peccet forte, qui senatores hos per officia distributos dicat, ut alii magis hæc, alii magis illa negotia tractarint*. Whosoever denieth that that place proveth two distinct courts, he may be convinced from this one reason, and I shall say to him in the words of Bidad, Job viii. 8, “Enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers;” and in the prophet's words, Jer. ii. 10, “Pass over the isles of Chittim, and see, and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing.” Where was it ever heard of that a priest was president of a court, and that in sacred things and causes; that a civil magistrate was president of a court, and that in civil causes, and yet not two courts, but one court? If both courts had materially consisted of the same members, of the same priests, and of the same fathers of Israel (which yet cannot be proved), this very diversification of the presidents, and of the subject-matter (if there were no more), will prove two courts formally distinct; even as now among ourselves, the same men may be members of two, or three, or four, or more courts, but the distinction of presidents, and of the subject-matter, maketh the court distinct.

6. Here were also ecclesiastical officers, ver. 11, “Also the Levites shall be officers before you.” As before, 1 Chron. xxiii. 26, some of the Levites were *schophtim*, judges to give sentence, others *schoterim*, officers to see that sentence put in execution, and to cause those that were refractory to obey it (so do the Hebrews distinguish these two words), so it was here also, some of the Levites were appointed to judge, some to do the part of officers in point of execution of ecclesiastical censures; for they could not, nor might not, compel men by the civil sword. The same name is given to military officers who prosecute the commands of authority, Josh. i. 10. And so much of this fourth.

The fifth place which I take to hold forth that distinction of courts and jurisdictions, is Jer. xxvi., where first the prophet is taken into the court of the priests and prophets, for which the Chaldee readeth *scribes*, whose office it was to be doctors of the law, and to resolve the difficult cases; and in that

capacity they were members of ecclesiastical councils, Matt. ii. 4. To the same sense, saith Diodati, that the prophets here spoken of were such as were learned in the law, and had been bred in the schools and colleges of the chief prophets, and, in Jeremiah's time, were present at ecclesiastical judgments and assemblies, 2 Kings xxiii. 2, as in Christ's time the scribes and doctors of the law used to be, who were somewhat like these prophets. Menochius and others expound it as the Chaldee doth. In this court Jeremiah was examined and judged as a false prophet, ver. 8, 9; yet, though they had judged him worthy to die, the court of the princes acquitteth him as a prophet of the Lord, who had spoken to them in the name of the Lord, ver. 10, 11, 16. That Jeremiah's cause was twice judged in two distinct courts, and two different sentences upon it, hath been asserted by divers of the Erastian party, to prove appeals from ecclesiastical to civil courts; to which argument I have elsewhere spoken. Only I take here what they grant,—that there were two courts, and two sentences given,—and so it was. The sentence of the court of the priests (as themselves explain it, ver. 11), was this,—“This man is worthy to die,” or, as the Hebrew hath it, “The judgment of death is for this man;” the Chaldee thus,—“A sin of the judgment of death is upon this man;” for, say they, he hath prophesied so and so; and he that speaketh against this city, and against this holy place, is worthy to die. But the sentence of the court of the princes is, ver. 16, “This man is not worthy to die, for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God.” They do not say to the priests, Who did put any jurisdiction, or authority to judge, in your hands? but they acquit him, in point of fact, whom the court of the priests had condemned, in point of right; as if they had said to the priests, If Jeremiah were a false prophet you had reason to call for justice upon him, even unto death; but your judgment hath run upon a false supposition in point of fact, which we do not find proved, but know to be false. Wherefore from this place these two things may appear: 1. That the court of the priests had not power of capital punishments; for if they had, certainly Jeremiah had been put to death, as Jerome noteth. 2. Yet they had a power to judge of a false prophet, and judicially to pronounce him to be a false prophet, and such a one as ought to be pun-

ished so and so, according to the law. That they had such a power appeareth, (1.) from ver. 8, 9, where they do not take him to lead him to the court of the princes, and there to accuse him; but they take him, so as to give forth their own sentence against him, as against a false prophet,—“Thou shalt surely die,” say they, “why hast thou prophesied in the name of the Lord?” &c. Why didst thou dare to pretend the name of God, as if God had sent thee to preach against the temple and holy city? (2.) Jeremiah doth not in all his differences allege that the priests and scribes had not power to judge of a false prophet, or to give sentence against one in such a case; nor yet did the princes object this, as hath been said; yet this had been as strong an exception as could have been made against the priests, if they had assumed a power and authority of judgment which was without their sphere, and did not at all belong unto them. (3.) If you compare the sentence of the priests with the sentence of the princes, the former is *in suo genere*, no less judicial, authoritative, and peremptory than the latter; only that was affirmative, this was negative. Finally, let us take for a conclusion of this argument that which Mr Prynne himself, in his fourth part of “The Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms,” p. 144, tells us, out of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, with an approbatory and encomiastic close of his citation: “Jeremiah, being sent by God to denounce the overthrow of the city Jerusalem, is, for this, first condemned (citing in the margin Jer. xxvi.) by the priests and prophets, that is, BY THE ECCLESIASTICAL JUDGMENT OR SENATE, after this, by all the people, that is, by the ordinary judges of the city, to wit, by the captains of thousands and hundreds; at last, by the princes of Judah, that is, by seventy-one men sitting in the new porch of the temple, his cause being made known, he is acquitted.”

The sixth place which intimateth an ecclesiastical sanhedrim, is Jer. xviii. 18, where the adversaries of Jeremiah say among themselves, “Come and let us devise devices against Jeremiah, for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. Come, and let us smite him with the tongue.” The force of their argument (as not only our interpreters, but Maldonat also, and Sanctius, following Aquinas and Lyra, tell

us) stands in this, those who are of greatest authority in the church, the priests, prophets, and elders, with whom are the oracles of truth, do contradict Jeremiah, therefore he is a false prophet. But what was the ground of this consequence? Surely the ground was that which Bullinger and the late English annotations do observe, namely, the Popish error was also their error,—the church cannot err. But let us yet follow the argument to the bottom. How came they to think the church cannot err? or what was that church which they thought infallible? No doubt they had respect to the law of the sanhedrim, Deut. xvii. 10—12, “And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place (which the Lord shall choose) shall show thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee: according to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall show thee, to the right hand, or to the left; and the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest (that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God) or unto the judge, even that man shall die.” From this scripture misapplied they drew an argument against Jeremiah, wherein their meaning could not be this, that the doctrine of every individual priest, or of every individual scribe, is infallible (for as the law now cited did speak of the sanhedrim, not of individual priests, so neither the Jews of old, nor the Papists after them, have drawn the conceited infallibility so low as to every particular priest); but they mean collectively, and point at an assembly or council of priests, wise men, and prophets, which, as they apprehended, could not err, and whose determination they preferred to the word of the Lord by Jeremiah; “for the law (that is, saith Menochius, the interpretation of the law) cannot perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise.” Now this was an ecclesiastical, not a civil sanhedrim, which may appear thus: 1. They do not make mention of the judge mentioned Deut. xvii. (where the priest and the judge are distinguished), only they mention *the priest, the prophet* (for which the Chaldee hath *scribe*: which is all one, as to the present argument; for we find both prophets and scribes in ecclesiastical assemblies, as was said before), and *the wise*. By the wise,

are meant those that were chief or did excel among the scribes or doctors of the law. So Grotius, annot. in Matt. xxiii. 34, and it may be collected from Jer. viii. 8, 9. This is certain, that these wise men were church-officers; for as they are distinguished from the judges, Isa. iii. 2, so Jesus Christ, speaking of apostles and other ministers of the gospel whom he was to send forth, expresseth himself by way of allusion to the ecclesiastical ministers of the Jews, Matt. xxiii. 34, “Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes,” which Luke xi. 49, hath thus, “I will send them prophets and apostles.” 2. The civil sanhedrim at this time did (so far as we can find) contradict Jeremiah; but when his cause came afterward before them, Jer. xxvi., they show much favour and friendship to him. 3. That which is added, “Come and let us smite him with the tongue,” may be three ways read, and every way it suiteth to the ecclesiastical sanhedrim (whether themselves be the speakers in the text, or whether the people be the speakers of it, as of that which they would desire and move the sanhedrim to do in the name of them all), either thus, “Let us smite him for the tongue,” that is, for an ecclesiastical cause, for false doctrine; or thus, “Let us smite him in the tongue” (so the Septuagint, and Arias Montanus), that is, let us smite him with an ecclesiastical censure, and silence him, and discharge him to preach any more to the people; or thus, “Let us smite him with the tongue,” that is, with an ecclesiastical sentence or declaration; smite him not with the sword (which belonged only to the civil magistrate) but with the tongue, by declaring him to be a false prophet, and by determining the case *de jure*, what ought to be done with him according to the law.

Seventhly, Consider another place, Ezek. vii. 26, “Then shall they seek a vision of the prophet: but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.” Here again, these are to be looked upon collectively and conjunctly (not distributively and severally), and this I prove from the text itself, not only because the counsel here sought for was not to be given by one ancient, but by *the ancients* (yes, it was a principal part of the curse or judgment that counsel could not be had from an assembly of ancients or elders, suppose it might be had from some individual elder here or

there), but also because the antithesis in the text intimateth a disappointment in that thing which was sought after. They shall seek "a vision from the prophet," or (as the Chaldee hath it) *discipline from the scribe*. This they shall not find, and why? because the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients. It was therefore consistorial or synedrical counsel, judgment, or discipline, which should be sought, but should not be found. So that though a prophet of the Lord shall peradventure be found who can reveal the counsel of the Lord in a time of general defection, like Micaiah contradicting the four hundred prophets, yet an ecclesiastical counsel of prophets, scribes, priests, and elders, sometime Israel's glory, shall turn to be Israel's shame, and that assembly which did sometime *respondere de jure*, and pronounce righteous judgment, and give light in difficult cases, shall do so no more: the very light of Israel shall be darkness; the law and council shall perish from them; that is, they shall not find council, nor the understanding of the law, saith Sanctius. Polanus upon the place draweth an argument against the infallibility of councils, because the law and council did perish not only (saith he) from the priests here and there in the cities, but also from the high priest and the other priests and elders who were together at Jerusalem. If this text be rightly applied by him (and so it is by other Protestant writers) to prove against Papists that councils may err, then here was an ecclesiastical council.

Eighthly, Even without Jerusalem and Judah there was a senate, or assembly of elders, which did assist the prophets in overseeing the manners of the people, censuring sin, and deliberating of the common affairs of the church. This Bertramus (*de polit. Jud.* c. 16) collecteth from 2 Kings vi. 32, "But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him." I know some think that those elders were the magistrates of Samaria; but this I cannot admit, for two reasons: 1. Because Josephus (*Antiq.* lib. 9, cap. 2) calls them Elisha's disciples; and from him Hugo Cardinalis, Carthusianus, and others, do so expound the text. They are called Elisha's disciples as the apostles were Christ's disciples, by way of excellency and eminency: all the disciples or sons of the prophets were not properly elders, but those only who were assumed into the assembly of elders, or called to have a share in the managing of the com-

mon affairs of the church. 2. Cajetan upon the place gives this reason from the text itself, to prove that these elders were spiritual men (as he speaketh), because Elisha asketh them, "See ye how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away my head?" What expectation could there be that they did see a thing then secret and unheard of, unless they had been men familiar with God? Now these elders were sitting close with Elisha in his house. It was not a public or church assembly for worship, but for council, deliberation, and resolution, in some case of difficulty and public concernment. So Tostatus and Sanctius on the place. A parallel place there is, Ezek. viii. 1, "I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me." Whether those elders came to know what God had revealed to the prophet concerning the state of Judah and Jerusalem, as Lavater upon the place supposeth, or for deliberation about some other thing, it is nothing like a civil court, but very like an ecclesiastical senate. Now if such there was out of Jerusalem, how much more in Jerusalem, where, as there came greater store of ecclesiastical causes and controversies concerning the sense of the law to be judged, so there was greater store of ecclesiastical persons fit for government! Whatsoever of this kind we find elsewhere, was but a transumpt, the archetype was in Jerusalem.

Ninthly, That place, Zech. vii. 1—3, helpeth me much. The Jews sent commissioners unto the temple, there to speak unto the priests which were in the house of the Lord of hosts, and to the prophets (the Chaldee hath, *and to the scribes*), saying, "Should I weep in the first month," &c. Here is an ecclesiastical assembly which had authority to determine controversies concerning the worship of God. Grotius upon the place distinguisheth these priests and prophets from the civil sanhedrim, yet he saith they were to be consulted with in controverted cases, according to the law, Deut. xvii. 9; if so, then their sentence was authoritative and binding so far, that the man who did presumptuously disobey them was to die the death, Deut. xvii. 12.

Tenthly, Let it be considered what is that *moshav zekenim consessus* or *cathedra seniorum*, Psal. cvii. 32 (for though every argument be not an infallible demonstration, yet *cuncta juvant*), "Let them exalt him also in the congregation (or church) of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the

elders. Compare this text with Psal. cxv. 9—11, as likewise with Psal. cxviii. 2—4. In all the three texts there are three sorts of persons distinguished, and more especially called upon to glorify God. "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness," saith the text in hand, Psal. cvii. 31; for that you have in the other two places, *ye that fear the Lord, &c.*; for the congregation of the people, you have in the other two places, *Israel, and the house of Israel*; for the assembly of the elders, you have in the other texts, *the house of Aaron*. I will not here build anything upon the observation of Hugo Cardinalis on Psal. cvii. 32, that the congregation of the princes is not mentioned in this business, because "not many mighty, not many noble," &c.; one thing I am sure of, there were elders in Israel clearly distinct both from the princes, judges, and civil magistrates, Josh. xxiii. 2; 2 Kings x. 1; Ezra x. 14; Acts iv. 5, and elsewhere; and the parallel texts aforsaid do couple together these elders and the house of Aaron as pastors and ruling elders now are, and as the priests and elders are found conjoined elsewhere in the Old Testament, Ex. xxiv. 1; Deut. xxvii. 1, with ver. 9; Ezek. vii. 26; Jer. xix. 1; so Matt. xxvi. 59. The work also of giving thanks for mercies and deliverances obtained by the afflicted, and such as have been in distress (the purpose which the Psalmist hath in hand, extended also to the deliverances of particular persons), is more especially commended to those who are assembled in an ecclesiastical capacity; even as now among ourselves, the civil courts of justice, or magistrates and rulers, or judges assembled by themselves in a politic capacity, use not to be desired to give thanks for the delivery of certain persons from a danger at sea, or the like; but it were very proper and fit to desire thanks to be returned, 1. By those that fear God; for as we should desire the prayers, so likewise the praises of the saints. 2. By the church or congregation of which they that have received the mercy are members. 3. By the eldership, yea (if there be occasion), by a synod of elders, who, as they ought to watch over the city of God, and to stand upon their watchtower for observing approaching dangers, so they ought to take special notice of exemplary mercies bestowed upon the afflicted members of the church, and be an ensample to the flock, in giving thanks, as well as in other holy duties.

The eleventh place which seemeth to hold forth unto us an ecclesiastical sanhedrim, is Ezek. xiii. 9, where it is said of the prophets that did see vanity, and divine lies, "They shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the writing of the house of Israel, neither shall they enter into the land of Israel; where (as Diodati and Grotius observe) the speech riseth by degrees: 1. They shall not any more be admitted into the assembly or council to have any voice there, as prophets in those days had, saith Diodati, citing Jer. xxvi. 7. 2. They shall not so much as come into the computation or numbering of the people, as members of the church of Israel. 3. Nay, they shall not be permitted to dwell in the Holy Land, or to return thither from their captivity; they shall not have so much favour as strangers had, who might come into the holy land and sojourn there.

In the first branch, the word translated assembly is *סוד* *sod*, which properly signifieth a secret, and is used for counsel (because counsel ought to be secret), or for the place of council, or assembly of councillors. Pagnin, in his *Thesaurus*, p. 1761, readeth this place with Jerome, *in consilio*, or otherwise, saith he, *in concilio*; Vatablus, *in concilio populi mei non erunt*. The Septuagints read *ἐν κρυψία τοῦ λαοῦ μου*, that is, those prophets shall have no hand in the discipline of my people; the same word they render in other places by *βουλὴ* and *συμβούλιον*, yea, by both these put together, Prov. xx. 19, where for the Hebrew *sod*, the Septuagints have *βουλὰς ἐν συμβούλιον*, he that revealeth the secret councils in the sanhedrim; and it cohereth well with the preceding verse, where they mention *κυβερνήτους* governments. Sometime they expound the word by an episcopal (I mean not prelati- cal) inspection, Job xxix. 4, *Θεὸς ἐπισκοπῆν ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ἔθνους μου*. "God was an overseer of my house;" so that, so far as the Septuagints' authority can weigh, that place, Ezek. xiii. 9, must be understood of the secluding of those prophets from the sanhedrim, not from the civil (in which the prophets were not members), but from the ecclesiastical sanhedrim.

In the twelfth and last place, the New Testament holds out to us an ecclesiastical sanhedrim. Whether the civil sanhedrim was wholly taken away by Herod, and another civil sanhedrim not substituted in the place of that which he took away, but the eccle-

siastical sanhedrim only remaining, as some hold, or whether both did then continue, though not so clearly distinct, as others hold, this we find, that there was an ecclesiastical government in the hands of church-officers; for, 1. There was a council of the priests, and elders, and scribes, Matt. ii. 4; xvi. 21; xxi. 23; xxvi. 57, 59; xxvii. 1, 12; Mark xiv. 43; Luke xxii. 66; Acts iv. 5. The Centurists say that those elders were joined with the priests in the government of the church, with ecclesiastical persons in ecclesiastical affairs, which had been rightly taken for a precedent of our ruling elders.¹ 2. That council is called *synagoga*, Luke xxii. 66; Acts xvii. 5, the presbytery or eldership, the very name which Paul gives to that assembly of church-officers who ordained Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14. Is it credible that the Apostle would transfer the name of a civil court to signify an assembly which was merely ecclesiastical and not civil? The very use of the word in this sense by the Apostle tells us, that, in his age, the word *synagoga* was taken in an ecclesiastical notion only. 3. This council did examine Jesus concerning his disciples, and his doctrine, and received witnesses against him, and pronounced him guilty of blasphemy, Matt. xxvii. 57; Mark xiv. 53, 55; Job xviii. 10; hence Protestant writers draw an argument against Papists, to overthrow their infallibility of councils, unto which argument Bellarmine deviseth four answers, but it came not once into his thoughts to reply that this council was civil, not ecclesiastical, which had been his best answer if any probability for it. It hath been supposed, both by Protestant and Popish writers, that it was an ecclesiastical council such as the controversy is about, otherwise our argument had been as impertinent as their answer was insufficient. 4. Our opposites have no evasion here, but that which Bilson, Saravia, and others of the prelatical party did answer in opposition to ruling elders, namely, that the Jewish elders were judges or magistrates; but the reply which served them will serve now: the elders are plainly distinguished from judges, rulers and princes, Josh. viii. 33; xxiii. 2; Deut. v. 23; Judg. viii. 14;

2 Kings x. 1, 5; Ezra x. 14; Acts iv. 5; Tostatus on Deut. xxi. 2; xxii. 15, 16, observeth the same distinction of judges and elders; Pelargus on Deut. xxi. 2—4, observeth the like. That which I say concerning the distinction of judges and elders may be confirmed by Halichoth Olam (tract 1, cap. 3); the judges of Soura, M. Houna, and Dr Isaac; the judges of Phoumbedittha, M. Papa the son of Samuel, &c.; the elders of Soura, M. Houna, and M. Hasda; the elders of Phoumbedittha, Ena, and Abimi the son of Rabba. And thus we are taught how to understand these gemaric phrases, of the judges of such a place, and the elders of such a place, that we may not mistake them as if they were one. 5. Some have also drawn a pattern for the constitution of synods from that council, Acts iv. 5, 6, where we find assembled together rulers, priests, elders, scribes, according to which pattern we have in our synods: (1.) The civil magistrate, to preside in the order of proceedings for preventing tumults, injuries, disorders, and to assist and protect the synod; (2.) Pastors of churches; (3.) Doctors from universities, answering to the scribes or doctors of the law; (4.) Ruling elders, who assist in the government of the church. 6. After that Judea was redacted into a province, the Romans having kept in their own hands, not only the power of life and death (John xviii. 31), but all judgment in whatsoever civil or criminal offences falling out among the Jews, meant by "matters of wrong or wicked lewdness," Acts xviii. 14, and having left to the Jews no government, nor any power of judgment, except in things pertaining to their religion only, ver. 15. These six things considered, it is very improbable, if not impossible, that the council of the priests, elders, and scribes, mentioned so often in the New Testament, should be no ecclesiastical court, but a temporal and civil magistracy. The Centurists (*Cent.* 1, lib. 1, cap. 10) reckon that council for an ecclesiastical court distinct from civil magistracy, and they propose these two to be distinctly treated of, *acta coram pontificibus seu magistratu ecclesiastico* (and here they bring in the council of the priests, elders, and scribes), and *actio coram Pilato seu magistratu politico*.

I know Erastus (lib. 3, cap. 2, and lib. 4, cap. 4), though he confess plainly that the Jewish sanhedrim mentioned in the Gospel, and in the Acts of the apostles, had only power of judging causes belonging to re-

¹ Magdeb Gent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 6, Seniores populi videnter fulsae aliquot e populo lecti viri, estate, doctrina, et vite probitate spectati, qui simul cum ecclesiasticis personis, templi, judiciorum et aliarum rerum quæ ad ecclesiæ gubernationem pertinebant, curam habuerunt.

ligion, and that the Romans did leave them no power to judge of civil injuries, yet he holdeth, that in these causes of religion the sanhedrim had power not only of imprisoning and scourging, but even of death itself, and so endeavours to make it a temporal or civil magistracy (which Mr Prynne also doth, *Vindic.* p. 4, 5, yet he speaketh dubiously of their power of capital punishments); but this is confuted by the reasons which I have given, whereunto I further add these few animadversions.

1. The strongest proof which Erastus brings out of Josephus (*Antiq.* lib. 20, cap. 8), which, as he allegeth, puts the thing out of all controversy, is a very weak and insufficient proof. Josephus tells us in the close of that chapter, that after the death of Herod and Archelaus, this was the Jewish government, ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἡ ἀρχαὶς πραιποσίτοις. This he citeth, p. 177, and p. 178, to prove that the sanhedrim in Christ's time was a civil magistracy, having power of the sword. But I may, with a great deal more probability, argue contrariwise from these words. Josephus tells us the constitution and form of the Jewish policy or government was at that time aristocratical, but it was an ecclesiastical aristocracy, the government was in the hands of the chief priests; or thus (if you will), the Jews at that time had a bare name of an aristocracy, they had their ἀρχιερεῖς, optimates, primates or rulers, but it was *titulo tenus*, all power of civil government being taken from them by the Romans, and the government that was, was ecclesiastical. That very chapter gives us a better argument to prove that the Romans did not permit to the Jews capital judgments; for Josephus there records that Ananias the high priest, taking the opportunity after the death of Festus, while Albinus the successor of Festus was but yet on his journey toward Judea, did call a council of judges (καθ' ἑσπερινὴν συνέδριον κειμένων), before whom he presented James the brother of Christ, and some others, who were (as guilty of impiety) condemned to be stoned, which mightily displeased all such as did observe the laws. Albinus at that time coming from Alexandria being informed of the thing, and that it was not lawful for Ananias to do any such thing without the Roman governor, wrote a chiding and threatening letter to Ananias; and further, the thing being secretly signified by some to king Agrippa, who did

also beseech the king to command Ananias to do no such thing again, he having trespassed in this; whereupon Agrippa was so highly offended, that he took away from Ananias the high priest's place, and gave it to Jesus the son of Damneus.

2. Whereas Erastus argueth from the imprisoning, beating, or scourging, yea, taking counsel to kill the apostles, Acts iv. 5, the stoning of Stephen, Acts vii., Paul's letters from the high priest for binding and bringing to Jerusalem the disciples of the Lord, Acts ix. 1, 2, also the imprisoning and condemning to death the saints, Acts xxvi. 10; unto all this I answer out of Josephus,¹ that in that degenerate age the high priests, and such as adhered to them, did use a great deal of violence, whereby they did many things for which they had no just nor lawful power; so that the letters and warrants given out to Saul, and the execution of the same by a cruel and bloody persecuting of the saints, cannot prove the ἰσχυρία, the power and authority which was allowed to the sanhedrim, but only the δουλεία, the present prevalent power of the high priest and his faction in that confusion of affairs, and their extreme malice against the saints, to have been such as made them to do things for which they had no legal power nor warrant; and this one animadversion breaks all the strength of Mr Prynne's argument (*Vindic.* p. 5), that the council of the Jews had power (which no mere ecclesiastical consistory can do) to scourge, imprison, torture, and outlaw offenders, if not to condemn, put to death (where he citeth divers texts, none of which proveth either torturing or outlawing, and the most of which prove not so much as that the council of the Jews at that time had authority to scourge or imprison, as Matt. v. 22; x. 17; Mark xiii. 9; Acts vi. 12—14; xxiv. 20; xxv. 15). The imprisonment of the apostles was not without the authority of the captain of the temple, Acts iv. 1, 3.

¹ *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 20, cap. 6, *Ipsi summi pontifices dissidere ceperunt a sacerdotibus et primatibus Hierosolymitanorum civium, singuleque incedebant stipati manu audacissimorum et seditiosorum hominum, conflictantesque inter se mutuis certabant convitiis et lapidationibus: nec erat qui compesceret, quasi vacanti urbe magistratibus. In tantum autem exarsit summorum pontificum impudentia, ut auderent servos suos in areas mittere, qui auferrent debitas sacerdotibus decimas, aliquotque pauperiores e sacerdotum ordine alimentorum inopia fame deficerent. Tanto plus tum pollebat impotentia seditiosorum quam justitia.*

This captain of the temple is thought by the best interpreters to have been the captain of the garrison which the Romans placed in the castle Antonia, hard by the temple, and that to prevent tumults and uproars when the people came to the temple, especially at the solemn feasts, in great multitudes; but that the captain of the temple was a civil magistrate of the Jews, or one deputed with authority and power from the sanhedrim, will never be proved. When the council thought of slaying the apostles, Acts v. 33, it was in a sudden passion, being "cut to the heart" at that which they heard; but Gamaliel tells them, "Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves," *laurois*, warning them, as interpreters take it, of their own danger from the Romans if they should put any one to death. The putting of Stephen to death was upon pretence of *judicium zeli*, or *jus zelotarum*, as Grotius thinks (*de jure belli ac pacis*, lib. 2, cap. 20, sect. 9); if so, it was an extraordinary act. I am sure it was done most tumultuously, disorderly and furiously, before either himself was heard speak out, or any sentence was given against him, as is manifest, Acts vii. 54, 57, 58.

3. Erastus's gloss upon John xviii. 31, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," meaning, saith he, for making himself a king against Cæsar, the cause for which they did chiefly accuse him to Pilate. So likewise Bishop Bilson (a great follower of Erastus) of the perpetual government of Christ's church, cap. 4; but mark the words, "Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him and judge him according to your law; the Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Pilate durst not have refused to judge a man who made himself a king against Cæsar, nor durst he have put it over upon the Jews to have judged one in that which concerned Cæsar's crown; nay, as soon as the Jews objected,— "If thou let this man go thou art not Cæsar's friend, for whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar,"—Pilate, when he heard that, went in again and sat down on the judgment seat, John xix. 12, 13; therefore when Pilate said to the Jews, Take ye him and judge him according to your law, he spake it of matters of their law. The council of the chief priests, elders and scribes, had given sentence against Christ *de jure* that he was guilty of blasphemy, and thereupon, not having power to put any man to death, they led him to Pilate, Matt. xxvi. 65, 66;

xxvii. 1, 2; Mark xiv. 63, 64; xv. 1; Luke xxii. 71; xxiii. 1; Pilate, unwilling to meddle against Christ, waves the business in the judgment hall: I perceive (would he say) that this man is accused of such things as concern your law and your religion, therefore take him and judge him according to your law. They reply in reference to that which Pilate did drive at, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." If they had meant for causes which concerned Cæsar's crown, it had been not only an impertinent reply, but a yielding to Pilate's intention; for he might have said, I do not mean that ye shall judge him for that which concerneth Cæsar, but for that which concerneth your own law and religion. Therefore certainly the answer which the Jews made to Pilate did reply, that though they had power to judge a man in that which concerned their law and religion, yet they had no power to put any man to death; no, not for that which concerned their law.

4. There are several passages in the story of Paul which show us, that though the Jewish sanhedrim might judge a man in matters of their law, yet they were accusers, not judges, in civil or capital punishments; I mean, when a man was accused as worthy of bonds or of death, though it were for a matter of their law, they had no liberty to judge, but only to accuse. The Jews drew Paul before the judgment seat of Gallio even for a matter of their law. "This fellow (say they to Gallio) persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law," Acts xviii. 13. If they had intended only an ecclesiastical censure, their recourse had been either to the sanhedrim, or, at least, to the synagogue, but because they intended a corporal temporal punishment, which neither the sanhedrim nor the synagogue had power to inflict, therefore they must prosecute Paul before Gallio, whose answer was to this purpose, That if it had been a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, it had been proper for him to have judged it, but that since it was no such thing, he would not meddle in it, knowing also that the Jews had no power to do it by themselves. Again, Acts xxiii. 28, 29, Claudius Lysias writeth to Felix concerning Paul thus: "And when I would have known the cause whereof they accused him, I brought him forth into their council, whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds." That which made

Lysias interpose in the business, and rescue Paul from the hands of the Jews, was the Jews' design to put Paul to death, under colour of judging him according to their law, which was the pretence made by Tertullus, Acts xxiv. 6. Now in that which was to be punished either by death or so much as by bonds, Lysias conceives the Jews to be no competent judges, therefore he brings Paul into the council of the Jews not to be judged by them, but to know what accusation they had against him. For the same reason Paul himself did decline going to Jerusalem to be judged there; no, not of matters concerning the religion and law of the Jews, that accusation being so far driven on as to make him worthy of death. His accusers, saith Festus to king Agrippa, "brought none accusation of such things as I supposed, but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive; and because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem and there be judged of these matters," Acts xxv. 18—20. This Paul had declined, ver. 10, "I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat, said he, where I ought to be judged." And why, but because his accusation was capital, even in that which concerned the law of the Jews, and he knew the Jews at that time had no power of capital judgments? Some have alleged this example of Paul for appeals from presbyteries or synods to the civil magistrate, by which argument themselves grant that the Jewish sanhedrim, then declined by Paul, was an ecclesiastical, not a civil court.

5. Besides all this, Erastus' opinion is strongly confuted by that which Constantinus L'Empereur, *Annot. in Remp. Jud.*, p. 404—407, proving that the Jews, after the thirtieth year of Christ, had no power of punishing with death, for proof hereof citeth a passage of Abodazara, that forty years before the destruction of the temple, the sanhedrim, which had in former times exercised capital judgments, did remove from Jerusalem, *quum viderent se non posse judicia capitalia exercere*, when they perceived that they could not exercise capital judgments, they said, Let us remove out of this place, lest we be guilty: it being said, Deut. xvii. 10, "according to the sentence which they of that place shall shew thee;" whence they collected, that if they were not in that place, they were not obliged to ca-

pital judgments, and so they removed. And if you would know whether, he tells us out of Rosch Hasschana, they removed from Jerusalem to Jabua, thence to Ousa, thence to Schaphrea, &c. He that desires to have further proofs for that which hath been said, may read, *Buxtorf. Lexic. Chald. Talmud. et Rabbin.*, p. 514, 515, he proves that *judicia criminalia*, criminal judgment, did cease, and were taken away from the Jews forty years before the destruction of the second temple. This he saith is plain in *Talmud Hierosol.* in lib. *Sanhedrim*, cap. 7; in *Talmud Babyl.* in *Sanhedrim*, fol. 41, 1; in *Abodazara*, fol. 8, 2; in *Schab.*, fol. 15, 1; in *Juchasin*, fol. 51, 1, *Majemon*, in *Sanhedrim*, cap. 14, sect. 13. He cites also a passage in *Berachos*, fol. 58, 1, concerning one who, for a heinous crime, even for lying with a beast, ought to be adjudged to death; but when one said that he ought to die, it was answered, that they had no power to put any man to death. And this, saith Dr Buxtorff, is the very same which the Jews said to Pilate, John xviii. 31. Now this power being taken from the Jews forty years before the destruction of the temple and city, which was in the seventy-first year of Christ, his death being in the thirty-fourth, hence he proveth that this power was taken from the Jews near three years before the death of Christ; and I further make this inference, that since the sanhedrim, which had power of life and death, did remove from Jerusalem forty years before the destruction of the temple (for which see also *Tzemach David*, edit. Hen. Vorst. p. 89), and so about three years before the death of Christ, it must needs follow that the council of the priests, elders and scribes, mentioned so often in and before Christ's passion, was not a civil magistracy, nor the civil sanhedrim, but an ecclesiastical sanhedrim; whence also it follows, that the church, Matt. xviii. 17, unto which Christ directs his disciples to go with their complaints, was not the civil court of justice among the Jews (as Mr Prynne takes it), for that civil court of justice had then removed from Jerusalem, and had lost its authority in executing justice. J. Coch, *Annot. in Exc. Gem. Sanhedrim*, cap. 1, sect. 13, beareth witness to the same story above mentioned, that, forty years before the destruction of the temple, the sanhedrim did remove from its proper seat (where he also mentions the ten stations or degrees of their removing), and *Jam tum cessarunt*

judicia capitalia, saith he, now at that time the capital judgments did cease. Thus we have three witnesses singularly learned in the Jewish antiquities. Unto these add Cassaubon, *exerc. 16, anno. 34, num. 76*. He holds that though the council of the Jews had cognisance of the offence (for otherwise how could they give a reason or cause when they demanded justice), in which respect the council did judge Christ to be guilty of death, Mark xiv. 64, yet their council had then no more power of capital punishments; which, saith he, the more learned modern writers do demonstrate à *Juchasin*, and from other Talmudical writings. He addeth, that this power of putting any man to death was taken from the Jews some space before this time, when they said to Pilate, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death;" for this power was taken from them, saith he, forty years before the destruction of the second temple, as the rabbinical writers do record. I have thus largely prosecuted my last argument, drawn from the New Testament, mentioning the council of the priests, elders, and scribes; and I trust the twelve arguments which have been brought, may give good satisfaction toward the proof of an ecclesiastical Jewish sanhedrim. The chief objection which ever I heard or read against this distinction of a civil sanhedrim and an ecclesiastical sanhedrim among the Jews, is this,—that neither the Talmud nor the Talmudical writers mention any such distinction, but speak only of one supreme sanhedrim of seventy-one, and of other two courts, which sat, the one at the door of the court before the temple, the other at the gate which entereth to the mountain of the temple. There were also courts in the cities where capital cases were judged by three-and-twenty, pecunial mulcts by three.

Ans. It must be remembered that not only the Talmudical commentators, but the Talmud itself is much later than the time of the sanhedrim, and the integrity of the Jewish government; yea, later by some centuries than the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem: so that the objection which is made is no stronger than as if one should argue thus, There is no mention of elderships constituted of pastors and ruling elders (without any bishop having pre-eminence over the rest), neither in the canon law, nor decretals of popes, nor in the book of the canons of the Roman church; therefore, when Paul wrote his epistle to the church of

Rome, there was no such eldership in that church, constituted as hath been said. But if the ecclesiastical government, either of the church of Rome or of the church of the Jews, can be proved from Scripture (as both may), it ought to be no prejudice against those truths, that they are not found in the writers of aftertimes, and declining ages. Howbeit there may be seen some footsteps of a civil and ecclesiastical sanhedrim even in the Talmudical writers, in the opinion of Constantinus L'Empereur, and in that other passage cited by Dr Buxtorff out of Elias, of which before: and so much concerning an ecclesiastical sanhedrim among the Jews.

If, after all this, any man shall be unsatisfied in this particular, yet, in the issue, such as are not convinced that there was an ecclesiastical sanhedrim among the Jews, distinct from their civil sanhedrim, may nevertheless be convinced, not by the former arguments, but by other mediums, that there was an ecclesiastical government among the Jews distinct from their civil government; for it belonged to the priests, not to the magistrates or judges, to put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean; and the priests, not the magistrates, are challenged for not putting difference between the holy and profane, Ezek. xxii. 26; and this power of the priests was not merely doctrinal or declarative, but decisive, binding, and juridical, so far as that, according to their sentence, men were to be admitted as clean, or excluded as unclean; yea, in other cases, as, namely, in trying and judging the scandal of a secret and unknown murder, observe what is said of the priests, Deut. xxi. 5, "By their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried;" yea, themselves were judges of controversies, Ezek. xlv. 24, "And in controversy they shall stand in judgment, and they shall judge it according to my judgments." Where the ministers of the gospel are principally intended, but not without an allusion unto, and parallel with the priests of the Old Testament, in this point of jurisdiction. Suppose now it were appointed by law that ministers shall separate or put difference between the holy and profane, that by their word every controversy concerning the causes of suspension or sequestration of men from the sacrament shall be tried, that in controversy they shall stand in judgment, and judge according to the word of God, would

not every one look upon this as a power of government put into the hands of ministers, and none readier to aggravate such government than the Erastians? Yet all this amounts to no more than, by the plain and undeniable scriptures above cited, was committed to the priests. Suppose also that men were kept back from the temple and from the passover, not for any moral uncleanness, but for ceremonial uncleanness only (which is to be afterwards discussed), yet the priests' judging and deciding of controversies concerning men's legal uncleanness, according to which judgment and decision men were to be admitted to, or kept back from, the temple and passover (yea, sometime their own houses, as in the case of leprosy), could not choose but entitle them to a power of government, which power was peculiar to them, and is not in all the Old Testament ascribed to magistrates or judges; and as the exercise of this power did not agree to the magistrate, so the commission, charge, and power given to those who did keep back the unclean, was not derived from the magistrate, for it did belong to the intrinsic sacerdotal authority, 2 Kings xi. 18, "The priest (Jehoiada) appointed officers over the house of the Lord." The LXX. thus, *καὶ παριστάμενοι ἐν ἱερὺς ἱερουδαίου ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου*. These officers or overseers over the temple were appointed by Jehoiada for keeping back the unclean, as Grotius upon the place, following Josephus, hath observed. Compare 2 Chron. xxiii. 19, "And he (Jehoiada) set the porters at the gates of the house of the Lord, that none which was unclean in anything should enter in." For the same end did he appoint these overseers over the temple, 2 Kings xi. It was also appointed by the law, that the man who should do anything presumptuously, contrary to the sentence of the priests, should die the death, as well as the man who should do anything presumptuously, contrary to the sentence of the judge, Deut. xvii. 9, 12.

Finally, the high-priest was a ruler of the people, and to him is that law applied, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the rulers of thy people," Acts xxiii. 5; which is not meant only in regard that he was president of the sanhedrim, for there was an ecclesiastical ruling power which was common with him to some other priests, 2 Chron. xxxv. 8. Hiliah the high-priest, and Zechariah, and Jehiel, priests of the second order, are called rulers of the house of God, being

in that very place thus distinguished from other priests and Levites employed in the manual work of the temple, about sacrifices and the like.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT THERE WAS AN ECCLESIASTICAL EXCOMMUNICATION AMONG THE JEWS; AND WHAT IT WAS.

It hath been affirmed by some who pretend to more skill in Jewish antiquities than others, that though the Jews had an excommunication which did exclude a man from the liberty of civil fellowship, so that he might not come within four cubits of his neighbour (and so one man might and did excommunicate another), yet no man was judicially, or by sentence of a court, excommunicated, at least not from the temple, sacrifices, and holy assemblies.

To these I shall in the first place oppose the judgment of others who have taken very much pains in searching the Jewish antiquities, and are much esteemed for their skill therein. Dr Buxtorff¹ expoundeth **כֶּרֶם** *cherem*, to be a casting out of one from the holy assemblies, or an ejection from the synagogue, and maketh it parallel to the excommunicating of the incestuous man, 1 Cor. v. Mr Selden² extendeth the Jewish excommunication so far as to comprehend an exclusion from fellowship in prayer and holy assemblies, and makes it parallel to that which Tertullian tells us to have been used by the primitive church. Mr Brughton, in his *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, p. 14, makes a parallel between the Jewish and the Christian church in many particulars; and among the rest, he saith they agree in the manner of excommunication and absolution. Henric. Vorstius, in his late animad-

¹ Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabbin. edit. 1639, p. 827, 828. **כֶּרֶם** Excommunicatio, exclusio a cœtu sacro, ejectio ex synagoga, etc. Cum tali excommunicato non licet edere nec bibere. Quo forte respicit apostolus, 1 Cor. v. 11. *Τὸ κοινῶν μὴ ἐσθίσαι*, Nam admonitionem illam generalem facit, ex occasione incestuosi quem excommunicare jubet.

² De Jure Natur. et Gentium, lib. 4, cap. 9. Atque is plane a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegabatur, quemadmodum de hujusmodi anathemate sub initii ecclesiæ Christianæ loquitur Tertullianus.

versions upon Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, wonders how any man can imagine that an apostate, a blasphemer, or the like, was admitted into the temple.¹ For his part, he thinks some excommunicate persons were absolutely excluded from the temple, and that others, for whom there were hopes of reconciliation, were admitted into it. Drusius² and Johannes Coch³ hold that there were such excommunicate persons among the Jews as were removed from church assemblies, and were not acknowledged for church members. Schindlerus⁴ describeth their excommunication to be a putting away of an impenitent obstinate sinner from the public assembly of the church, and so a cutting him off from his people. Arias Montanus⁵ expounds their casting out of the synagogue to be an excommunication (such as in the Christian church) from religious fellowship. So do the Centurists⁶ plainly, where they do purposely show what was the ecclesiastical policy and church government of the Jews; they make it a distinct question, whether the Jews in Christ's time had any civil government or magistracy. Cornelius Bertramus thinks that to the Jewish *niddui* answereth our suspension from the sacrament, and that

to their *cherem* answereth our excommunication from the church, and that the Jews had the very same kind of excommunication by which the incestuous Corinthian, Hymeneus and Philetus, and the Emperor Theodosius were excommunicated.¹ Constantinus L'Empereur, *Annot. in Rempub. Jud.*, p. 370—378, holdeth the same thing which Bertramus holdeth concerning the Jewish excommunication, and which hath now been cited. Godwin, in his *Moses and Aaron*, lib. 5, cap. 1, speaketh of the ecclesiastical court of the Jews, unto which, saith he, belonged the power of excommunication; the several sorts of which censure he explaineth, cap. 2, namely, *niddui*, *cherem* and *schammata*; after all which he begins, cap. 3, to speak of civil courts of the Jews, a distinct government.

Grotius, annot. in Luke vi. 23, compares the Jewish excommunication with that which was exercised by the Druids in France, who did *interdicere sacrificiis*, interdict and prohibit from their sacrifices impious and obstinate persons; yea, those who were excommunicate by *niddui*, or the lesser excommunication, he likens to those penitents or mourners in the ancient Christian church, who were said to be *ἐκκλησιαστικοί, qui non cum cæteris orabant, &c.* He tells us the ancient Christians did in divers things follow the Jewish discipline, and, among others, in excommunication. He cites the same passage of Tertullian which is cited by Mr Selden, concerning a shutting out *a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis, sancti commercii*, which is as full and high a description of the ecclesiastical censure of excommunication as any can be; so that the Jewish excommunication being paralleled with that excommunication which Tertullian speaks of, and which was practised in the ancient Christian church, what more can be required in this particular? And here I cannot but take notice that Mr Prynne doth very much mistake and misrepresent Mr Selden,

¹ Animad in Pirke, p. 169, Quis enim dicat apostatam, blasphemum aliaque sacra capita intra templum fuisse admissa? etc. Certe si quibuscumque excommunicatis permissum fuisset in trare templum, tum multo mitior Judaice synagogæ disciplina esset statuenda, quam veteris Christianæ ecclesiæ.

² Quest. et Resp. lib. 1, quest. 9. Solebant autem veteres (Judæi) si quis gravius deliquerat, primum eum movere cætu ecclesiastico: si non emendabat se, tum ferebant anathemate: quod sine tum quidem redibat ad frugem, ultimo ac postremo loco samatizabant.

³ Annot. in Exc. Gemar. Sanhedrim, cap. 1, Qui simpliciter excommunicatus est (menudde) est ille quidem separatus a cætu, ita ut pro vero membro ecclesiæ non habeatur.

⁴ Lexicon Pentaglot. p. 655. **חֵרֶם** Excommunicatio, cum quis se non emendans cætu ecclesiastico movetur, et ex populo suo excinditur. Where he also mentioneth the three distinct kinds of excommunication,—*Niddui*, *Cherem* and *Schammata*. Ibid. p. 1076. **נִדְּוִי** remotio, excommunicatio, ejectio ex cætu piorum, illa anathematis species, qua quis immundus ab hominum contubernio, aut qua aliquis a cætu ecclesiastico removetur ad tempus, a lege præscriptum.

⁵ De Arcano Sermones, cap. 47, Ejectio autem e synagogæ, communicationis abnegatio est, et abalienatio a religiosa consuetudine, quæ a nostris recepto jam verbo excommunicatio dicitur.

⁶ Magdeb. Cent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7, Judicabant dogmata et promulgabant eorum damnationes, una cum personis: quæ quidem res nihil aliud quam publica excommunicatio erat, John ix. 22; xi. 47, 48; xii. 42. Et infra. Extra synagogam fieret, hoc est excommunicaretur.

¹ De Repub. Ebr. cap. 7, Legis sanctio triplex, etc. Prima est **נִדְּוִי** aversatio, amolitio et amandatio, etc. Secunda est **חֵרֶם** devotio extremo cuidam exitio, excommunicatio: quando videlicet aliquis excindi dicebatur ex populo suo, et in eo amplius non censi (ut jam supra exposuimus) ex majore aliquo delicto. Atque hoc puto esse *ἀποκλήσις* fieri, etc. Primæ illæ speciei respondet quod in ecclesiis nostris vocamus prohibitionem seu suspensionem a sacramentis: secundæ excommunicatio publice facta.

as if he held the Jewish excommunication to have been no more but a shutting out from civil company or fellowship, whereas he clearly holds (lib. 4, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.* cap. 9, p. 522), that he who was excommunicated by the Jewish *cherem*, was put away and cast off from fellowship in prayer, and from all religious fellowship, even as Tertullian speaks of excommunicated persons in the church.

Lud. Capellus in *Spicilegio*, upon Job ix. 22, speaking of the common distinction of the three degrees of the Jewish excommunication, doth plainly bear witness to that which I plead for, namely, that there was a Jewish excommunication from communion in the holy things.¹ I confess he understands the *cherem* and the *schammata* otherwise than I do, for he takes the *cherem* to be *nihil aliud*, nothing else than the forfeiture of a man's substance for the use of the sanctuary (whereas it is certain there was a *cherem* of persons as well as of things, and the *formulae* of the *cherem*, which shall be cited afterward, contain another thing than forfeiture), and *schammata* he takes to be the devoting of men to death, and that being shammatized they must needs die, (and yet the Jews did shammatize the Cuthites or Samaritans, as we shall see afterward, whom they had not power to put to death). However, he speaks of the *niddui* as a mere ecclesiastical censure, and therefore tells us it was formidable to the godly, it being a shutting out from communion in the holy things, but not formidable to wicked men, which must be upon this reason, because wicked men did care little or nothing for any censure or punishment, except what was civil; he granteth also that *niddui* was included in the other two, so that in all three there was a shutting out from the holy things.

I must not forget the testimony of my countryman, Mr Weymes, in his *Christian Synagogue*, lib. 1, cap. 6, sect. 3, par. 7, "They had three sorts of excommunication; first the lesser, then the middle sort, then the greatest. The lesser was called *niddui*; and in the New Testament they were called *ἀνακωμίζονται*, put out of the synagogue; and they hold that Cain was excommu-

nicated this way. The second was called *cherem* or *anathema*; with this sort of excommunication was the incestuous person censured, 2 Cor. ii. The third *schammata*: they hold that Enoch instituted it, Jude, ver. 14; and after, these who were *ἀνακωμίζονται*, put out of the synagogue, were not simply secluded from the temple, but suffered to stand in the gate, &c.; these who were excommunicated by the second sort of excommunication, were not permitted to come near the temple; these who were excommunicated after the third sort, were secluded out of the society of the people of God altogether."

And thus I have produced fifteen witnesses for the ecclesiastical excommunication of the Jews. I might produce many more, but I have made choice of these, because all of them have taken more than ordinary pains in searching the Jewish antiquities, and divers of them are of greatest note for their skill therein.

In the next place, let us observe the causes, degrees, manner and rites, how the authority by which the ends and effects of excommunication among the Jews, and see whether all these do not help to make their excommunication a pattern for ours. For the causes: There were twenty-four causes for which a man was excommunicated among the Jews. You may read them in Buxtorff's *Lexicon Chald. Talmud et Rabbin.* p. 1304, 1305; Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gentium*, lib. 4, cap. 8; J. Coch, *Annot. in Excerpt. Gem. Sanhedrim*, cap. 2, p. 147. Divers of these causes did not at all concern personal or civil injuries (for such injuries were not accounted causes of excommunication, but were to be punished otherwise, as shall be proved afterward), but matters of scandal, by which God was dishonoured, and the stumbling-block of an evil example laid before others. One cause was the despising of any of the precepts of the law of Moses, or statutes of the scribes; another was the selling of land to a Gentile; another was a priest not separating the gifts of the oblation; another, he that in captivity doth not iterate or observe the second time a holy day; another, he that doth any servile work upon Easter eve;¹ another, he that

¹ Haram trium excommunicationis specierum vel potius graduum, secunda primam, tertia utramque includebat. Prima piis quidem Judæis erat formidabilis, quia per eam a sacrorum communione submovebantur, at qui minus pii erant ea non magno opere movebantur.

¹ Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabbin. p. 2463 ex Pesachim fol. 50. Qui vespera Sabbathi et aliorum dierum festorum operas serviles facit, infaustum illud quidem est, neque videt signum benedictionis, sed non

mentioneth the name of God rashly, or by a vain oath; another, he that induceth, or giveth occasion to others, to profane the name of God; another, he that makes others to eat holy things without the holy temple; another, he that maketh computation of years and months without the land of Israel, that is (as Dr Buxtorff), writeth calendars, or (as Mr Selden) computeth years and months otherwise than their fathers had done; another, he that retardeth or hindereth others from doing the law and commandment; another, he that maketh the offering profane (as Dr Buxtorff), or offereth a sickly beast (as J. Coch); another, a sacrificer that doth not show his sacrificing-knife before a wise man or a rabbi, that it may be known to be a lawful knife, and not faulty; another, he that cannot be made to know or to learn; another, he that having put away his wife, doth thereafter converse familiarly with her; another, a wise man (that is a rabbi or doctor) infamous for an evil life. The other causes had also matter of scandal in them, namely, the despising of a wise man, or rabbi, though it were after his death; the despising of an officer, or messenger of the house of judgment; he that casteth up to his neighbour a servile condition, or calls his neighbour servant; he that contumaciously refuseth to appear at the day appointed by the judge; he that doth not submit himself to the judicial sentence; he that hath in his house any hurtful thing, as a mad dog, or a weak ladder; he that before heathen judges beareth witness against an Israelite; he that maketh the blind to fall; he that hath excommunicate another without cause, when he ought not to have been excommunicate. Thus you have the twenty-four causes of the Jewish excommunication, of which some were mere scandals, others of a mixed nature, that is, partly injuries, partly scandals, but they were reckoned among the causes of excommunication, *qua* scandals, not *qua* injuries. J. Coch, *Annot. in Exc. Gem. Sanhedrim*, p. 146, explaining how the wronging of a doctor of the law by contumelies was a cause of excommunication, sheweth that the excommunication was because of the scandal: *Licet tamen condonare nisi res in*

prapatulo gesta sit. Publicum doctoris ludibrium in legis contemptum redundat. Hanc ob causam doctor legis honorem suum remittere non potest. Ubi res clam et sine scandalo gesta est, magni animi et sapientis est injuriam contemptu vindicare. If there was no scandal, the injury might be remitted by the party injured, so as the offender was not to be excommunicate; but, if the contumely was known abroad, and was scandalous, though the party wronged were willing and desirous to bury it, yet, because of the scandal, the law provided that the offender should be excommunicate; for they taught the people that he who did contend against a rabbi did contend against the Holy Ghost (for which see Gul. Vorstius *Annot. in Maimon. de Fundam. Legis.*, p. 77, 78), and hence did they aggravate an ecclesiastical or divine (not a civil) injury; whence it appeareth that the causes of excommunication were formally looked upon as scandals; add that if *qua* injuries, then *a quatenus ad omne*, all personal or civil injuries, had been causes of excommunication. But all civil injuries do not fall within these twenty-four causes. If it be objected, that neither do all scandals fall within these twenty-four causes, I answer, They do; for some of the causes are general and comprehensive, namely these two, the fifth—he that despiseth the statutes of the law of Moses, or of the scribes; and the eighteenth—he that retardeth or hindereth others from doing the law.

When I make mention of any particular heads, either of the Jewish discipline or of the ancient Christian discipline, let no man understand me as if I intended the like strictness of discipline in these days. My meaning is only to prove ecclesiastical censures, and an ecclesiastical government; and let this be remembered upon all like occasions, though it be not everywhere expressed: and so much for the causes.

The degrees of the Jewish excommunication, were נִדְּוִי *niddui*, חֶרֶם *cherem*, שְׁמָטָה *schammata*. Elias in *Tisbite*, saith plainly, that "There were three kinds of excommunication, *niddui*, *cherem*, and *schammata*. *Niddui* is a casting out; but if he be not converted, they smite him with *cherem*; and if neither so he repent, they *schammatis* him." These three Dr Buxtorff thus distinguisheth, not only out of Elias, the common sentence, but of the Hebrew doctors. The first and smallest excommunication is

schammatisamus eum: at qui vespera paschatis operas serviles facit, hic vero omnino *schammatisamus eum*. They did also excommunicate a heretical or Epicurean Israelite. Buxtorff, *ibid*, p. 195.

niddui, which is a simple separation for a certain time; the greater excommunication is *cherem*, which is a separation with imprecations and curses; the greatest of all is *schammata*, a final excommunication, without hope of returning to the church: so likewise Hen. Vorstius *Animad. in Pirke*, p. 230. And, answerably hereunto, some divines have distinguished *excommunicatio minor*, *major* and *maxima*. The first is suspension from the sacrament; the second is a casting out of the church, and a delivering over to Satan, which yet is a medicinal excommunication for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved; the third is *anathema maranatha*, an accursing of a man to the coming of Christ, without hope of mercy, which is *excommunicatio exterminativa*, and cannot be done without a prophetic spirit. Bertramus (*de Repub. Ebræor*, cap. 7) saith, that our suspension from the sacrament answereth to their *niddui*, our excommunication to their *cherem*, and for their *schammata*, he thinks it was an adjudging of one to eternal death, whereunto answereth the Apostle's *anathema*, and the church's devoting of Julian the apostate as one to be no more prayed for, but to be prayed against. Munsterus will have *schammata* to be the same with *niddui*, wherein Mr Selden agreeth with him, still holding a difference between *niddui* and *cherem*, as between the lesser and the greater excommunication (*de Jure Nat. et Gentium*, lib. 4, cap. 8); of the same opinion is J. Coch, *Annot. in Exc. Gem. Sanhedrim*, p. 149. But Constantinus L'Empereur, *Annot. in Rempub. Jud.*, tells us, that the Talmudists, in divers places, do distinguish the three degrees of excommunication, as Bertramus doth; and that *schammata* was the highest excommunication, greater than either *niddui* or *cherem*, he proves not only by the epitheton *adonai* added by the Chaldee paraphrase, Num. xxi. 25, *Et percussit eum Israel per schammata dei*; but further, from the words of Rabbi Solomon, comparing one excommunicated by *schammata*, to the fat cast in the furnace, which is wholly consumed, and which never comes out, so he that is shammatized is lost for ever, and without all remedy unto all eternity. He confirmeth it also from the words of Elias above mentioned. It is not much to my present argument to dispute whether the Jews had three distinct degrees of excommunication or two only. However, it is agreed that

the Jews had their *excommunicatio minor* and *major*. And *niddui* was an excommunication for thirty days, during which time, if the person (man or woman) repent, well and good, if not, he was excommunicate for other thirty days; yea, saith Dr Buxtorff, the time might be triplicate to ninety days; and if, after all that time, he repent not, then he was excommunicate with the greater excommunication, *cherem*: and so much for the degrees.

As for the manner and rites of their excommunication, it was done most solemnly. Dr Buxtorff² tells us, if the party was present, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by word of mouth; if he was absent, there was a writ publicly affixed, containing the sentence of excommunication, which writ was not published till the offence was proved at least by two witnesses.

It is certain from Pirke Rabbi Elieser, cap. 38, that *cherem* was not without an assembly of ten at least; and it is as certain that *cherem* was not only in a solemn, but in a sacred manner performed, which is manifest from that *formula anathematis*, which Dr Buxtorff hath transcribed out of an old Hebrew manuscript;³ and from another form which Hen. Vorstius³ taketh out

¹ Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabbin., p. 2468. Excommunicatio fiebat quandoque verbis expressis, quando excommunicandus erat præsens: quandoque scripto publice affixe, quando absens erat. Hinc legitur in Maj. emone in libro Madda, cap. 7, sect 2. Quomodo fit Niddui: dicit N. esto in excommunicatione. Si excommunicant eum in faciem, id est presentem, dicit N. hic esto in excommunicatione sive banno. Ibid. p. 2469. Nuncius vel minister publicus judicii ea fide habetur, ut ai dicat, N. a me citatus ad judicium, contempsit me, aut vilipendit judicem, aut dixit se nolle comparere in judicio, tunc shammatissent ipsum ad verba ejus, sed non scribunt super eo schedam excommunicationis schammata, donec venerint duo qui testentur ipsum noluisse comparere ad judicium.

² Lexicon Rabbin., p. 828. Ex sententia domini dominorum, sit in Anathemate Ploni Filius Domini, in utraque domo judicii, superiorum scilicet et inferiorum, in anathemate item sanctorum excelsorum, in anathemate seraphim et ophanim, in anathemate denique totius ecclesiæ, maximorum et minimorum, etc.

³ Another form, more full and large, see in Vorstius's *Animadversions* upon Pirke, p. 226–230. Decreto vigillum atque edicto sanctorum anathemizamus, adjuramus, excommunicamus schammatizamus, maledicimus, execramus ex sententia hujus loci atque ex scientia hujus cætus, hoc libro legis, sexcentis tredecim præceptis in illo conscriptis. Anathemate quo Joshua devovit Jericho; maledictione qua maledixit Eliseus pueris, et maledictione quam imprecatus est Gichazi servo suo. Shammate quo schammatizavit Barack Meroz, etc. Nomine

of Col Bo, both showing that it was not a civil, but a sacred business, done in the name and authority of the God of heaven; and the latter *formula* still used in most of the Jewish synagogues, as Vorstius informs us.

We read also in Pirke Rabbi Elieser, cap. 38, that the Cuthites¹ (who were also called Samaritans), after they had been circumcised by Rabbi Dostai, and Rabbi Zacharias, and had been taught by them out of the book of the law, they were excommunicate by Ezra, Zerubbabel, and Joshua the high-priest, three hundred priests, and three hundred disciples, and the whole church in the temple, the trumpets sounding, and the Levites singing; they did even by the great name of God excommunicate the Cuthites, that there should be no fellowship between any man of Israel and the Cuthites, that no proselyte should be received of the Cuthites, and that they should have no part in the resurrection of the dead, nor in the building of the house of God, nor in Jerusalem. This passage Dr Buxtorff in his *Rabbinical Lexicon*, p.

2464, and Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gentium*, lib. 4, cap. 8, have observed out of Pirke and Dr Buxtorff, both there and *Dissert de Lit. Hebr.* thes. 49, noteth the three words used by the Hebrews in this relation, ומחרמי ומשמתיו ומנריז that is, they did excommunicate them both by *niddui*, *cherem*, and *schammata*: and so much for the manner and rites.

As for the authority by which a man was excommunicated, we see (by that which hath been already noted) that it was a public and judicial act, and it was necessary there should be at least an assembly of ten. Those *formulae* before cited make it evident that it was an authoritative sentence of an ecclesiastical assembly (and therefore done as it were in name of the court of heaven, to which purpose *domus Judicii superioris seu celestis*, was mentioned in the business, and it was a juridical or forensical act, and done solemnly in the temple, in that case of the Cuthites), Drusius *de Tribus Sectis Judæorum*, lib. 4, num. 237, concerning the discipline of the Esseans, and their excommunicating of ungodly persons, tells us it was done by a hundred men assembled together. It is very true which Mr Selden observeth, *de Jure Nat. et Gentium*, lib. 4, cap. 8, the Hebrews' writ of a judicial excommunication, and of an extrajudicial excommunication, by which one private man might excommunicate another; yet that extrajudicial excommunication could not stand in force unless it were ratified by the court; and of itself it was rather optative, or imprecative, than obligative, as is manifest by the instance which J. Coch¹ gives us, *ex Gem. Moed Caton*. Two men having mutually excommunicated each other, it cometh to an authoritative decision: he that had excommunicated the other for that for which he ought to have been punished by a pecunial mulct, but not by excommunication, was himself justly excommunicate by the other, according to the last of the twenty-four causes of excommunication before mentioned, that is, he who unjustly excommunicate another shall be himself excommuni-

Aebthariel Jah Domini Zebaoth. Nomine Michael Principis magni. Nomine Mathatheron cujus nomen est sicuti nomen domini ejus. Nomine Sandalphon qui nectit coronas pro domino suo. Nomine Nominis 42, literarum. Nomine quod apparuit Mosi in Sinai. Nomine quo dissecuit Moses Mare. Nomine Ehieh ascher Ehieh, Ero qui ero. Arcano nominis Amphorasch. Scriptura quæ exarata est in tabulis. Nomine Domini exercituum Dei Israelis, qui sedit inter cherubim, etc. Maledictus ex ore nominis celebrandi, et tremendi, quod egreditur ex ore sacerdotis magni die expiationem, etc. Evellatur ipse e tabernaculo. Nolit dominus illi condonare, sed tunc fumet furor et indignatio contra virum illum. Incumbant illi omnes maledictiones conscriptæ in hoc libro legis. Expellat nomen ejus sub cælo, et segreget illum in malum ex omnibus tribubus Israelis, juxta omnes execrationes hujus fœderis consignatas in hoc libro legis, etc. Hæc sit voluntas Dei et dicatur. Amen.

¹ Quid tum fecerunt Ezra, Zerobabel et Joshua? Congregaverunt totam ecclesiam seu cætum populi in templum domini et introduxerunt 300 sacerdotes et 300 adolescentes (seu discipulos minores) quibus erant in manibus 300 buccinæ, et 300 libri legis. Hi clangebant; Levites autem cantabant et psallebant: et excommunicabant Cuthæos per mysterium nominis Teiagrammati, et per scripturam descriptam in Tabulis legis, et per anathema fori superioris seu celestis, et per anathema fori inferiores seu terrestres, ita ut nemo Israelitarum unquam in posterum comederet buccellam aliquam Cuthæorum. Hinc dicunt quicunque comedit carnem Cuthæi, is vescitur quasi carne porcina. Curhæm quoque ne fieret proselytus, neque haberet partem in resurrectione mortuorum, juxta illud quod scriptum est. Non ad vos simul nobiscum attinet instauratio domus dei nostri: neque in hoc neque in futuro seculo. Præterea quoque ne haberet partem in Jerusalem. Hinc dicitur, Vobis non est pars neque jus, neque memoria in Jerusalem. Transmiserunt autem anathema hoc ad Israelitas qui erant in Babylonia.

¹ Annot. Gem. in Ex. Sanhedrim, p. 147, R. Simon, fil. Lakisch custodiebat hortum. venit quidam et ficus capiti vovare. Ille inclamare: hic non nauci facere. Tum illes excommunicatus esto. Tu vicissim inquit alter excommunicatus esto. Nam si ad pecuniam tibi obstrictus sum, numquid anathemati obnoxius sum? Adit R. Lakisch super hoc Scholæ rectores. Responsum est: Ipsius Anathema anathema est: tuum nullum est.

cated; so the excommunicating of the one man for a civil injury was declared null, and the excommunicating of the other for his unjust act of excommunication was ratified; which doth not only prove what I have said of private or extrajudicial excommunication, but also confirm what I asserted before, concerning the causes of excommunication, that it was not for personal or civil injuries, but for matter of scandal, and that pecuniary mulcts and excommunication were not inflicted for the same, but for different causes; and so much for the authority.

The effects of excommunication were these,¹—he might not be admitted into an assembly of ten persons; he might not sit within four cubits to his neighbour; he might not shave his hair, nor wash himself; it was not lawful to eat nor drink with him. He that died in excommunication got no funeral, nor was there any mourning made for him, but a stone was set over him to signify that he was worthy to be stoned, because he did not repent, and because he was separated from the church. An excommunicate person might not make up the number of ten where there were nine; the reason was, because he might not be acknowledged for a church member, or one who could make up a lawful assembly. Drusius (*de tribus sectis Judæorum*, lib. 3, cap. 11) draweth two consequences from that excommunication of the Cuthites before mentioned: 1. That it was not lawful for a Jew to eat bread with a Samaritan. 2. That the Samaritans were cut off from the Jewish church, and that without hope of regress, being schismaticised.

It is more disputable how far forth excommunication did deprive a man of the liberty of access into the temple. The Talmudists hold, that of old an excommunicate person might enter into the temple, yet so as he might be known that he was excommunicate. It is said in Pirke Rabbi Elieser, cap. 17, that Solomon built two gates, one for bridegrooms, another for mourners and excommunicated persons; and when the children of Israel, sitting between these two gates upon the sabbath days and holy days, did see a bridegroom come in, they knew him and did congratulate with him; but when they saw one come in at the door of the mourners, having his lips covered, they knew him to be a mourner, and said, "He that

dwells in this house comfort thee;" but when they saw one come in at the door of mourners with his lips not covered, they knew him to be excommunicated, and spake to him on this manner, "He that dwells in this house comfort thee, and put into thy mind to hearken unto thy neighbours." The like you have in *Cordice Middoth*, c. 2, sect. 2, where it is said, that ordinarily all that came into the temple did enter upon the right hand, and they went out upon the left hand, those excepted to whom some sad thing had befallen; and when it was asked of such a one, Why dost thou enter upon the left hand? he either answered that he was a mourner, and then it was said to him, "He that dwells in this house comfort thee," or he answered, Because I am excommunicate (so readeth Buxtorff), or *Quia ego contaminatus rejicior* (so readeth L'Empereur), and then it was said to him, "He that dwells in this house put into thy mind to hearken to the words of thy companions, that they may restore thee." The same thing is cited *e libro Musar* by Drusius, *præter* lib. 4, in John ix. 22, his opinion is that **המנרים** those that were separate and excommunicate by the lesser excommunication, were admitted into the temple in the manner aforesaid, but that they were not admitted into the synagogue, because it is added in *libro Musar* (which I find also added in the fore-mentioned place of Pirke R. Elieser), that after the temple was destroyed, it was decreed that bridegrooms and mourners should come into the synagogue, and that they in the synagogue should congratulate with the one, and condole with the other. Behold, saith Drusius, no mention here of excommunicate persons, for they did not come into the synagogues; peradventure every excommunicate person had not access to the temple neither, but he that was extrajudicially, or by private persons excommunicate, as those words might seem to intimate, "He that dwells in this house put into thy mind to hearken to thy neighbours, or companions, that they may restore thee;" or, if you take it to extend to judicial excommunication, then Hen. Vorstius¹ doth expound it (*Animad. in Pirke*, p.

¹ Buxtorf. Lexicon Chald. Talm. et Rab., p. 1305, 828.

¹ De his merito dubitari potest, num licuerit ipsis sacra adire limina, imprimis qui severiori excommunicationis genere vel **חורם** multati erant. Quis enim dicat Apostatam, blasphemum, allaque sacra capita intra templum fuisse admissa? De **מנרים** alia ratio esse potest, cum his spes veniæ non fuerit adempta.

169) so as it may be understood only of the lesser excommunication, when there was still hope of repentance and reconciliation; so J. Coch (*Ubi Supra*, p. 149) thinks that an excommunicate person was not altogether cast out of the synagogue, but was permitted to hear, and to be partaker of the doctrine, but otherwise, and in other things, he was separate, and not acknowledged for a church member, and this he saith of מְנוּדָּה *menudde*, of him that was simply excommunicate by the lesser excommunication or *niddui*; but he saith otherwise of him that was excommunicate with *cherem*, *Non docet, non docetur*, he is neither permitted to teach nor to be taught. Grotius on Luke vi. 22, tells us, that excommunicate persons under *niddui* came no otherwise to the temple than heathens did, that is, had no liberty to come into the court of Israel. However, such as were excommunicate by *cherem* were not permitted to come near the temple, saith Mr Weymes in his *Christian Synag.*, p. 138. An excommunicate person of the first sort (*niddui*), when he came to the temple, or synagogue, you see (by what hath been said) he was there publicly bearing his shame, and looked upon as one separate from the communion of the people of God; and so much for the effects.

The end of excommunication was spiritual, that a sinner being by such public shame and separation humbled, might be gained to repentance, and thereby his soul saved¹ (which is the end of church discipline, not of civil censures). The court waited ninety days upon his repentance, and did not proceed to *cherem*, except in case of his continuing impenitency, when all that time he gave no sign of repentance, nor sought absolution.

From all that hath been said, I hope it is fully manifest, that the Jewish excommunication was an ecclesiastical censure, and not (as Mr Prynne would have it) a civil excommunication like to an outlawry at common law.²

I conclude with a passage of Drusius *de Tribus Sectis Judæorum*, lib. 4, cap. 22,

¹ M. Selden de Jure Natur. et Gentium, lib. 4, cap. 8, Effectus ac finis excommunicationis hujusmodi, jure communi erat, ut solitas popularium consuetudinis libertate reus privaretur, usque dum penitentia ad bonam mentem rediens solveretur sententia.

² Interdependency Examined, p. 10. Vindic. of the Four Questions, p. 4, 5.

concerning the Essæans, who did most religiously retain the discipline of excommunication: *Jus dicturi inter se congregantur centum viri, qui eos quos deprehenderint reos et improbos expellunt e cœtu suo*. These words he citeth out of Salmanticensis: "Being to judge or give sentence among themselves, a hundred men are gathered together, who do expel from their assembly those whom they find to be guilty and ungodly." He addeth this testimony of Rufinus: *Deprehensos vero in peccatis a sua congregatione depellunt*—such as are deprehended in sins they put away from their congregation. Lo, an ecclesiastical excommunication because of scandalous sins!

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CUTTING OFF FROM AMONG THE PEOPLE OF GOD, FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN THE LAW.

It hath been much controverted, what should be the meaning of that commination so frequently used in the law of Moses, "That soul shall be cut off from among his people." The *radix* כָּרַת signifieth properly such a cutting off as is like the cutting off a branch from the tree; and כְּרִיתוֹת cutting off, is applied to divorcement; Deut. xxiv. 1, a bill of divorcement, in the Hebrew, of cutting off; so Isa. l. 1; Jer. iii. 8. It is certain that כָּרַת *carath* doth not necessarily signify to cut off by death, destruction, or a total abolition of the very existence of him that is cut off, but any cutting off, by whatsoever loss or punishment it be. The Septuagints render it not seldom by such words as signify the loss or punishment of the party without destroying him, as by ἀπο-
σω, ἀποκόπτω, ἐκείνω, κατακόπτω, *abscindo, amputo, succido, excindo; ἀποσπάω, avello; abstrabo, κατασπάω; demitto, περιτίμνω; circumcido, ἀφαιρώ; ἔχειν, aufero; πλάττω, percutio; τὸ πᾶν verbero*. Sometime they render it by ἐκτρέβω *contero, extero, terendo excutio, to strike out* (sometime *to wash out*, or *to wipe off spots or filth*, as H. Stephanus tells us; thence ἐκτριμμα, the cloth wherewith we wipe our hands when we wash them); Num. xix. 13, "That soul shall be cut off from Israel." The Septuagints, ἐκτριβήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσραὴλ; yea, where they render it by ἐξολοθρεύω, that ἐξολοθρεύω, or cutting off, is

sometimes meant of captivity, Amos i. 5; sometimes of the decay and dissolution of a monarchy, Ezek. xxxi. 12; sometimes of the deposition or repudiating of priests, 1 Sam. ii. 33, "The man of thine whom I shall not cut off from mine altar;" sometimes generally for a judgment, or punishment, Isa. xxii. 25. The English translators in some places where it is כרת in the original, and ἐκκομίζω, render it to *fail*, 1 Kings ii. 4; to *loose*, 1 Kings xviii. 5; sometime they render the same original word to *hew*, 1 Kings v. 6; "to hew timber," Jer. lvi.; sometime simply to *cut*, Ezek. xvi. 4, "Thy navel was not cut." In other places where the Septuagints have ἐκκομίζω *aufero*, the English hath to *fail*, 1 Kings viii. 25; ix. 5; 2 Chron. vii. 18. This ἐκκομίζω is the word used by the Apostle in the case of excommunication, 1 Cor. v. 13.

There are five different opinions concerning that *cutting off* mentioned in the law.

1. Augustine in divers places understands the meaning to be of the second death, or eternal condemnation. But this is not suitable to the infancy of the Jewish church, for while they were bred under the pedagogy of the law, things eternal and invisible were not immediately and nakedly propounded unto them, but under the shadows and figures of temporal and visible things; so that if eternal death were the ultimate intendment of that commination (as I verily believe it was), yet it must needs be acknowledged that there was some other punishment in this life comprehended under that phrase, to resemble in some sort, and to shadow forth that everlasting cutting off.

2. Some understand that cutting off to be when a man dieth ἀναισχος, without children, having no offspring or posterity behind him to preserve the memory of him; for he that left children behind him was esteemed to live in some sort after he was dead. But the cutting off in the law is *privative*, not *negative*; it is a depriving of a man of what he hath, not the denial of what he would have; neither was that of the preserving of one's name in the posterity applicable to women, but to their husbands only, whereas their cutting off was threatened to all who were guilty, whether men or women. Finally, if that were the sense, then the cutting off did neither belong to such as chose voluntarily to live unmarried, nor to men who, being married, had children to preserve their memory after their death,

but all that committed such or such a sin were to be cut off whether married or unmarried, whether having children or wanting children.

3. Others understand capital punishment to be inflicted by the civil magistrate. But if all the offences for which cutting off was threatened in the law had been punished by death, the Mosaical laws no less than those of Draco might have been said to be written in blood, saith Gersomus Bucerus.¹ Is it credible that all and every one who did by any chance eat the fat or the blood, or did make a perfume for smell like to the holy perfume, or did touch a dead body, or a grave, or a tent wherein a man had died, or anything that an unclean person had touched, and had not been thereafter sprinkled with the water of separation, were without mercy to die for any of these things? Yet these were cut off from among their people, Exod. xxx. 38; Lev. vii. 15, 17; Num. xix. 13, 20. Another reason I take from Mercerus on Gen. xvii. 14. We nowhere find, either in Scripture or in the Jewish writings, that such of the seed of Abraham as did neglect circumcision were punished by the sword of the magistrate, yet by the law such were to be cut off. Now, without all controversy, such were excluded from communion with the church of Israel, and being so excluded, they were said properly to be cut off from among their people, saith Mercerus; and moreover the cutting off in the law is expressed by such a word as doth not necessarily signify that the person cut off ceaseth to have any being, but it is used to signify a cutting off from a benefit, relation, or fellowship, when the being remains, as was noted in the beginning.

4. Many of the Hebrews, whom Mr Ainsworth (Annot. in Gen. xvii. 14; Exod. xxxi. 14; Num. xv. 30) followeth, understand by that cutting off *untimely death*, or the shortening of life before the natural period. This interpretation I also dislike upon these reasons: 1. That which is taken for a foundation of that opinion, namely, that the cutting off in the law is meant only as a punishment of private sins known to God alone, and which could not be proved by witnesses, this, I say, is taken for granted, which is to be proved. 2. Yea, the contrary appeareth from Lev. xvii. 4, 5, the end of that cutting off was, that the children of Israel might

¹ De Gubern. Eccl. p. 57.

fear to do that thing which they saw so punished; but how could they make this use of a divine judgment inflicted for some private sin, they knew not for what. 3. The commination of divine judgments is added in a more proper place, Deut. xxviii.; Lev. xxvi., and in divers places, where wrath and punishment from God is denounced against all such as would not observe his commandments, nor keep his statutes and judgments. But the cutting off is a part (and a great part) of the corrective or penal Mosaic laws which contain punishments to be inflicted by men, not by God, which makes Piscator almost everywhere in his *Scholia*, to observe, that *excindetur* is put for *excinditor*, *that soul shall be cut off*, for *let that soul be cut off*. 4. The cutting off was a distinguishing punishment,—they that did such and such things were to be cut off, and in being cut off were to bear their iniquity, Lev. xviii. 26; Num. xv. 31, but we cannot say that Abijah the son of Jeroboam, or king Josiah, being taken away by an untimely death, were thereby marked with a sign of God's wrath, or that they were cut off from among their people, and did bear their iniquity. 5. And whereas they object from Lev. xvii. 10; xx. 5, 6, that the cutting off was a work of God, not of men, it is easily answered from that same place, it was only so in extraordinary cases, when men did neglect to punish the offenders, Lev. xx. 4, 5, "And if the people of the land hide their eyes from the man when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and kill him not, then I will set my face against that man, and against his family, and will cut him off;" which giveth light to the other place, Lev. xvii. 10. What I have said against the third and fourth opinion doth militate against Erastus, for he expoundeth the cutting off these two ways, that is either of capital punishment, or of destruction by the hand of God, yet he inclineth chiefly to the last (see lib. 3, c. 6). He toucheth this cutting off in divers places, but *valde jejune*, and because he is pleased to profess he had no skill of the Hebrew, he appealeth to the word *קטף*: of which before.

There is a fifth exposition, followed by many both Popish and Protestant writers, who understand by the cutting off, excommunicating or casting out from the church; and of this opinion are some very good Hebræans, as Schindlerus, *Lexic. Pentagl.*, p. 655; Cornelius Bertramus, *de Republica*

Ebraorum, cap. 2; Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, lib. 3, cap. 4; the *Jewish Canons of Repentance*, printed in Latin at Cambridge, anno 1631, where the Hebrew hath קטף the Latin hath ordinarily *excommunicatio*; so do divers of our soundest writers take the cutting off in the law to be excommunication, *Synops. pur. Theol. Disp.* 48, *Thes.* 24. 39. There are these reasons for it:—

1. The cutting off had reference to an ecclesiastical corporation or fellowship. It is not said, *that soul shall be cut off from the earth, or from the land of the living*, but, *cut off from his people*, more plainly, *from Israel*, Exod. xii. 15; Num. xix. 14, but most plainly, "That soul shall be cut off from the congregation" (or church), Num. xix. 20, intimating somewhat ecclesiastical; so Lev. xxii. 3, "That soul shall be cut off from my presence." The Septuagints, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, *from me*; the Chaldee, *from my face*; and this was the very cutting off, or excommunication, of Cain from the church by God himself, Gen. iv. 14, "From thy face shall I be hid," and ver. 14, "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord." It is another and much different phrase which is used to express cutting off from the world, or from the land of the living, Ezek. xxv. 7, "I will cut thee off from the people, and will cause thee to perish out of the countries;" Jer. xi. 19, "Let us cut him off from the land of the living;" Zeph. i. 3, "I will cut off man from off the land."

2. He that in his uncleanness did eat of an unholy thing was to be cut off, Lev. vii. 20, 21; yet for such a one was appointed confession of sin and a trespass-offering, by which he was reconciled, and atonement made for him, as Mr Ainsworth himself tells us on Lev. v. 2; whence I infer, that the cutting off such a one was not by death inflicted either from the hand of the magistrate or from the hand of God, but that the cutting off was ecclesiastical, as well as the reception or reconciliation. I know Mr Ainsworth is of opinion that the cutting off was for defiling the sanctuary presumptuously, or eating of an holy thing presumptuously, when a man was not cleansed from his uncleanness, and that atonement by sacrifice was appointed for such as defiled the sanctuary ignorantly. But that which made him think so was a mistake, for he supposeth that for sins of ignorance or infirmity only God did appoint sacrifices, but that for wilful or malicious sins there was no sacrifice,

see his Annot. on Lev. iv. 2, which Faustus Socinus also holdeth, *Prælect.*, cap. 22, p. 144. But to me the contrary is plain from Lev. vi. 1—8, where we have atonement to be made by trespass-offerings for wilful lying, perjury, fraud, robbing, or violence, which made the Septuagints, ver. 2, for *commit a trespass*, to read, *despising, despise the commandments of the Lord*. And whereas Mr Ainsworth confirmeth his opinion from Heb. x. 26, "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins," I answer with Calvin, Beza, Hemmingius, and others upon the place, It is not meant of all sins done wilfully (which to hold were a most dangerous and despairing doctrine), but of a total defection from Christ and the truth. And now, to return, there is nothing, Lev. v. 2, to exclude a trespass-offering for one who should in his uncleanness wilfully go to the sanctuary, or touch an holy thing; but there is this reason why it should not be excluded, because in that very place, ver. 1, he that did wilfully, for favour or malice, conceal his knowledge, being a witness in judgment, was yet admitted to bring his trespass-offering.

3. The Apostle, 1 Cor. v., gives us some light concerning the cutting off, for (as ver. 6—8) most manifestly he pointeth at the purging of all the congregation of Israel from leaven, Exod. xii.; so ver. 13, when he saith, "Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person," he plainly alludeth to Exod. xii. 15, 19, "Whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation (or church) of Israel." Theophylact on 1 Cor. v. 13, observeth the Apostle's allusion to the old law of cutting off, and Maccovius (otherwise no very good friend to church discipline and government), *Loc. Com. disp.* 22, proveth that excommunication was transferred from the Jews to us by Christ himself, Matt. xviii., and that the cutting off mentioned in the law is no other thing than that which the Apostle meaneth when he saith, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person."

4. The cutting off a soul from among his people did typify or resemble eternal death and condemnation; in which respect Peter doth some way apply it to the days of the gospel, that every soul which will not hear Christ the great prophet "shall be destroyed

from among his people," Acts iii. 23. So Vatablus on Gen. xvii. 14, "That soul shall be cut off," that is, shall not be partaker of my promises, and of my benefits; so that as J. Coch, *Annot. in Sanhedrim*, cap. 9, saith well, death inflicted by the hand of God is less than כרת cutting off, *Nam exterminii post mortem pœna luitur*. The same thing Gul. Vorstius confirmeth out of Maimonides, *Annot. in Maimon. de Fundam. Legis*, p. 127; and Abrabanel, *de capite Fidei*, cap. 8, saith that "the greatest reward is the life of the world to come, and the greatest punishment is the cutting off of the soul." Now this could not so fitly be resembled and shadowed forth by the cutting off from the land of the living, either by the hand of God, or by the hand of the magistrate, as by cutting off from the church, and from the communion of saints by excommunication, which is *summum futuri judicii præjudicium*, as Tertullian called it, and foreshoweth that "the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous," Psal. i. 5. But God's taking away of a man by death, in the phrase of the Old Testament, is not a *cutting off from*, but a *gathering of him unto his people*; yea, it is said of wicked Ishmael when he died, he was *gathered unto his people*; and as for the abbreviation of life, and the untimeliness of death in youth or middle age, that both is now and was of old, one of the things which come alike to all, to the good as well as to the bad. As touching the capital punishment of malefactors by the hand of the magistrate, it being founded upon the very law of nature, and common to all nations without as well as within the church (so that very often those from whom a malefactor is cut off are not so much as by profession the church and people of God), it cannot so fitly resemble the separation or casting out of a man from having part or portion of the inheritance of the saints in light.

5. Dr Buxtorff, *Lexic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.*, p. 1101, tells us that this difference was put between him that was guilty of cutting off, and him that was guilty of death: *Reus mortis, ipse tantum, non semen ejus: pœna exicidii comprehendit ipsum et semen ejus*. Now if the punishment of death was personal only, and the punishment of cutting off comprehensive not only of them but of their seed, how can this agree so well to anything else as to excommunication; espe-

cially if that hold which Godwin in his *Moses and Aaron*, lib. 5, cap. 2, tells us, that the children of excommunicate persons were not circumcised.

6. Mr Selden, *de Jure. Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 7, cap. 10, tells us, that the Hebrew doctors themselves do not agree concerning that cutting off in the law. He saith that R. Bechai and others make three sorts of cutting off: 1. A cutting off whereby the body only is cut off, which they understand by that phrase, Lev. xx. 6, "I will cut him off from among his people;" and this is untimely death, Psal. lv. 23, "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days." 2. They say there was another cutting off, which was of the soul only, Lev. xviii. 29, "The souls that commit these things shall be cut off from among their people." By this cutting off, they say, the soul ceaseth to have a being, the body not being taken away by death before the natural period. 3. They make a third kind whereby both soul and body is cut off, Num. xv. 31, "That soul shall be utterly cut off, his iniquity shall be upon him," whereby, say they, both the body is destroyed before the natural time, and likewise the soul ceaseth to have a being. But whatsoever any of the Hebrews fancied in their declining latter times concerning that second kind of cutting off (which Mr Selden doth not approve, but relate out of them), I am confident it was only the degenerating notion of excommunication, and that very fancy of theirs is a footstep thereof, which may make us easily believe that the more ancient Hebrews in purer times did understand that such a cutting off was mentioned in the law by which a man in respect of his spiritual being was cut off from the church of Israel, while his natural life and being was not taken from him; yea, Gul. Vorstius *Annot. in Maimon. de Fundam. Legis*, p. 60, sheweth us, that some of the Hebrews acknowledge nothing under the name of the cutting off, but that which is the cutting off of the soul only; but if there be so much as some cutting off mentioned in the law which concerneth a man's spiritual estate only, it doth abundantly confirm what I plead for, and I shall not need to assert, that everywhere in the law excommunication must needs be understood by cutting off. Some understand the cutting off in the judicial or civil laws to be meant of capital punishments, and the cutting off in the ceremonial laws (which were

properly ecclesiastical) to be meant of excommunication, or cutting off from the church only; if anywhere the cutting off be excommunication, it sufficeth me, or whatever it may signify more, or be extended unto, if excommunication be one thing which it signifieth, then they who think it signifieth some other thing beside excommunication are not against me in this question.

I shall conclude with that in the *Dutch Annotations* upon Gen. xvii. 14, "that soul shall be cut off from his people." The annotation Englished saith thus, That man shall be excommunicate from the fellowship of God's people. This kind of expression implies also (as some do conceive) a bodily punishment to be inflicted withal by the magistrate. They hold determinately and positively that it signifieth excommunication, whether it signify some other thing beside, they judge not to be so clear, and therefore offer it to be considered.

It is but a poor argument whereby Bishop Bilson, *Of the Government of the Church*, chap. 4, would prove the cutting off not to be meant of excommunication, because it is applied even to capital offences, such as the law elsewhere appointeth men to be put to death for, as if it were any absurdity to say, that one and the same offence is to be punished *sub formalitate scandal*i with excommunication, and *sub formalitate criminis* with capital punishment; and who knoweth not that a capital crime is a cause of excommunication, which is also sometimes the sole punishment, the magistrate neglecting his duty. If a known blasphemer or incestuous person be not cut off by the magistrate, as he ought by the law of God, shall he therefore not be cut off by excommunication. If he had proved that all the causes of cutting off in the law were capital crimes, he had said much; but that will never be proved.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CASTING OUT OF THE SYNAGOGUE.

We read of a casting out of the church, which was pretended to be a matter of conscience and religion, and such as did more especially concern the glory of God, Isa. lxvi. 5, "Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the Lord be glorified." Such was the cast-

ing out of the synagogue mentioned in the gospel, Job ix. 22; xii. 42; xvi. 2, Arias Montanus, *de Arcano Sermone*, cap. 47, expounds it of excommunication from church assemblies. So the Magdeburians, cent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7, and Corn. Bertramus *de Repub. Ebræor.*, cap. 7, Godwin in his *Moses and Aaron*, lib. 3, cap. 4, et lib. 5, cap. 2. Wherein the interpreters also upon the places cited do generally agree—Erasmus, Brentius, Tossanus, Diodati, Cartwright in his *Harmony*, Gerhardus, &c. So likewise Mr Leigh out of *Paulus Tarnovius*, *in synagoga dicitur eiectionis e cœtu sacro ecclesie, excommunicatus*. See *Critica Sacra* of the New Testament p. 391. So doth Aretius, *Theol. Probel.* loc. 133 (though cited by our opposites against us), he saith, though it was abused by the Pharisees, yet it sheweth the ancient use of the thing itself, that there was such a discipline in the Jewish church; it is not much material to dispute which of the degrees of the Jewish excommunication, or whether all the three were meant by that casting out of the synagogue. Drusius and Grotius expound John ix. 22, of *niddui*, Gerhardus expounds John xvi. 2, of all the three, *niddui*, *cherem*, and *schammata*. It is enough for this present argument, if it was a spiritual, or ecclesiastical censure, not a civil punishment. Mr Prynne, *Vindic.* p. 48, 49, tells us: First, this casting out of the synagogue was not warranted by God's word, but was only a human invention; Secondly, as it was practised by the Jews it was a diabolical institution; Thirdly, that it was merely a civil excommunication, like to an outlawry, whereby the party cast out was separate from civil conversation only, or from all company with any man, but was not suspended from any divine ordinance; Fourthly, that it was inflicted by the temporal magistrate; Fifthly, that in the Jewish synagogues at that time, there was neither sacrament nor sacrifice, but only reading, expounding, preaching, disputing, and prayer, so that it cannot prove suspension from the sacrament. To the first I answer, it was not only warranted by the cutting off mentioned in the law, but Erastus himself gives a warrant for it from God's word. He saith, p. 315, the casting out of the synagogue was *vel idem vel simile quiddam* with that separating from the congregation, Ezra x. 18. To the second Aretius hath answered, The best things in the world may be abused. To the third I offer these eight considera-

tions to prove that it was an ecclesiastical not a civil censure.

1. The causes for which men were put out of the synagogues, were matters of scandal, offences in point of religion, and we read of none cast out of the synagogue for a civil injury or crime, it was for confessing Christ, John ix. 22; xii. 42, then counted heresy, and for preaching of the gospel, John xvi. 2.

2. The synagogical assembly or court was spiritual and ecclesiastical, as Ludovicius de Dieu noteth upon Matt. x. 17. We read of "the rulers of the synagogue," Acts xiii. 15, among whom he that did preside and moderate, was called "the chief ruler of the synagogue," Acts xviii. 8, 17, names never given to civil magistrates or judges. Therefore Brughton makes this of the rulers of the synagogue to be one of the parallels between the Jewish and the Christian church, see his *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, p. 14, 16. As for that assembly of the Pharisees which did cast out or excommunicate the blind man, John ix., Tossanus upon the place calls it *senatus ecclesiasticus*; and Brentius argueth from this example against the infallibility of councils, because this council of the Pharisees called Christ himself a sinner.

3. The court of civil judgment was in the gates of the city, not in the synagogue.

4. Such as the communion and fellowship was in the synagogue, such was the casting out of the synagogue; but the communion or fellowship which one enjoyed in the synagogue was a church communion and sacred fellowship in acts of divine worship, therefore the casting out of the synagogue was also ecclesiastical and spiritual, not civil or temporal. The end was sacred and spiritual, to glorify God, Isa. lxvi. 5, to do God good service, John xvi. 2, in that which did more immediately and nearly touch his name and his glory. Though the Pharisees did falsely pretend that end, their error was not in mistaking the nature of the censure, but in misapplying it where they had no just cause.

5. Mr Prynne himself tells us, p. 49, that this excommunication from the synagogue was of force forty days (though I believe he hath added ten more than enough, and if he look over his books better, he will find he should have said thirty), yet so as that it might be shortened upon repentance. But, I pray, are civil punishments shortened or lengthened according to the parties repentance? I know church censures are so, but I

had thought the end of civil punishments is not to reclaim a man's soul by repentance, and then to be taken off, but to guard the laws of the land; to preserve justice, peace, and good order; to make others fear to do evil; to uphold the public good. The magistrate must both punish and continue punishments as long as is necessary for those ends, whether the party be penitent or not.

6. How is it credible that the Holy Ghost, meaning to express a casting out from civil company or conversation only (which was not within, but without the synagogue), would choose such a word as signifieth the casting out from an ecclesiastical or sacred assembly (for such were the synagogues in which the Jews had reading, expounding, preaching and prayer, as Mr Prynne tells us)? Christ himself distinguisheth the court or judicatory which was in the synagogue from civil magistracy, Luke xii. 11, "And when they bring you unto the synagogues, and unto magistrates and powers." Magistrates and powers are civil rulers, supreme and subordinate, but the synagogues are distinct courts from both these.

7. Our opposites cannot give any other rational interpretation of the word *ἐκκλήσιον*. Erastus, p. 315, confesseth it is very hard to tell what it was. He gives three conjectures: First, that it was some ignominy put upon a man, which I think nobody denies, and it may well stand with our interpretation. Secondly, he saith not that it was a separating of the party from all company, or society with any man (for which Mr Prynne citeth Erastus with others), but a pulling away, or casting out of a man from some particular town only, for instance, from Nazareth. Thirdly, he saith, it seems also to have been a refusal of the privileges of Jewish citizens, or the esteeming of one no longer for a true Jew, but for a proselyte; but that a proselyte, who was free to come both to temple and synagogue (for of such a proselyte he speaketh expressly), should be said to be made *ἐκκλήσιον*, it may well weaken, it cannot strengthen his cause.

8. In *Tzemach David*, edit. Hen. Vorstius, p. 89, we read, that when the sanhedrim did remove from Jerusalem, forty years before the destruction of the temple, there was a prayer composed against the heretics. Hen. Vorstius, in his *Observ.*, p. 286, sheweth out of Maimonides that it was a maledictory prayer appointed to be used against the heretics of that time, who in-

creased mightily, and that R. Sol. Jarchi addeth this explanation of the word *מִינִיּוֹ* *Minim*, the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth. Dr Buxtorff, *Lexic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.*, p. 1201, collecteth that this maledictory prayer was composed in Christ's time, and against his disciples. Surely it suiteth no story so well as that of the decree of casting out of the synagogue, John xii. 42.

After all these eight considerations, this I must add, that I do not a little admire how Mr Prynne could cite *Godwin's Jewish Antiquities*, lib. 5, cap. 2, for that opinion, that the casting out of the synagogue was not an ecclesiastical but only a civil censure. If he had but looked to the page immediately preceding, he had found this distinction between the ecclesiastical and civil courts of the Jews. "The office of the ecclesiastical court was to put a difference between things holy and unholy, &c. It was a representative church, hence is that, *dic ecclesie*, Matt. xviii. 17, Tell the church, because unto them belonged the power of excommunication, the several sorts of which censure follow." And so he beginneth with the casting out of the synagogue, as the first or lesser excommunication, or *niddui*, and tells us among other effects of it, that the male children of one thus cast out were not circumcised.

To Mr Prynne's fourth exception the answer may be collected from what is already said. We never find the temporal magistrate called *the ruler of the synagogue*, nor yet that he sat in judgment in the synagogue. The beating or scourging in the synagogues was a tumultuous disorderly act: we read of no sentence given, but only to be put out of the synagogue, which sentence was given by the synagogical consistory, made up of the priest or priests and Jewish elders; for the power of judging in things and causes ecclesiastical, did belong to the priests and Levites, together with the elders of Israel, 1 Chron. xxiii. 4; xxvi. 30, 32; 2 Chron. xix. 8; and, therefore, what reason Mr Prynne had to exclude the priests from this corrective power, and from being rulers of the synagogue, I know not. Sure I am the scriptures cited make priests and Levites to be judges and rulers ecclesiastical, of which before. As for the chief ruler of the synagogue, *Archysynagogus errat primarius in synagoga doctor*, say the Centurists, cent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7, and if so, then not a civil magistrate.

To the fifth I answer, 1. If there was an

exclusion from reading, expounding, preaching and prayer, then much more from sacraments, in which there is more of the communion of saints. 2. He that was cast out of the synagogue might not enter into the synagogue, saith Menochius in John ix. 22, therefore he did not communicate in prayer with the congregation, nor in other acts of divine worship (which how far it is applicable to excommunication in the Christian church I do not now dispute; nor are all of one opinion concerning excommunicate persons' admission unto some, or exclusion from all public ordinances, hearing of the word and all), I know Erastus answereth, the word *synagogue* may signify either the material house—the place of assembling, or the people—the congregation which did assemble. And some who differ in judgment from us in this particular, hold that when we read of putting out of the synagogue, the word *synagogue* doth not signify the house, or place, of public worship (which yet it doth signify in other places, as Luke vii. 5; Acts xviii. 7), but the church or assembly itself. But I take it to signify both jointly; and that it was a casting out, even from the place itself, such as that, John ix. 34, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω, “And they cast him out,” or *excommunicated him*, as the English translators add in the margin; besides I take what it is granted—it was a casting out from the assembly or congregation itself. But how could a man be cast out from the congregation, and yet be free to come where the congregation was assembled together? O! but he must keep off four cubits' distance from all other men. And was there so much room to reel to and fro in the synagogue? I do not understand how a man shall satisfy himself in that notion. But I rather think Bertramus speaks rationally, that he that was excommunicate by *niddui* was shut out *ab hominum contubernio atque adeo ab ipsius Tabernaculi aditu. de Rep. Jud.*, cap. 7, which *niddui* he takes to be the same with casting out of the synagogue. He that was cast out from men's society must needs be excluded from the public holy assemblies, and from the place where these assemblies are. Whereunto agreeth that which we read in *Exc. Gem. Sanhedrim*, cap. 3, sect. 9, A certain disciple having, after two-and-twenty years, divulged that which had been said in the school of R. Ammi, he was brought out of the synagogue, and the said rabbi caused it to be proclaimed, This is a revealer of secrets.

3. It is more than Mr Prynne can prove, that the sacrament of circumcision was not then administered in the synagogues. The Jews do administer it in their synagogues; and that John was circumcised in the synagogue some gather from Luke i. 59: *Venerunt*, “They came (to wit to the synagogue) to circumcise the child.” For my part, I lay no weight upon that argument; but I see less ground for Mr Prynne's assertion.

As for that which Mr Prynne addeth in the close, that those who were cast out of the synagogue might yet resort to the temple, he hath said nothing to prove it. I find the same thing affirmed by Sutilivius *de Presbyt.*, p. 25 (though I had thought Mr Prynne's tenets of this kind should never have complied with those of Episcopal men against the anti-episcopal party); but neither doth Sutilivius prove it: only he holds that the casting out of the synagogue was merely a civil excommunication; and his reason is that which he had to prove,—that Christ and his disciples, when they were cast out of the synagogues, had, notwithstanding, a free access to the temple. To my best observation I can find no instance of any admitted to the temple while cast out of the synagogue. I turn again to Erastus, p. 314, to see whether he proves it. He gives us two instances,—first of Christ himself, who was cast out of the synagogues, and yet came into the temple. But how proves he that Christ was ἀποσυνάγωγος? For this he tells us only *quis dubitat*,—who makes question of it? I am one who make a great question of it, or rather put it out of question, that Christ was not cast out of the synagogues; for what saith he himself, John xviii. 20, “I ever taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whether the Jews always resort.” Christ was cast out of the city of Nazareth, in the tumult, by the people, Luke iv. But here was no consistorial sentence; it was not the casting out of the synagogue of which our question is. The other instance which Erastus gives helps him as little. The apostles, saith he, were cast out of the synagogue, and yet immediately went to the temple and taught the people, Acts iv. and v. And how many synagogues was Paul cast out of? 2 Cor. xi. yet he is not reprehended for coming into the temple.

Ans. I find nothing of the synagogue in those places which he citeth. It was the

council, not the synagogue, which the apostles had to do with, Acts iv. and v.

But what have they gained if they could prove that Christ or his apostles, while known to be excommunicate from the synagogues, were admitted into the temple? How often did they come into the temple when the priests, and elders, and scribes, would gladly have cast them out, but they feared the people, and so were restrained? Nay, what if they could give other instances that such as were cast out of the synagogue were permitted to come into the temple, what gain they thereby? If we understand the casting out of the synagogue to be meant of *addui*, of the lesser excommunication, as Drusus, Bertramus, Grotius, and Godwin understand it, we are not at all pinched or straitened; nay, though we should also comprehend the *cherem*, or greater excommunication, under this casting out of the synagogue, all that will follow upon the admission of such into the temple will be this, that excommunicate persons, when they desired to make atonement for their sin by sacrifice, were, for that end, admitted into the temple, (which who denies?) but still with a mark of ignominy upon them as long as they were excommunicated, as I have showed before, chap. iv. Finally, whereas Mr Prynne concludeth his discourse of this point, that we may as well prove excommunication from Diotrephes, 3 John 10, as from the casting out of the synagogue, I admit the parallel thus:—The Pharisees did cast out from the synagogue such as professed Christ; Diotrephes did cast out of the church (as John saith) such as received the brethren. Both *clave errante*; the ecclesiastical censure was abused and misapplied, yet from both it appeareth that ecclesiastical censures were used in the church. There was a casting out of the synagogue used among the Jews, which the Pharisees did abuse; there was a casting out of the church used among Christians, which Diotrephes did abuse. I remember I heard Mr Coleman once draw an argument against excommunication from that text in John concerning Diotrephes, which is, as if we should argue thus: The Scripture tells us it is a sin to condemn the righteous, therefore it is a sin to condemn. It is a sin to cast out of the church godly persons who love and receive the brethren, therefore it is a sin to cast out of the church. A fallacy à dicto secundum quid ad dictum simplici-

ter. The weight is laid upon the application of such a censure to such persons. An unjust excommunication is not imitable, but a just excommunication is imitable, according to the warning given us in the words immediately added, "follow not that which is evil, but that which is good."

CHAPTER VII.

OTHER SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENTS TO PROVE AN EXCOMMUNICATION IN THE JEWISH CHURCH.

Another scripture proving excommunication in the Jewish church (which is also parallel to that casting out of the synagogue, as Erastus himself told us) is Ezra x. 8, "That whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and elders, all his substance should be forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation (or church: it is *kahal* in the Hebrew, and *ἐκκλησία* in the Greek) of those that had been carried away."

This separation from the congregation or church is not meant of banishment, but of excommunication, as it is interpreted by Lyra, Hugo Cardinalis, Cajetan, Nicholas Lombardus, Mariana, Cornelius à Lapide; of Protestants, Pellicanus, Lavater, Diodati, the *Dutch Annotations*, the late *English Annotations*,—all upon the place; also by Zepperus, *de Pol. Eccl.*, lib. 3, cap. 7, and divers others who cite that place occasionally. Ampsingius, *Disp. Advers. Anabaptist*, p. 276, doth from that place confute the Anabaptists' tenet, that there was no other but a civil tribunal in the Jewish church. Beda, upon the place, calls this assembly a synod, *finita synodo*, &c. Josephus, *Antiq.*, lib. 11, cap. 5, expresseth the punishment of those who would not come to Jerusalem at that time, thus, ἀπαλλοτριωθησμένων τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κρίσιν ἀφιέρωθησόμενης. A double punishment ἀπαλλοτριώσις and ἀφιέρωσις: the former is referred to the persons themselves, and it signifieth an *abalienation* of those persons from the congregation, not a banishing or driving of them out of the land; for ἀπαλλοτριώσις signifieth to abalienate a person or thing, by renouncing and quitting the right, title, and interest, which formerly we had in that person or thing; so houses, lands, persons,

&c., are abalienated, when (though they and we remain where before) we cease to own them as ours; and thus the congregation of Israel did renounce their interest in those offenders, and would not own them as church-members. The other punishment was the dedicating or devoting of their substance. Gelenius, the interpreter, hath rightly rendered the sense of Josephus, *et quisquis non adfuerat intra præscriptum tempus, ut excommunicetur, bonaque ejus sacro aërio addicantur*. You will object, this separation from the congregation is coupled together with forfeiture of a man's estate; and so seemeth rather banishment than excommunication. This objection being taken off, I think there shall be no other difficulty to perplex our interpretation. Wherefore I answer these two things: 1. It is the opinion of divers who hold two sanhedrims among the Jews, one civil and another ecclesiastical, that in causes and occasions of a mixed nature, which did concern both church and state, both did consult, conclude, and decree, in a joint way, and by agreement together. Now, Ezra x., the princes, elders, priests, and Levites, were assembled together upon an extraordinary cause, which conjuncture and concurrence of the civil and the ecclesiastical power might occasion the denouncing of a double punishment upon the contumacious, *forfeiture and excommunication*. But, 2. The objection made doth rather confirm me that excommunication is intended in that place; for this forfeiture was ἀφιέρωσις, a making sacred, or dedicating to an holy use, as I have shown out of Josephus. The original word translated *forfeited* is more properly translated *devoted*, which is the word put in the margin of our books. The Greek saith ἀναθεματισθήσεαι, *anathematizabitur*, which is the best rendering of the Hebrew חָרַם. It was not therefore that which we call *forfeiture* of a man's substance. *Intellige*, saith Grotius, *ita ut Deo sacra fiat*; and so the excommunication of a man, and the *devoting of his substance as holy to the Lord*, were joined together; and the substance had not been anathematised if the man had not been anathematised. I do not say that excommunication, *ex natura rei*, doth infer and draw after it the devoting of a man's estate as holy to the Lord. No; excommunication cannot hurt a man in his worldly estate farther than the civil magistrate and the law of the land appointeth; and there was

excommunication in the apostolical churches, where there was no Christian magistrate to add a civil mulct. But the devoting of the substance of excommunicated persons, Ezra x., as it had the authority of the princes and rulers for it, so what extraordinary warrants or instinct there was upon that extraordinary exigence we cannot tell.

Finally, Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gentium*, lib. 4, cap. 9, p. 523, agreeth with Lud. Capellus, that the separation from the congregation, Ezra x. 8, *plane ipsum est ἀποσπάσθων fieri*, is the very same with casting out of the synagogue; which confuteth farther that which Mr Prynne holds, that the casting out of the synagogue was not warranted by God's word, but was only a human invention.

I know some have drawn another argument for the Jewish excommunication from Neh. xiii. 25, "I contended with them, and cursed them," *id est, anathematizavi et excommunicavi*, saith Cornelius à Lapide upon the place; so Tirinis upon the same place. Mariana expounds it, *anathema dixi*. Aben Ezra understands it of two kinds of excommunication, *niddui* and *cherem*. For my part, I lay no weight upon this, unless you understand the cursing or malediction to be an act of the ecclesiastical power, only authorised or countenanced by the magistrate, which the words may well bear; for neither is it easily credible that Nehemiah did, with his own hand, smite those men and pluck off their hair, but that, by his authority, he took care to have it done by civil officers, as the cursing by ecclesiastical officers. The *Dutch Annotations* lean this way, telling us that Nehemiah did express his zeal against them as persons that deserved to be banned, or cut off from the people of God.

Another text proving the Jewish excommunication is Luke vi. 22, "When they shall separate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil." It was the most misapplied censure in the world, in respect of the persons thus cast out; but yet it proves the Jewish custom of casting out such as they thought wicked and obstinate persons. This ἀφορισμός Beda upon the place understandeth of casting out of the synagogue, *separent et synagoga depellant, &c.*, yet it is a more general and comprehensive word than the casting out of the synagogue. It comprehendeth all the three degrees of the Jewish excommunications, as Grotius expounds the place; which agreeth with *Mun-*

sterus Dictionar. Trilingue, where ἀφορισμός is the only Greek word given both for the three Hebrew words, *niddui*, *cherem*, and *schammata*, and for the Latin *excommunicatio*. Wherefore ἀφορισμός in this place is *extermino*, *excommunico*, *repudio*, which is one of the usual significations of the word given by Stephanus and by Scapula. It is a word frequently used in the canons of the most ancient councils to express such a separation as was a church censure, and, namely, suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's supper; for, by the ancient canons of the councils, such offences as were punished in a minister by *καθαίρεσις*, that is, deposition, were punished in one of the people by ἀφορισμός, that is, segregation or sequestration. Zonaras, upon the 13th canon of the eighth General Council, observeth a double ἀφορισμός used in the ancient church: one was a total separation, or casting out of the church, which is usually called excommunication; another was a suspension or sequestration from the sacrament only, of which I am to speak more afterward in the third book. I hold now at the text in hand, which may be thus read, according to the sense and letter both, *when they shall excommunicate you, &c.*; howbeit the other reading, *when they shall separate you*, holds forth the same thing which I speak of. *Separate* from what? Our translators supply, *from their company*. But from what company of theirs? Not from their civil company only, but from their sacred or church assemblies, and from religious fellowship, it being a church censure and a part of ecclesiastical discipline; in which sense, as this word frequently occurreth in the Greek fathers and ancient canons, when they speak of church discipline, so doubtless it must be taken in this place. 1. Because, as Grotius tells us, that which made the Jews the rather to separate men in this manner from their society, was the want of the civil coercive power of magistracy, which sometime they had. And I have proved before, that the civil sanhedrim, which had power of criminal and capital judgments, did remove from Jerusalem, and cease to execute such judgment, forty years before the destruction of the temple. 2. Because, in all other places of the New Testament where the same word is used, it never signifieth a bare separation from civil company, but either a conscientious and religious separation, by which church members did intend

to keep themselves pure from such as did walk (or were conceived to walk) disorderly and scandalously, Acts xix. 9; 2 Cor. vi. 17; Gal. ii. 13; or God's separating between the godly and the wicked, Matt. xiii. 49; xxv. 32; or the setting apart of men to the ministry of the gospel, Acts xiii. 2; Rom. i. 1; Gal. i. 15. 3. A civil separation is for a civil injury; but this separation is for wickedness and impiety, whether accompanied with civil injury or no; they shall cast out your name as evil, *ὡς πορνῶν*, or, as it seems, the Syraic and Arabic interpreters did read, *ὡς πορνῶν, tanquam improborum*, as of wicked and evil men. The sense is the same.

Thus far of the Jewish church, the Jewish ecclesiastical sanhedrim, the Jewish excommunication. I proceed to the Jewish exomologesis, or public confession of sin.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE JEWISH EXOMOLOGESIS, OR PUBLIC DECLARATION OF REPENTANCE BY CONFESSION OF SIN.

As there were some footsteps of public confession among the heathen, and, namely, among the Lacedemonians, who made him that was apprehended in a crime to compass the altar, and there to express his own shame, and to pronounce some disgraceful words against himself;¹ so, I make no doubt, they had this (as many other rites) from an imitation of the people of God, who had their own exomologies and public testimonies of repentance, which may thus appear.

First. A man was to put his hand upon the head of the sacrifice which he brought, and so it was accepted to make atonement for him, Lev. i. 4, and this was done in the tabernacle before the priest. Genebrardus and Lorinus, in Psal. xxxi. 5, tells us out of Aben Ezra and other rabbinical authors, and *ex libro Siphri*, that when he that brought the sacrifice did put his hands between the horns of the beast which was to be offered, he did distinctly commemorate that sin for which he did then repent, professing his detestation thereof, and promising to do so no more. Mr Ainsworth, on Lev. i. 4, to the same purpose, citeth out of Mai-monides in his Treatise of offering sacrifices,

¹ Lorinus in Psal. iii. 1, 5, ex Plutarcho.

cap. 3, these words, "He layeth his hands between the two horns, and confesseth upon the same, offering the iniquity of sin, and upon the trespass-offering the iniquity of trespass; and upon the burnt-offering he confesseth the iniquity of doing that which he should not, and not doing that he ought," &c. Now, that confession of sin was joined with the laying on of hands upon the sacrifice is not only proved by the judgment of the Hebrews, understanding the law in that sense, but by the law itself, Lev. xvi. 21, where Aaron is commanded to lay his hands upon the head of the live goat, "and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat."

Secondly. The law appointeth confession to be made at the bringing of trespass-offerings, Lev. v., and that in three kinds of trespasses.

1. If one hear the voice of swearing, that is, hear his neighbour swearing or cursing, which he ought to reveal, and is a witness whether he hath seen or known of it (that is, whether he himself hath been present at the cursing or reviling of God, Lev. xxiv. 10, 11, or of man, 2 Sam. xvi. 7, or hath heard it by relation from others, and known it that way, so the *Dutch Annotations* and the best interpreters), if he do not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity. The meaning is, when one doth, for favour or malice (so Aretius and Pareus upon the place), dissemble the truth and conceal his knowledge, and so make himself partaker of other men's sins. Grotius expounds it by Prov. xxix., "Whoso is partner with a thief hateth his own soul; he heareth cursing and bewrayeth it not." In such a case a man did greatly scandalise all those (were they more or fewer) who knew his dissimulation, and that he did not utter his knowledge.

2. If one had touched any unclean thing, and, not being cleansed from his uncleanness, did go into the sanctuary or touch an holy thing¹ (whether he knew himself to have touched the unclean thing, when he went into the sanctuary, but did afterward forget it, as the Hebrews understand the place, or whether he did not know of his uncleanness when he went into the sanctuary), as soon as it was revealed to him by others who did take offence at it, or otherwise brought to

his knowledge, he was held guilty till confession and atonement was made. It was not simply the touching of an unclean thing for which the confession and trespass-offering was appointed; seeing the law (saith Ainsworth) maketh such unclean but till evening, Lev. xi. 24, 31, when, washing themselves and their clothes, they were clean; and for uncleanness by a dead man, the sprinkling water cleansed them, Num. xix. 17—19. Wherefore he resolveth, out of the Hebrew doctors, that this confession of sin and the trespass-offering was required, in case an unclean person, in his uncleanness, came to the sanctuary, or did eat of an holy thing.

3. If one had sworn unadvisedly, as David, 1 Sam. xxv. 22, Herod, Mark vi. 23, those conspirators against Paul, Acts xxiii. 21 (which are the examples given in the *Dutch Annotations*, and they are examples of scandals), if the thing were hid from him, through the distemper, impetuosity, and passion of his spirit overclouding the eye of his mind, so that when he hath sworn a scandalous oath he scarce knows or remembers well the thing. Or thus, if a man had sworn an oath to do a thing, or not to do it, and afterward falsified his oath, either because he could not do what he had rashly sworn, or because he was unwilling to do it, or because he neglected to do it, (Aretius puts this triple case in expounding the text); when a man was brought to the knowledge of the falsifying of his oath, *being told, or put in mind of it by others*, saith Diodati, which was also a case of scandal.

In any of these three cases a man was to confess his sin when he brought his trespass-offering, and the offering was not accepted without confession; Lev. v. 5, "And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing; and he shall bring his trespass-offering," &c. This confession was made in the priest's hearing, and not to God alone, as Mr Prynne affirmeth, *Vindic. p.*

¹ Bucer Scripta Anglicana, p. 310. Nunc autem legimus, Lev. iv. 5, 6. Deum populo suo ordinasse ac mandasse: si quos de populo, de sacerdotibus, aut principibus, aut si etiam populus universus aliquid forte deliquisset contra mandata sua, seu faciendo quæ ipse vetuerat, seu omitendo quæ præceperat; ut tales ante se in ecclesia sua, et coram sacerdote comparerent, ibi peccatum suum confiterentur, veniam peterent, oblationes suas offerrent, et hoc modo per sacerdotem reconciliationem consequerentur. Idque haud dubie non absque seria humilitione, planctu, et jejuniis.

¹ See Ainsworth upon the place.

17. For, 1. It was a ceremonial law concerning the external worship of God, and a part of the law of trespass-offerings. He might as well have said, that the trespass-offering was made to God alone, without the presence of the priest or any other. 2. He himself doth not deny (but intimate) that, till such confession was made, a man was not admitted to make atonement by trespass-offerings; and so do the Jews understand the law of confession, as we shall hear by and by. Now how could it be known whether a man had confessed any thing at all, if it was secretly, and to God alone? 3. The sins to be confessed were oft-times scandalous and known to others (as hath been cleared), therefore the confession was to be known to others also. 4. That this confession (not private and auricular, but public and penitential) was made in the temple, before, and in the hearing of the priest, I prove from Philo the Jew, in his book *de Sacr. Abelis et Caini*, at the close, speaking of the Levite's ministry, he saith, that he did execute and perform *λειτουργίας ἀνάσας*, all those services which belong to a perfect priesthood, and to the bringing of man to God, whether by burnt-offerings, *ἢ διὰ μερῶν ἀναπραμάρων, aut pro peccatis quorum pœnitet*, saith Gelenius the interpreter, meaning the trespass-offerings. But observe further, he speaks of the penitential part, or public things, or rather of the public declaration of repentance; repentance of sins, that is, repentance declared or professed (which was in the confession joined with the trespass-offerings) was one of the chief things about which the Levitical ministry was exercised, which is the clear sense of the place. More plainly, the same *Philo lib. de victimis* towards the close, where he tells that certain parts of the trespass-offerings were eaten by the priests, and that these must be eaten in the temple, he gives this reason for it, lest the penitent's sin and shame should be divulged and punished more than needs must, which intimateth that the particular offence was so confessed that it was made known to such as were within the temple.

The third scriptural proof is Num. v. 6, 7, "When a man or a woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the Lord, and that person be guilty, then they shall confess their sin which they have done, and he shall recompense his trespass," &c. The Hebrews expound it thus, "All the precepts in the law, whether they

command or forbid a thing, if a man transgress against any one of them, either presumptuously or ignorantly, when he maketh repentance and turneth from his sin, he is bound to confess before the blessed God, as in Num. v. 7. This confession is with words, and it is commanded to be done. How do they confess? He saith, Oh God, I have sinned, I have done perversely, I have trespassed before thee, and have done thus and thus, and, lo, I repent, and am ashamed of my doings, and I will never do this thing again. And this is the foundation of confession; and whoso maketh a large confession, and is long in this thing, he is to be commended; and so the owners of sin and trespass-offerings, when they bring their oblations for their ignorant or for their presumptuous sins, atonement is not made for them by their oblation, until they have made repentance and confession by word of mouth; likewise all condemned to death by the magistrates, or condemned to stripes, no atonement is made for them by their death, or by their stripes, until they have repented and confessed. And so he that hurteth his neighbour, or doth him damage, though he pay him whatsoever he oweth him, atonement is not made for him, until he confess and turn away from doing so again for ever, as it is written in Num. v. 6, any of all the sins of men." All this Ainsworth transcribeth out of *Maimon. in Misn. Treat. of Repentance*, chap. 1, sect. 1, see also the Latin edition of the *Jewish Canons of Repentance*, printed at Cambridge anno 1631, where, beside that passage in the first chapter concerning the necessity of confessing by word of mouth that sin for which the trespass-offering was brought, you have another plain passage, cap. 2, for public confession, not of private sins known to God only, but of known sins by which others were scandalised.¹

¹ Eximia laus est pœnitentiam agentis, ut publice confiteatur, iniquitates suas toti castui indicans, et delicta quæ in proximum admisit, aliis aperiens hunc in modum. Revera peccavi in N. N. (virum nominans) et hæc vel illa feci: Ecce autem me vobis nunc convertor, et me facti pœnitet. Qui vero præ superbia non indicat, sed abscondit iniquitates suas, illi perfecta non est pœnitentia: quia dicitur. Qui abscondit scelera sua, non dirigetur. Hæc dicta intelligenda sunt de peccatis quæ in proximum admittantur. Verum in transgressionibus quæ sunt hominis in Deum, non necesse est cuiquam seipsum propalare: quin imo perfricta frontis est, illiusmodi peccata revelare: Sed in conspectu Dei pœnitentiam agit, et coram illo peccata hæc speciatim recenset.

In which passage I understand by sins against God, sins known to God only. 1. Because it is forbidden to reveal those sins, therefore they were secret. 2. Because otherwise those canons shall contradict themselves, for in cap. 1 it is told us that all who brought trespass-offerings were bound to confess, by word of mouth, the sin which they had done, without which confession they got not leave to make atonement by the trespass-offering. Now trespass-offerings were for sins against God, as well as for sins against man. 3. It should otherwise contradict the law, Num. v. 6, which appointeth any sin or trespass against the Lord to be confessed. 4. Those trespasses were to be publicly confessed, for which, in case of impenitency and obstinacy, a man was excommunicated with *cherem*, or the greater excommunication. But a man was excommunicated for divers sins against God, which did not at all wrong his neighbour, setting aside the scandal, which I have proved before. These four reasons will prove either that the meaning of that canon must be of private sins, and not of public and scandalous sins against the first table, or otherwise that the canon is contrary to, and inconsistent with both Scripture, reason, and other rabbinical writings.

From the law, Num. v., thus exampled, observe concerning the confession of sin: 1. It was for any scandalous sin of commission or omission against the first or second table; 2. It was not free and voluntary to the offender. I do not say that he was compelled to it by any external force or coercive power, but he was commanded and obliged by the law to confess. Vatablus on Num. v. 7, *Fatebuntur*, i.e. *tanebuntur fateri*, they shall confess, that is, they shall be bound to confess, and a man was not admitted with his trespass-offering except he confessed; 3. It was done by word of mouth; 4. And publicly before the congregation that were present; 5. The particular trespass was named in the confession; 6. Sins both of ignorance and malice, when scandalous, were to be confessed; 7. The sinner was not stinted to a prescript form of words in confession, but was to enlarge his confession as his heart was enlarged; 8. In criminal

and capital cases, beside the civil or corporal punishment, confession was to be made, because of the scandal which had been given, which doth further appear from the Talmud itself, in sanhedrim, cap. 6, sect. 2, for that is observed in all who are put to death, that they must confess, for whoever doth confess, he hath part in the world to come; and namely it is recorded of Achan, that Joshua said to him, "My son, give now glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him; and Achan answered, Indeed I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and thus and thus, &c., whence it is collected that his confession did expiate his sin. And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us, God shall trouble thee this day; this day thou shalt be troubled, not in the world to come." The like you read of Achan in Pirke R. Elieser, cap. 38. I know Achan's confession was not in the sanctuary, nor at a trespass-offering; but I make mention of it because Erastus holdeth,¹ that under the law confession was only required in such cases where the sin was not criminal or capital; which is confuted by the afore-mentioned passages in Maimonides and the Talmud itself, proving that whether the sin was expiated by sacrifice or by death, it was always to be confessed; from the same example of Achan doth P. Galatinus,² lib. 10, cap. 3, prove that declaration of repentance was to be made by word of mouth, and that the sin was to be particularly confessed, which he further proveth by another rabbinical passage.

In the fourth place, John ix. 24 seemeth to hold forth a judicial public confession of sin to have been required of scandalous sinners. The Pharisees being upon an examination of him that was born blind and was made to see, they labour to drive him so far from confessing Christ, as to confess sin and wicked collusion, "Give God the praise (say they), we know that this man is a sinner," which is to be expounded by Josh. vii. 19, "Give glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession."

Fifthly, as the Jews had an excommunication, so they had an absolution, and that which intervened was confession, and decla-

¹ Confirm. Thes. p. 106, 113.

² Hunc confessionem Hebraei vocant confessionem super peccato singulari, quia in aliis sacrificiis fiebat confessio peccatorum generalis, saith Vatablus upon the place.

³ Ex eo quod in libro Jomo, id est, dierum, in capite, jam hakippurim, id est, dies propitiationum, ita scribitur. Dixit Rab. Hunna: Omnis qui transgressione transgressus est necesse est ut singularim exprimat peccatum.

ration of repentance. And hence came the Arabic נָדַם *nadam*, he hath repented, and נָדִים *nadim*, a penitent, the *niddui* made the *nadim*; for when a man was excommunicated by the lesser excommunication, the consistory¹ waited first thirty days, and then other thirty days, and as some think (the third time) thirty days, to see whether the offender were penitent (which could not be known without confession), and would seek absolution, which if he did not, but continued obstinate and impenitent, then they proceeded to the greater excommunication, which doth prove a public confession, at least in the case of the excommunicated.

Sixthly, we find a public penitential confession, Ezra x. 10, 11: "And Ezra the priest stood up and said unto them, Ye have transgressed, and have taken strange wives to increase the trespass of Israel; now therefore make confession unto the Lord God of your fathers, and do his pleasure, and separate yourselves from the people of the land, and from the strange wives." Mark here, the forsaking of the sin could not suffice without confessing the sin; all Israel had sworn and covenanted to do the thing, to put away the strange wives, ver. 5, but Ezra the priest tells them, they must also make confession of their sin; confession of their former trespass must be joined with reformation for the future: all which the people promise to do as Ezra had said, ver. 12. But what was this confession, was it only a private confession to God alone, or was it only a general confession made by the whole congregation of Israel at a solemn fast and humiliation? Nay, that there was a third sort of confession, differing from both these, appeareth by ver. 13, "Neither is this a work of one day, or two, for we are many that have transgressed in this thing;" yea, three months are spent in the business, ver. 16, 17, during which space all that had taken strange wives came at appointed times out of every city, and were successively examined by Ezra the priest, and certain chief

of the fathers and Levites (such of both as were not themselves guilty), before whom such as were found guilty did make confession; the sons of the priests made confession as well as others, yea, with the first, and gave their hands that they would put away their wives; and being guilty, they offered a ram of the flock for their trespass; with which trespass-offering confession was ever joined, as hath been before shewed from the law.

Seventhly, Mr Hildersham, of worthy memory, in his thirty-fourth lecture upon Psal. li., draweth an argument from David's example for the public confession of a scandalous sin before the church. He made, saith he, public confession of his sin to the congregation, and church of God, for we see in the title of this psalm, 1. That he committed this psalm (that containeth the acknowledgment of his sin, and profession of his repentance) to the chief musician to be published in the sanctuary and temple; 2. That in this publication of his repentance he hideth not from the church his sin, nor cloaketh it at all, but expresseth in particular the special sin, &c. Add hereunto, this public confession was made after ministerial conviction by Nathan, who did convince David of the greatness of that scandalous sin, in which he had then continued impenitent near a year or thereabout. The doctrine which Mr Hildersham draweth from David's example is this, "That they whose sins God hath detected and brought to light, whose sins are public and notorious, scandalous and offensive to the congregations where they live, ought to be willing to confess their sins publicly, to make their repentance as public and notorious as their sin is." He addeth in his explanation, "When they shall be required to do it by the discipline of the church." Mark one of his applications (which is the subject of the thirty-seventh lecture): "The second sort that are to be reproved by this doctrine, are such as having authority to enjoin public repentance to scandalous sinners, for the satisfying of the congregation, when they are detected and presented unto them, refuse or neglect to do it." And here he complaineth, that the public acknowledgment of scandalous sins was grown out of use, and that though it was ordered by authority, yet it was not put in execution. "The canons of our church (saith he, can. 26), straitly charge every minister, that he shall not in any wise admit

¹ Seld. de Jure Nat. et Gentium, lib. 4, cap. 8. Pro diversitate peccati et peccantis moribus, nunc citius nunc serius sequebatur absolutio. Sed ut plurimum excommunicatio fiebat in diem tricesimum, etc. Intra hoc tempus expectabat forum ut ad Bonam rediret. mentem, respiceret, et quæ juberent ipsi præstaret, etc. Post triginta dierum contumaciam, idem tempus semel iterabatur, etc. At vero si neque intra id spatii penitens absolutionem peteret, *in Cherem* seu anathemate feriebatur.

to the communion any of his flock which be openly known to live in sin notorious without repentance. And *The Book of Common Prayer*, in the rubric before the communion, commandeth, that if any be an open and notorious evil liver, so that the congregation by him is offended, the minister shall call him, and advertise him in anywise not to presume to the Lord's table till he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented, that the congregation may thereby be satisfied, which were afore offended. So that you may see the laws and discipline of our church require that open and scandalous sinners should do open and public repentance, yea, give power to the minister to repel and keep back such from the communion that refuse to do it." Where it may be observed by the way, that the power of elderships for suspending scandalous persons (not excommunicated) from the sacrament, now so much contended against by Mr Prynne, is but the same power which was granted by authority to the ministry even in the prelatical times; and he hath upon the matter endeavoured to bring the consciences of a whole eldership into a greater servitude under this present reformation, than the conscience of a single minister was formerly brought under by law in this particular.

Eighthly, Mr Hildersham, *ibid.* lect. 34, argueth not only *à pari* but *à fortiori*. If a necessity of satisfying an offended brother, how much more a necessity of satisfying an offended church, which will equally hold both for the Old and New Testament? His own words are very well worth the transcribing: "This is evident by those two laws, Lev. vi. 5, 6, and Num. v. 6, 8, where God plainly taught his people, that their trespass-offering which they brought to him to seek pardon of any sin whereby they had wronged any man, should not be accepted till they had first made satisfaction to the party to whom the wrong was done. And, lest we should think those laws concerned the Jews only, our Saviour himself giveth this in charge, Matt. v. 23, 24, 'If thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.' And if there be such necessity of making satisfaction to any one brother that hath ought against us, before we can get

assurance of our reconciliation with God, what necessity is there of making satisfaction to a whole church and congregation, that we have given just cause of offence unto. In this case it is not sufficient to approve our repentance and truth of heart to God; we must be willing also and desirous to approve it to the congregation and church of God, that we may say as the two tribes and half said, Josh. xxii. 'The Lord God of gods he knoweth, and Israel he shall know.'" Thus Mr Hildersham.

CHAPTER IX.

WHETHER IN THE JEWISH CHURCH THERE WAS ANY SUSPENSION OR EXCLUSION OF PROFANE, SCANDALOUS, NOTORIOUS SINNERS, FROM PARTAKING IN THE PUBLIC ORDINANCES WITH THE REST OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL IN THE TEMPLE.

Erastus and his followers hold, that among the Jews none were excluded from any public ordinance in the temple for moral uncleanness, that is, for a profane scandalous conversation, but only for legal or ceremonial uncleanness. The like Mr Prynne saith of the passover; and, of the temple, he holds that even those who were, for their offences, cast out of the synagogues, were yet free to come, and did come, to the temple. I shall particularly make answer both to Erastus and to Mr Prynne in this point, when they shall fall in my way afterward. I shall here, more generally, endeavour to rectify their great mistake, and to prove an exclusion from the temple and public ordinances, for public and scandalous offences in life and conversation, or for moral as well as ceremonial uncleanness.

First, I shall prove it *ex ore duorum* from the testimonies of two of the most famous witnesses of the Jews themselves, Philo and Josephus. Philo, *lib. de Victimis Offerentibus*,¹ is so full and plain, as if he

¹ Offerenti victimas lex præcipit, ut purus fiat corpore ac animo. *Et infra.* Necessum est igitur adituros templum sacrorum gratia, et corpore nitidos esse, et multo magis anima, etc. Nam veri Dei templum non patet prophanis sacrificiis. Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερόν ἵκεν ἀνίκτος ἀκαρὸς θυμῷ.) *Et post.* An dubium est, neque legem quicquam ab injustis, neque solem a tenebris accipere? *Et versus finem.* Cæterum quia societatem humanita-

had purposely written that book to record the exclusion of scandalous persons from communion with the church of Israel in the temple. He presseth all along the necessity of holiness and purity in those who bring sacrifices, and tells us that their law did exclude from their holy assemblies meretricious persons, despisers of God, and all that were known to be impious and profane, as well as those who were legally unclean.

The same thing may be confirmed out of Josephus,¹ who records that one Simon, a doctor of the law, did, in the absence of king Agrippa, accuse him to the people as an impure unworthy man, who ought not to be suffered to enter into the temple. Josephus gives a good testimony to Agrippa, that he was unjustly accused. Agrippa himself sends for Simon, and asks him what he had ever done, which deserved such an accusation. But neither Agrippa himself, nor Josephus, saith one syllable to this purpose, that the excluding of a man from the temple for profaneness and impiety was a new arbitrary censure, contrary to the law or custom of the Jews, which (no doubt) they had done, if there had been any ground for them to say so. Their very pleading of innocency, and no more, tacitly confirmeth that, if guilty, it had been just to exclude

temque (κατανοίας δὲ καὶ φιλαθεωρίας) maxime docet lex nostra, utrique virtuti honorem habet meritum, neminem deplorare malum ad eas admittens, sed quam longissime in rem malam ablegans. Cum igitur sciret concionibus (ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις) admisceri multos improbos, quod se posse in turba latere autem, ut id caveret in posterum, omnes indignos a sacro cœtu edicto prohibuit (προκαταγγέλλων πάντας τοὺς ἀναίσιμους ἱερὸν συλλόγου), incipiens a semiviris obscuro morbo laborantibus, qui naturæ monetam adulterantes, in impudicatum mulierum affectum et formam sponte degenerant. Spadones item et castratos arcet, etc. Pariter repellit non tantum scorta, sed et natos e prostitutis, contactos materno dedecore propter natales adulterinos, etc. Alii vero quasi contendunt hos in impietatis stadio post se relinquere, addunt amplius, ut non solum ideas, sed et deum esse negent. Et post. Proinde omnes hi merito pelluntur a sacris cœtibus (διὰ πάντας ἑκείνους ἱεροῦ, συλλόγου ἱκανούς).

¹ Antiq., lib. 19, cap. 7. Libenter et continuo degebat (Agrippa) Hierosolymis, institutorum ac rituum patriæ servator religiosissimus, purus enim erat a contaminamentis omnibus, nec ulla dies ei præteribat absque sacrificio. Accidit aliquando ut quidam Hierosolymita legis peritus, nomine Simon, advocata concione, per regis absentiam, agentis tum Cæsaris, criminaretur illum ut impurum et arcendum templi aditu, quod non nisi dignis pateat. Id ubi præfectus urbis illi significavit per literas, confestim accessit hominem, etc. Dic mihi inquit, quid tibi non probatur ex his quæ facimus.

from the temple. Again, *de Bello Jud.* lib. 4, cap. 5, Josephus records that Ananias, the high priest (whom, cap. 7, he highly commends for good government), had an oration to the Jews against the ζήλωται, the zealots, who, under colour of that name which they took to themselves, committed a great deal of injustice and violence. He said with tears, "I had rather die than see the house of God filled *ροσούτοις ἀγασί* with such crimes (or criminal persons), καὶ τὰς ἀβάτους καὶ ἀγίας χώρας ποτὶ μαίφονον, στενοχωρουμένας, and the forbidden and holy places to be haunted and trode with the feet of those who are polluted with murders,"—speaking of those zealots. What can be more plain? τὸ ἄγος, a piacular crime, was a cause of keeping back from the temple (even as also among the heathens, some were for piacular crimes interdicted the sacrifices); *μαίφονια*, blood-guiltiness, defilement by murder, was also a cause of exclusion from the temple, and to such the temple was a place inaccessible and forbidden. I add a testimony of J. Scaliger, *Elench. Trihæres. Nic. Terar.*, cap. 28, where, speaking of those Essæans who did not observe the Mosaic rites, he saith, *Itaque non mirum, si tanquam ἐξάγεις et piaculares aditu templi prohibebantur*. The like Constantinus L'Empereur, *Annot. in Cod. Middoth*, p. 44, proves from another passage in Josephus: *Viri autem qui non per omnia casti essent ab interiori aula prohibebantur*. Where L'Empereur addeth, *In spaciis descripti partem interiorem non admittebant quoque hæreticum*, which, he saith, may be proved out of the Talmud. *Quis enim dicat* (saith Hen. Vorstius, *Ani-mad. in Pirke*, p. 169) *apostatam, blasphemum, aliaque sacra capita intra templum fuisse admissa*. Of the exclusion of excommunicate persons I have before spoken, following their opinion who hold, that such as were excommunicate by the lesser excommunication, or *niddui*, had liberty to come into the temple, yet so that they were to enter in at the gate of the mourners, and were not seen in the temple but as penitents; but such as were excommunicated by the greater excommunication, or *cherem*, were not suffered to come into the temple, nor so much as into any assembly of ten men; and they might neither teach nor be taught. Grotius holds that such as were excommunicated by *niddui*, or the lesser excommunication, had power to come to the temple, but no other-

wise than heathens, and that they might not come into the court of Israel;¹ which is an answer to Mr Prynne's objection, that such as were cast out of the synagogue came to the temple.

There are but two places in the New Testament which seem at first to make much against that which I have said. One is, Luke xviii., concerning the Publican's going up to the temple to pray as well as the Pharisee; the other is John viii., concerning the woman taken in adultery, whom they brought before Christ in the temple. I remember Erastus objecteth them both.²

To the first I answer, It rather confirmeth than confuteth what I have said; for 1. The text saith, ver. 13, "The Publican stood afar off," the Pharisee not so. Grotius upon the place, ver. 11, noteth, that the Pharisee's fault was not in this particular, that he came farther into the temple than the Publican;³ for the custom was such, that the Publicans were to stand in the court of the Gentiles, the Pharisees in the court of Israel. Camer. *Myroth. in* Luke xviii., is also of opinion that the Publican stood in the court of the Gentiles, or in that first court into which Josephus, lib. 2, *contra Apion.*, saith, that all, even heathens, might come. 2. And though our opposites could prove that the Publican came into the court of Israel (which they never will be able to do), yet this place helps them not at all, unless they can prove that this was a scandalous and profane Publican. It is certain that divers of the Publicans were religious and devout men, and that this was one of them, we may more than conjecturally know, by the Pharisee's own words; for when he hath thanked God that he is not as other men, adulterers, unjust, extortioners, he addeth with a disjunction, *or even as this Publican*; thus preferring himself not only to the infamous and scandalous Publicans, but even to this devout Publican. More of this place afterward, in the debate of Matt. xviii.

To the other objection from John viii. 2, 3,

¹ Annot. in Luke vi. 22. Qui hac nota (minoris ἀφορισμοῦ sive niddi) inusti erant, stante templo, accedebant ad templum, ut ex Hebræis vir doctus notavit: sed haud dubie consistebant extra τὸν περιβόλου qui distinguebat Ἱεροσολαίμης ab Israelitis. Nam οἱ ἀφορισμένοι interim Ἰερουζαλὴμ loco habebantur.

² Confirm. Theas., lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 99, and elsewhere.

³ Nam mos id ferebat ut Publicani in atrio Gentilium, Pharissæi in atrio Israelitarum starent, nec quicquam in eo erat insolitum aut Pharissæo impudendum.

where it is said that the Pharisees brought a woman taken in adultery into the temple, and set her before Christ, First, I answer with Constantinus L'Empereur,¹ *Annot. in Cod. Middoth*, cap. 2, p. 45, By the temple in that place we are to understand the *intermurale*, the outer court, or court of the Gentiles, which was without the court of Israel, which outer court (saith he) both the evangelists and Josephus call by the name of *ἱερὸν* the temple; yea, the whole mountain of the temple, even comprehending that part of it which was without the *intermurale*, had the name of the temple, as Mr Selden noteth, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 3, cap. 6, p. 298; and lib. 4, cap. 5, he expounds that of the money-changers *in the temple*, to be meant of the court of the Gentiles. This answer doth the better agree to John viii., because ver. 2 tells us, it was in the place where "all the people came unto Jesus, and he taught them." Now it is certain that both Christ and his apostles did often teach the people in the court of the Gentiles, and in Solomon's porch, which was without the court of Israel, in the *intermurale*, that all might have the better occasion of hearing the gospel, even they who were not permitted to enter into the court of Israel. Wherefore, since the text tells us, that when the Pharisees brought the woman to Christ, he was teaching in such a place, where *all the people* had access to hear him, this agreeth better to the *intermurale* than to the court of Israel. Secondly, I answer, That woman did not come as a privileged person, free to come and worship in the court of Israel with the church of Israel; but she is brought as an accused person, that, in the most public and shameful manner, she might be sentenced and condemned, and made vile before all the people; so that it was in her *pœna non privilegium*. The sanhedrim also did sit in the temple,² so that such as were to be examined and judged, must be brought to that place where the sanhedrim was, which sat in that part of the temple that was called Gazith. This might be the occasion of bringing some to the temple as parties to be

¹ Sane cum servator in templo docuisset, cap. 8. Joh. legitur, quo mulierem depræhensam Pharissæi ipsi adduxerunt; alium locum præter hunc qui erat extra atria, designati credere nequeo: quandoquidem e Josepho observatum jam suit, impuris atria adire fas non fuisse.

² P. Cuneus de Repub. Hebr., lib. 1, cap. 12. Concilii magni sedes insipso Sanctuario fuit.

judged, who were not admitted to the ordinances of worship in the court of Israel, even as the prohibition of reading atheistical or heretical books, *Sanh.* c. 11, sect. 1, was not violated by the council's reading or searching of them for a judicial trial and examination; as is rightly observed by Dionysius Vossius, *Annot. in Maimon. de Idol.* p. 25.

And now, having taken off the two principal objections, we shall take notice of such scriptures as either directly, or at least by consequence, prove that notorious and scandalous sinners were not admitted into the temple or to partake in the ordinances.

1. God reproveth not only the bringing of strangers into his sanctuary, who were uncircumcised in the flesh, but the bringing of those who were uncircumcised in heart, that is, known to be such; for *de seeretis non judicat ecclesia*, Ezek. xlv. 7, 9, such ought not to have had fellowship in the holy things. "No stranger, uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any stranger that is among the children of Israel." It is a law concerning *proselytus domicilii*, proselytes who, having renounced idolatry, and professing to observe the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah, were thereupon permitted to dwell and converse among the children of Israel (of which more elsewhere). Such a one ought not to be admitted into the sanctuary, or place of the holy assemblies, there to partake in all the ordinances with the church, unless he be both circumcised in flesh, and also in regard of his profession and practice, a visible saint, or one supposed to be circumcised in heart. The disjunction *nor* tells us, that if he were either uncircumcised in flesh, or known to be uncircumcised in heart, God did not allow him to be admitted to communion with the children of Israel in all public ordinances.

2. There is a law, Deut. xxiii. 18, forbidding to bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord; and that, because it was the price of a whore, how much more was it contrary to the will of God, that the whore herself, being known to be such, should be brought to the house of the Lord? For *propter quod unumquoque est tale, id ipsum est magis tale*. This argument is hinted by Philo the Jew.¹

¹ De Monarchia, lib. 2, Proinde recte honeste que vetitum est alicubi, ne merces meretricis inferatur in sacrarium. Atqui nummi per se carent crimine, sed quæ hos accepti una cum suo questu est abominabiles.

3. The Lord sharply contendeth with those who did steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense to Baal, and yet presumed to come and stand before him in his own house. "Is this house, which is called by my name, saith the Lord, become a den of robbers in your eyes?" Jer. vii. 9—11. A den of robbers is the place which receives robbers; and (saith Vatablus upon the place) as robbers, after their robbing, come to their den, so do these, even after their stealing, murdering, &c., come to the temple. To the same purpose is that challenge, Ezek. xxiii. 38, 39, "Moreover this they have done unto me, they have defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and have profaned my Sabbaths. For when they had slain their children to their idols, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane it." But God would not have the temple to be a receptacle for such. When Christ applieth that scripture, Jer. vii., against those who bought and sold in the temple, Matt. xxi. 12, 13, he makes it clear that the temple was made a den of robbers, not only as it was made a place of gain, or a den where the robber's prey lies, but even as it was a receptacle of the robbers or thieves themselves; therefore he is not contented with the overthrowing of the tables of money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves, but he did also "cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple;" that is, he would neither suffer such things nor such persons in the temple; yea, though it was only in the utmost court, or the court of the Gentiles, as Grotius and Mr Selden think, how much less would he have suffered such persons in the court of Israel? Philo the Jew doth also apply what is said in the prophets, of God's hating the sacrifices of the wicked, even to the excluding of profane men from the temple.¹ Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 4, cap. 5, doth so explain that casting out of the buyers and sellers out of the temple that the argument in hand is not a little strengthened thereby. He saith truly, that those who were cast out had polluted and profaned that holy place, *ideo et ipsi, ut qui tum criminis aliorum participes, tum suo infames pariter, sic templum seu montis templi locum illum ipsi*

¹ Lib. de Victimis offerentibus. Nam veri Dei templum non pater profanis sacrificiis. Tali homini dicerem, oobone, non gaudet Deus centenis bonum victimis, etc.; mavult plias mentes, etc.

permissum profanabant, ejiciendi. He holdeth also that this which Christ did was done *ex jure patrio*, to wit, *ex zelotarum jure*; and that else it had been challenged by the priests and scribes if it had been contrary to the law or custom. Zealots, that is, private persons zealously affected, were permitted to scourge, wound, yea, kill, such as they saw publicly committing atrocious wickedness, by which the holiness, either of the name of God, or of the temple, or of the nation of the Jews, was violated. So Mr Selden sheweth out of the Talmudists, *ibid.* cap. 4. Now (saith he) *zelotarum jure*, our Saviour, though a private person (for so he was looked upon by the priests and scribes), did scourge and cast out the buyers and sellers. If so, then certainly such wicked and abominable persons were not allowed to come to the temple; and if they did, they ought to have been judicially, and by authority, cast out; for that which was permitted to private persons, in the executing of justice or inflicting of punishment, out of their zeal to the glory of God, was much more incumbent to such as had authority in their hands for correcting and removing the profanation of the temple in an authoritative, judicial, and orderly way.

4. The Levites had a charge to let none that were unclean in any thing enter into the temple, 2 Chron. xxiii. 19. Now, this is like that, 1 Cor. v. 11, "with such an one no not to eat:" an argument from the denial of that which is less, to the denial of that which is more. So here it was a necessary consequence, if those that were ceremonially unclean were to be excluded from the temple, much more those who were morally or impiously unclean. For, 1. The legal uncleanness did signify the sinful uncleanness; and the exclusion of those that were known to be legally unclean from the temple, did signify the excluding of those who were known to be grossly and notoriously unclean in their life and conversation, which shall be abundantly confirmed afterwards. Therefore *Bertramus de Rep. Ebr.*, cap. 7, saith rightly, that the Levites had a charge to keep from the temple the unclean, *aut etiam alio quovis modo indignos*, or those also who were any otherwise unworthy. 2. Godwin, in his *Moses and Aaron*, lib. 5, cap. 2, makes a comparison between the three degrees of the Jewish excommunication and the three degrees of excluding

the unclean, Num. v. 2, which parallel if we please to make, then as for any of the three sorts of uncleanness, the touch of the dead, issue, or leprosy, a man was excluded from the camp of God or the sanctuary; so it will follow that even those who were cast out by the *niddui*, or lowest degree of excommunication, were for a time suspended from communion with the church in the ordinances. 3. The Levites were appointed to put a difference not only between the clean and the unclean, but between the holy and unholy, Lev. x. 10; or between the holy and profane, Ezek. xxii. 26; xlv. 23. By *clean* and *unclean*, I understand persons or things that were ceremonially such; by *holy* and *profane*, persons that were morally such.

5. I prove the same point from Psal. cxviii. 19, 20, "Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them and I will praise the Lord. This gate of the Lord into which the righteous shall enter." The Chaldee saith, "The gate of the house of the sanctuary of the Lord." The gates of God's sanctuary are called "gates of righteousness," saith Ainsworth on the place, "because only the just and clean might enter into them." We read also that it was written over the gates of some of the Jewish synagogues, "This is the gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter." Vatablus upon this place thinks that David speaks by way of antithesis to the former pollution of the sanctuary by Saul and other wicked persons, who, by coming to the house of God, had made it a den of thieves.¹ But now the righteous shall enter in it. *The righteous*, "for to such (saith Diodati), and not to profane persons, it belongeth to enter in there."

6. The same thing may be proved from Psal. xv. 1, "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness," &c. I know the chief intendment of God in this place is to describe such a one as is a true member of the church invisible, and shall enter into the

¹ Hæc porta, etc. i. e. Deus hoc templum sibi dicari voluit, hic est sanctuarium ejus: debet purum esse ab omnibus sordibus, quemadmodum etiam lex severe jubet. Antehac impuri et scelerati (quales Saul, et alii omnes impii qui primas tenebant, ita ut nemo non putasset ipsorum esse templum) corruerant hoc templum. Non fuit igitur tam domicilium ipsius Dei, quam latronum caverna.

heavenly Jerusalem. But certainly there is an allusion to the sanctuary and the holy hill thereof in Jerusalem, as to the type of that which is spiritual and eternal, which Jansenius upon the place noteth; and the prophet here teacheth the people so to look upon those offences from which men were excluded from the sanctuary, as to learn what kind of persons are true members of the church, and who not; who shall be allowed to communicate in all the ordinances of the New Testament, and who not; who shall be received into everlasting life, and who not; and thus, by the type, he holds forth the thing typified. Gesnerus upon the place, thinks that communion with the church in this world is meant in the first words, "Lord, who shall sojourn (so the word is, *jagur*, in the Hebrew, *παροικήσει* in the Greek) in thy tabernacle?" (the name of tabernacle fitly expressing the moveable and military estate of the church in this world); and that reception into the church triumphant is meant in the following words, "Who shall dwell in thy holy hill?" which noteth a permanent and durable estate. The Chaldee Paraphrase expoundeth the whole of such as were thought worthy to be admitted into the house of the Lord thus, "Lord, who is worthy to abide in thy tabernacle, and who shall be worthy to sojourn in the mountain of the house of thy holiness?" So Psal. xxiv. 3, the Chaldee readeth thus, "Who shall be worthy to ascend unto the mountain of the house of the sanctuary of the Lord?" So that the thing alluded unto in both these places is, that the priests and Levites did admit none to the sanctuary but such as had the marks or characters there enumerated, so far as men can judge of these marks, that is, so far as they are external and discernible.

7. The same thing seemeth also to be alluded unto, Psal. l. 16, "Unto the wicked (the Chaldee adds, that repenteth not and prayeth in his transgression) God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth." It is spoken to a scandalous profane man, ver. 18—20, who yet will needs take upon him a form of godliness. Where Philo the Jew speaks of him that blasphemed the name of the Lord,¹ he

addeth, that it was not lawful for all men to name the name of God; no, not for honour or religion's sake, but only for good and holy men. And this gives me occasion to add in conclusion a farther confirmation out of the Hebrew doctors. They held, that an Israelite turning an heretic (that is, denying any of their thirteen fundamental articles) was to be as an heathen man; and did therefore permit a Jew to lend to him upon usury, even as to an heathen. Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 6, cap. 10. They held that such a one (an heretical Israelite) had no communion with the church of Israel, see *Tzemach David*, translated by Hen. Vorstius, p. 67; Abrabanel, *de Capite Fidei*, cap 3, dub. 5; *et ib.*, cap. 6. They esteemed an heretical Jew more heretical than a Christian, and did excommunicate him even summarily, and without previous admonition. See Buxtorff, *Lexic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.*, p. 195. Moses Maimonides, *de Fundam. Legis.*, cap. 6, sect. 10, tells us, that if an Epicurean Israelite had written a copy of the book of the law, it was to be burnt, with the name of that Epicurean wretch, because he had not done it holily, nor in the name of God. They who did imagine the Scripture itself to be polluted and profaned when it came through the hands of an Epicurean or heretical Israelite, no doubt they thought the temple polluted and profaned, if such a one should be suffered to come and worship in it: from all which it appeareth how much reason L'Empereur had to say, that they did not admit an heretic into the inner part of the *inter-murale*, or that part of the temple which divided between the Israelites and heathens.

If any man shall ask what I mean to infer from all this: Must all profane persons be kept back from our churches and public assemblies, and so from hearing the word? I answer, God forbid. The analogy which I understand is to hold between the Jewish and Christian church is this: As profane persons were forbidden to enter into the temple, because of the sacramental and typical holiness thereof (for the temple was a type of Christ), so profane persons are now much more to be kept back from the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which hath more of sacramental signification, mystery, and holiness in it, than the temple of Jerusalem had, and whereby more ample evangelical promises are set forth and sealed unto us. And as profane persons might of old come

¹ Lib. 3, de Vita Mosis: quem ne honoris quidem gratia fas est nominari ab omnibus, sed a solis optimis et purificatis hominibus.

into the court of the Gentiles, and there hear the word preached in Solomon's porch (where both Christ and his apostles did preach, John x. 23; Acts iii. 11; Acts v. 12, which porch was in the utmost court, that is, the court of the Gentiles, of which elsewhere out of Josephus), but might not come into the court of Israel, nor have communion in the sacrifices; so profane obstinate sinners are to be excluded for their impiety from the church communion of saints, though they may hear the word, as heathens also may do. Now, that the temple of Jerusalem had a typical sacramental resemblance of Christ, may appear plainly in divers particulars: 1. As the glory of the Lord dwelt in the temple within the oracle, above the ark and the mercy-seat, and at the dedication of the temple, the cloud of the glory of the Lord did visibly fill the whole house; so, in Christ, the fullness of the godhead dwells bodily, as the Apostle speaks. 2. As the great God, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, was yet pleased to dwell on earth, by putting his name in that place; so notwithstanding of the infinite distance between God and man, yet they are brought near each to other, to have fellowship together in Jesus Christ. 3. God revealed his will that he would accept no sacrifices from his people, but in the temple only, after it was built; so God hath revealed his will, that our spiritual sacrifices cannot be acceptable to him except in Jesus Christ only. 4. The people of God were bound to set their faces toward the temple of Jerusalem when they prayed, 1 Kings viii. 30, 48; Dan. vi. 10, so are we bound in prayer to look toward Jesus Christ with an eye of faith. 5. As there was an ample promise of God to hear the prayers which should be made in that place, 2 Chron. vii. 15, 16, so hath God promised to hear us and accept us, if we seek unto him in and through Jesus Christ. 6. God said of the temple, "Mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually," 2 Chron. vi. 16; so he said of Christ, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." 7. There was but one temple; so but "one Mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ," saith Paul. 8. As the temple was appointed to be a house of prayer for all nations, Isa. lvi. 7, and the stranger, as well as the Israelite, might come and pray in it, 2 Chron. vi. 32; so Christ is a propitiation, not for the Jews

only, but for the Gentiles; and whosoever believes on him (Jew or Gentile) shall not be confounded. 9. "Because of thy temple at Jerusalem shall kings bring presents unto thee," saith the prophet, Psal. lxxviii. 29; so because of Jesus Christ (who hath got a name above every name, and hath received all power in heaven and earth) shall kings submit themselves and bow the knee. 10. Glorious things were spoken of Jerusalem, the city of God, but the temple was the glory of Jerusalem; so glorious things are spoken of the church, but Christ is the church's glory. Other like considerations might be added, but these may suffice.

CHAPTER X.

A DEBATE WITH MR PRYNNE, CONCERNING THE EXCLUSION OF PROFANE, SCANDALOUS PERSONS FROM THE PASSOVER.

That which Mr Prynn in his *Vindication*, p. 15, 16, pleadeth for his opinion from the law of the passover, may be (as I conceive) with no great difficulty answered, and I shall do it very shortly (being to insist further in answering Erastus, who said much more for that point which deserveth an answer). First, in answer to our argument from the keeping back of the unclean, Num. ix., he saith, "That all circumcised persons whatsoever had a right to eat the passover, &c., being bound to eat the passover in its season, except in cases of necessity, disability, by reason of a journey, or of legal uncleanness only, not spiritual, as is clear by Exod. xii. 3, 43—50; Num. ix. 1—15; Deut. xvi. 16, 17; Ezra vi. 19—21; 2 Kings xxiii. 21, 22; 2 Chron. xxxv. 6, 7, 13, 17, 18, where we read that all the people and all the males that were present received the passover, not one of them being excluded from eating it."

Ans. 1. If it was so, doth not this make as much against himself as against us, unless he will say, that the analogy must hold so far, that all baptized persons whatsoever, none excepted (if it be not in cases of necessity or disability), how scandalous, impenitent, and obstinate soever they be, ought to be admitted to the Lord's table? So there shall be no excommunication at all (which yet himself granteth); for if any baptized person (though such as Mr Prynn

himself would have to be excommunicated) shall be shut out from the church, and from all public ordinances, and so from the Lord's supper, because of his obstinacy and continuance in some foul scandal, after previous admonitions in so doing, we shall, by his principles, do contrary to the law of the passover in the point of analogy. 2. The texts cited by him prove that men were debarred for legal uncleanness, but there is not one of them which will prove that men were debarred *only* for legal uncleanness, and no man for moral uncleanness. Yea, one of those texts, Ezra vi. 21, tells us, that those who were admitted to the passover were such "as had separated themselves from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the Lord God of Israel." That moral uncleanness, I mean, known profaneness or scandalous sins, did render men incapable of eating the passover, I shall prove anon by divers arguments, unto which I remit Mr Prynne.

That which he objecteth from 1 Cor. x. I am to answer also distinctly by itself. His second reply is, "That those who were legally unclean at the day appointed for the passover, so as they could not then receive it, were yet peremptorily enjoined to eat it the fourteenth day of the second month, &c., Num. ix. 11, 12, he must not be suspended from it above one month."

Ans. The scripture cited proves no such thing, except upon supposition that they be clean the fourteenth day of the following month. And what if any of them were in the second month also unclean by the touch of a dead body or otherwise? Were they not kept off in the second month, as well as in the first? Is it not plainly said of the second passover, ver. 12 (the very place cited by himself), "according to all the ordinances of the passover they shall keep it?" and one of those ordinances was the keeping back of the unclean.

Thirdly, he saith, that he who was legally unclean was kept back neither by the priest nor magistrate, but by those of the same family, as ver. 6, 7, imports: "And the true reason (saith he in his text) why his uncleanness did seclude him from eating the passover, was because it quite excluded him out of the camp for a time (not tabernacle or temple), and so, by necessary consequence, from the house wherein he was to eat the passover," &c.; and, by like reason, it debarred him from all other ordinances.

Ans. 1. The text, Num. ix. 6, 7, tells us, the unclean were kept back, but by whom they were kept back, it tells not. That it was neither left free to the unclean person to eat of the passover, nor to the family to admit him, but that there was an authoritative restraint, I prove by this argument: He that was unclean, and before his cleansing did eat of the flesh of the peace-offerings, was cut off from among his people, Lev. vii. 20, 21; therefore he that in his uncleanness did eat the passover was to be cut off also. No man will say that there was any less punishment intended for the pollution of the passover than for the pollution of peace-offerings. And if the unclean were not permitted under the law to eat of the flesh of the sacrifices, or if they did, they were cut off, shall not as great care be had to keep the body of Jesus Christ (which was signified by the flesh of the sacrifices), and the blood of the covenant, from being trod under foot by dogs and swine?

2. Neither is there any such reason in that text, Num. ix., as the excluding quite out of the camp those who were unclean by a dead body, and so, by consequence, from the passover. Nay, the text rather intimateth that they were in the camp, for they came before Moses and Aaron on that day when the passover was kept, and said, "We are defiled by the dead body of a man, wherefore are we kept back," ver. 6, 7. I hope Moses and Aaron were not without the camp. I know the lepers and some other unclean persons were put out of the camp, but there is not one of the texts cited by him which gives the least shadow of reason to prove that the unclean by the dead body of a man were quite excluded out of the camp, except Num. v. 2. And if he will believe the Hebrew doctors, and others upon that place, there were three camps, the camp of Israel, the camp of the Levites, and the camp of Divine Majesty. The unclean by the dead were free (say they) to be in the first two camps, and were only excluded from the third¹. However, it is agreed that some unclean persons were excluded from

¹ Vatablus in Num. v. 2. Tria secundum Hebræos castra erant. Castra nempe Dei, id est tabernaculum: castra Levitarum, et castra Israel. Leprosi ab omnibus arcebantur: impuri per fluxum a primis duobus excluderantur. Pollutus vero propter cadaver solum a tabernaculo ecclesiæ arcebatur. Godwin, in his Moses and Aaron, lib. 5, cap. 2, citeth Paulus Fagius for the same thing. See also Mr Weymes' Christian Synagogue, p. 136, 136.

the sanctuary who were not excluded from the camp of the children of Israel, as is observed by Tostatus in Lev. xii. quest. xxi. Menochius in Num. v. 2, the *English Annotations* on Num. v. 2, and others. And if Mr Prynne can prove, that those unclean persons who were excluded from the sanctuary were not excluded from the passover, let him try it. That this thing may be yet better understood, let us observe with Tostatus, in Lev. xxii. quest. vii., a threefold separation of the unclean under the law: some were separate only from the sanctuary and the holy things; for he that had but touched a man or a woman who had an issue, or had touched the bed, clothes, or anything else which had been under him or her, was not permitted to come into the tabernacle till he was cleansed, Lev. xv. Others were separated both from the holy things and from the company or society of their neighbours, yet not cast out of the camp: for this he gives the case of women having issues of blood, who were put apart seven days, Lev. xv.; and for the same space a woman after the birth of a male child was unclean, so far as to be kept apart from human society, but she did continue unclean three-and-thirty days longer as to the sanctuary and the hallowed things, during which space of three-and-thirty days she was not separated from company and society as in the first seven days, only she was forbidden to touch any hallowed thing, or to come into the sanctuary. There was a third sort separated not only from the sanctuary and from human society, but also cast out of the camp; which was the case of lepers. I conclude, all unclean persons whatsoever were excluded from the tabernacle, Lev. xv. 31, and from eating of the flesh of the sacrifices, Lev. vii. 20, 21; neither might any of the sons of Aaron, having his uncleanness upon him, eat of the holy things, though it was his food, Lev. xxii. 2—7, in which places cutting off is appointed to be the punishment, not for unclean persons being in the camp, but for their coming to the tabernacle, or for their eating of the holy things; and accordingly it is said 2 Chron. xxiii. 19, that Jehoiada "set the porters at the gates of the house of the Lord, that none which was unclean in anything should enter in." But we never read that none who were unclean in anything were permitted to enter in at the gates of Jerusalem, or to converse among the people.

3. Whereas Mr Prynne thinks that unclean persons were excluded from all ordinances, as well as from the passover: First, What saith he to that which Erastus holdeth, and (as he thinks) grounded upon Scripture, namely, that all unclean persons, as well as others, were admitted to the feast of expiation. Next, What saith he to that which is observed by Mr Selden and divers others, namely, that some unclean persons might come not only to the mountain of the house of the Lord, but might also enter into the *intermurale*. Into that utmost court the heathens might come and pray, and so might the Israelites that were not legally clean, saith Arias Montanus.¹ The fourth and fifth answers which Mr Prynne gives, that there is no such warrant for keeping back scandalous persons from the Lord's table as there was for keeping back the unclean from the passover, and that suspension for legal uncleanness proves not suspension for moral uncleanness, these, I say, do but *petere principium*, and therefore to be passed over because he takes for granted what is in controversy.

I shall therefore proceed to that which he addeth in the next place in answer to an argument of mine in my controversial fast sermon (as he miscalleth it). The argument, as I did propound it, was this: Those scandalous sinners that were not admitted to offer a trespass-offering (which was a reconciling ordinance) without confession of sin, and declaration of their repentance for the same, were much less admitted to the passover (which was a sealing ordinance) without confession of known and scandalous sins, if they had committed any such. But circumcised persons, if they were scandalous sinners, were not admitted to offer a trespass-offering (which was a reconciling ordinance) without confession of sin and declaration of their repentance for the same, Lev. v. 5, 6; therefore Mr Prynne answereth, p. 17, It is a mere *non-sequitur*. 1. Because contradicted (as he thinks) by 1 Cor. x. which is a contrarious argument, and I shall answer it in the proper place. 2. He saith that examination of the conscience, repentance, and confession, are nowhere required of such as did eat the passover, it being only a commemoration of God's mercy in passing over the Israelites' first-born, when he slew

¹ De Temp. Fabric., p. 15, in quod (atrium) exteri, id est Gentes, quæ Israelis nomen non profiterentur, convenire ad orandum possent: et Israelitæ etiam qui cæremoniali ritu puri non essent.

the Egyptians, but there being no remission without confession, it was necessary that those who came to offer a trespass-offering for some particular sins should confess those very sins, yet not to the priest, but to God alone.

Ans. 1. If examination of the conscience, repentance and confession, were not required in those that did eat the passover, and if there might be a worthy eating of it without this (as he plainly intimateth when he saith, "that this is nowhere required in Scripture of such as did eat the passover, though all circumstances and necessities for the worthy eating of it be most punctually enumerated"), and if the passover was "but only a commemoration of God's infinite mercy in passing over the Israelites' first-born," as he saith (which was but a temporal mercy), then he must needs say, either that in the sacrament of the passover, or confirmation of faith, no increase of grace, nor spiritual mercy was given, or that in that sacrament this grace (yea, by his principles, conversion and regeneration itself) was conferred *ex opere operato*. And he must either say the like of the Lord's supper, or otherwise hold that the sacraments of the New Testament differ from those of the old, specially; and that the passover did not seal the same covenant of grace for the substance which is now sealed by the Lord's supper.

2. What was the meaning of the bitter herbs with which the passover was commanded to be eaten? Were not the people of God thereby taught the necessity of repentance in that very action? And what means it that at Hezekiah's passover the people are called to turn again unto the Lord, 2 Chron. xxx. 6, that the priests and the Levites were ashamed and sanctified themselves, ver. 15, and offered peace-offerings, and made "confession to the Lord God of their fathers?" ver. 22; where I understand confession of sin according to the law, which appointed confession of sin to be made with the peace-offerings, which confession was signified by laying hands upon the head of the offering, Lev. iii. 2, 8, 13, compared with Lev. xvi. 21, and so we find repentance joined with peace-offerings, Judg. xx. 26. Finally, read we not of the people's preparing of their heart to seek God at the passover, 2 Chron. xxx. 19, which as it could not be without repentance and examination of their consciences, so Hezekiah mentioneth it as that without which the

people's eating of the passover could not have been in anywise accepted.

3. That it was not a private confession to God alone, but a public penitential confession in the temple, and before the priests, I have before, chap. 8, made it to appear, both out of the text, and out of Philo the Jew. This I add here: The confession of the sin was made in the place of offering the trespass-offering before the priest, at the laying on of hands between the horns of the beast, therefore it was not made in secret to God only, which doth further appear by the laws concerning such and such sacrifices, for such and such sins, Lev. v., and by the restitution which was also joined with the confession, Num. v. 7. And it is also clear from the Jewish *Canones Penitentiae*, cap. 1, 2, where we find confession of sin to be made both by word of mouth and publicly before the congregation.

4. Instead of making my argument a *non-sequitur* he makes it a *clarè-sequitur*; for the first part of it not being taken off, but rather granted by him, because (as he saith truly) without confession of sin there is no remission of it, hence the other part must needs follow; for if it was in vain so much as to sue for pardon in a reconciling ordinance, when the sin was not confessed, how much more had it been a taking in vain of the name of God, and a profaning of a sealing ordinance, to seal up pardon to a scandalous sinner who had not so much as confessed his scandalous sin, but continued in manifest impenitency.

But we will try whether his third and last answer can relieve him. It is this, "That every particular communicant, before he comes to receive the sacrament, makes a public confession of his sins to God, with the rest of the congregation, and, in words at least, voweth newness of life for the future; there being no communicant that ever I heard of (saith he) so desperately wicked and atheistical, as not to profess heartily sorrow for all his forepast sins, or to avow impenitent continuance in them when he came to

¹ Vide edit. Latin. Cantabr., anno 1631, p. 5. Eximia laus est penitentiam agentis, ut publice confiteatur, iniquitates suas toti cœtui indicans, et delicta quæ in proximum admisit, aliis aperiens hunc in modum, *Revera Peccavi in N.N. (virum nominans)* et hæc et illa feci: ecce autem me vobis nunc convertor et me facti penitet. Qui vero præ superbia non indicat, sed abscondit iniquitates suas, illi perfecta non est penitentia, Quia dicitur, Qui abscondit scelera sua, non dirigetur.

the Lord's table." Behold, what a latitude ! If the vilest sinner, practically persevering in a scandalous sin, shall but join with, and not gainsay, the public confession of the whole congregation (wherein the best men do and ought to join), and in words promise newness of life (and who will not promise to endeavour to live better), nay, if he have so much wit as not to profess or avow impenitency, then Mr Prynne alloweth his admission to the sacrament. But is this the confession that my argument did prove ? Nothing like it. It was a particular confession of such a sin by name; Lev. v. 5, " And it shall be when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing;" and with the confession there was a real amendment. For instance, a recompensing of the trespass with the principal, and the addition of a fifth part when the case did so require; Num. v. 7, " Then they shall confess their sin which they have done, and he shall recompense his trespass," &c. This is that my argument did drive at, and it still stands in force to conclude that the confession of the particular sin which hath given public scandal, together with the forsaking of it externally and in practice, is so necessary, that without these the admission of a scandalous sinner is a most horrible profanation of the sacrament.

But now finding the argument concerning the passover and legal uncleanness to have been more fully prosecuted by Erastus than it is by Mr Prynne, I do resolve to trace it hard at the heels whithersoever it goeth.

CHAPTER XI.

A CONFUTATION OF THE STRONGEST ARGUMENTS OF ERASTUS, NAMELY, THOSE DRAWN FROM THE LAW OF MOSES.

Among Erastus's (*Confirm. Thes.*, lib. 1, cap. 3 and 4) arguments against excommu-

¹ R. Mosis Canones Pœnitentiæ, cap. 2. Quicunque verbis confitetur, et ex corde non statuit peccatum derelinquere: ecce hic ei similis est qui lavat, et manu reptile immundum retinet: neque enim quicquam prodest lavatio, donec reptile abjecerit. Et hoc illud est quod a sapiente illo dicitur. Qui autem confessus fuerit et reliquerit ea, misericordiam consequetur. Quia et oportet ut peccatum speciatim recenseat. Quia dicitur: Obsecro domine, peccavit populus iste peccatum maximum feceruntque sibi deos aureos.

nication, three of them, namely, the first, the seventh, and the sixteenth, are all one for the substance, the strength of them lying in this supposition, that the Scripture doth not restrain, nor keep off any from the sacrifices, nor any other sacraments (as he speaketh) of the Old Testament, because of a wicked or scandalous conversation; but contrariwise, commandeth that all the males, both Jews and foreigners, being circumcised, and not being legally unclean, nor in a journey, should compare thrice in the year before the Lord at Jerusalem, to keep the three solemn feasts—of the passover, weeks, and tabernacles. Now (saith he) Christ hath not, in this thing, destroyed nor altered the law of Moses, nor hath he made the rule straiter now than it was then; but as then all circumcised, so now all baptized persons, must be acknowledged for church members, having a right to partake of church privileges; and as then there was no discipline or punishment for the flagitious and wicked, except by the hand of the magistrate, so ought it to be in like manner in the Christian church. This argument he trusteth very much unto; and because it is the common opinion, that the excluding and separating of the unclean under the law, did signify the excluding of scandalous sinners from communion with the church, he spendeth a long chapter (lib. 2, cap. 1) against that opinion, and laboureth to make it appear that the legal uncleanness did signify the corruption of our nature and unbelief; that exclusion from the temple did signify exclusion from the heavenly paradise; and that the cleansing and reception into the temple, did typify the cleansing of our souls, and the turning of us to God by the blood of Jesus Christ.

Now, here I shall make such animadversions as shall not only enervate the strength which these arguments may seem to have against church censures, but also afford some strong reasonings against Erastus from those very grounds, rightly apprehended, from which (upon misapprehensions) he disputeth against the excluding of scandalous sinners.

First, It is certain that for divers sins against the moral law the sinners were appointed not only to bring their trespass-offerings, but to confess the sin which they had committed, and to declare their repentance for the same; and till this was done, the trespass-offering was not accepted. Let

us but have the like, that is, a confession of the sin and declaration of repentance, and then men shall not be excluded for scandals formerly given. Erastus (p. 106, 107, 148, 149) himself acknowledgeth, that in this point of the confession of sin the analogy must hold betwixt the Old and New Testament; only he pleadeth that the very act—the very desiring of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, is really a confession that he is a sinner who desireth it; and that much more it may suffice if sinners, being asked by the minister, confess themselves to be sinners, and that they have not perfectly kept the commandments of God. But all this, say I, cannot satisfy the argument drawn from that confession of sin under the law. For, 1. It was not a confession *ipso facto*, by the bringing of the trespass-offerings, but by word of mouth; and thus it hath been expounded by the Hebrew doctors.¹ The owners of sin and trespass-offerings, when they bring their oblations for their ignorant, or for their presumptuous sins, atonement is not made for them by their oblation until they have made repentance and confession by word of mouth. 2. It was not a general confession that one is a sinner, and hath not perfectly kept the commandments of God (for who did ever refuse to make such a confession that were in their right wits?—that limitation is as good as nothing, when we speak of the suspending of any from the Lord's table), but it was a confession of the particular individual sin which had been committed; Lev. v. 5, "And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing." Mark, *in that thing*. Num. v. 7, "Then they shall confess their sin which they have done." Which law is to be understood of all like sins and trespasses, that is, that other sins which were expiated by sacrifice were first to be confessed.² All this maketh against Erastus.

Next, Whereas he saith (p. 106, 113) that this confession or declaration of repentance for sin, in the Old Testament, had place only in those sins for which the law appointed no particular punishments, and that there was no confession imposed where the magistrate was to punish the crime: This, with a great deal of boldness and confidence

(as his manner is), he doth maintain, intending thereby (it seems) to exempt from all manner of church discipline whatsoever is punishable by the civil magistrate, as adultery, perjury, and the like. But that which he affirmeth so strongly is manifestly contrary to the express law, Lev. vi. 1—8, where wilful lying and perjury, robbing and violence, fraud and cozenage,—all these were to be confessed and expiated by sacrifice, notwithstanding that they were also to be severely punished by the civil magistrate. Nay, in that very place it is commanded, that what had been violently taken away, or deceitfully gotten, or fraudulently detained, should be restored; and, moreover, a fifth part added thereto for a mulct, yet this did not exempt the sinner from making confession. So Num. v. 6—8, for one and the same offence, the law enjoineth both that confession be made and expiation; and, moreover, that recompense be made to the party injured, or to his kinsman. Yea, the law, Num. v. 6, 7, speaketh universally, "When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, &c., then they shall confess their sin which they have done," which made the Hebrews extend this law to criminal and capital cases, as Mr Ainsworth upon the place noteth out of these words of Maimonides: "Likewise, all condemned to death by the magistrates, or condemned to stripes, no atonement is made for them by their death or by their stripes, until they have repented and confessed; and so he that hurteth his neighbour, or doth him damage, though he payeth him whatever he oweth him, atonement is not made for him till he confess." Therefore Erastus is still a double loser in arguing from the law of Moses. It proves not what he would, and it doth prove what he would not.

Thirdly, Men were kept from the sanctuary of the Lord, not only for ceremonial, but for moral uncleanness, I mean for public and scandalous sins against the moral law, Ezek. lxiv. 7, 9. God was offended when such proselytes were brought into his sanctuary as were either uncircumcised in flesh or uncircumcised in heart; that is, whose practice or conversation did declare them to be uncircumcised in heart, else the Lord would not have challenged those who brought such proselytes into his sanctuary, if their uncircumcision of heart had not been externally manifested, so that it might

¹ See Ainsworth, Annot. on Num. v. 7.

² Ainsworth on Lev. vi. 4.

be perceived by his people, according to that, Psalm xxxvi. 1, "The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart, that there is no fear of God before his eyes." To the same purpose we read, Ezra vi. 21, not that all proselytes, nor all uncircumcised, but only "all such as had separate themselves from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the Lord God of Israel," did eat of the passover. Moreover, we may argue, by a necessary consequence, from Scripture: The ceremonial uncleanness was a cause of exclusion from the sanctuary, and from the holy things; therefore much more moral uncleanness. It was more sinful in itself, and more abominable in God's sight, for those who did steal, murder, commit adultery, swear falsely, and burn incense to Baal, to come and tread in the courts of the house of the Lord, and to offer sacrifices there, as if God's house had been a den of robbers, Isa. i. 11—14; Jer. vii. 9—11,—this, I say, was more abominable to God than if he that had touched a dead body, or had come into the tent where a man died, should have come unto the tabernacle in his legal uncleanness; therefore, when Christ casteth out the buyers and sellers out of the temple, it is not for ceremonial but moral uncleanness, and he applieth to them the words of Jeremiah, "Ye have made it a den of thieves," Matt. xxi. 13, with Jer. vii. 11. And as it was more sinful to the person, and more hateful to God, so it was more hurtful to the souls of others, who were in greater danger of infection from the moral than from the ceremonial uncleanness. This Erastus denieth indeed,¹ but his expression is unsavoury and unholy, which I am ashamed to repeat. Sure the Apostle speaketh far otherwise, Heb. xiii. 15, 16, "Lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled; lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau." A profane or scandalous person defileth, you see, many others; and sin was of a defiling nature under the Old Testament as well as under the New. I mean a root of bitterness not plucked up—a profane person not censured, doth defile others as well as himself. Both Peter and Jude have told us,

that scandalous persons are spots and blemishes in the communion of saints, 2 Pet. ii. 13; Jude, ver. 12; so that, as Erastus granteth that one legally unclean could make others legally unclean among whom he came, and therefore was kept off from fellowship and company with the congregation of God's people, it must likewise be granted, that scandalous persons are to be suspended from the sacred communion of the Christian church, because, if they should be admitted, the church should be thereby sinfully defiled; for if the saying *God speed* to a false teacher, make us partakers of his evil deed, 2 John 10, how much more doth the admitting of such or the like scandalous sinners to the Lord's table, make (I say not all who communicate then and there, but) all who consent to their admission, to be partakers of their evil deeds.

Fourthly, Whereas Erastus holdeth that the exclusion of the unclean under the law did only typify something which is to come to pass in the life to come, that is, the shutting forth of sinners from the heavenly paradise if they be not washed from their filthiness by the blood of Jesus Christ, and therefore ought not to be unto us any argument for the exclusion of scandalous sinners,¹ I answer, If the shutting out from heaven was the only thing signified, and if there be a fit analogy or proportion between the type and the thing typified, then, 1. One may be in heaven and cast out again, and in and out again, as, under the law, one might be many times admitted into the temple and shut out again. 2. It would also follow that there is some other exclusion greater than the exclusion from heaven; as, under the law, there was a greater exclusion than the exclusion from the sanctuary, and that was, to be cast out from the company and conversation of God's people;² for though every uncleanness which did exclude one from the company of the Israelites did also exclude him from the sanctuary, yet every uncleanness which did exclude one from the sanctuary did not exclude him from the company of the Israelites; even as now among us suspension from the Lord's table is not the greatest and worst exclusion, but there is

¹ P. 145. Cum ergo quaeritur cur ei qui semen præter voluntatem noctu emisit, ad sacra adire non liceat, priusquam mundaretur, scortatori autem et concubinario liceret? respondeo, quia ille ad se appropinquantem contaminabat; hic Deo et sibi immundus tantum erat: aliosque non magis inquinabat, quam si cum uxore legitima cubavisset.

¹ P. 140. Quocirca non fuit exclusio hæc, qua propter legis immunditiam aliqui prohibebantur venire in cætus publicos, figura rei cujuspiam in hoc seculo complendæ, sed imago et simulacrum fuit rei in altera vita perficiendæ.

² Tostatus in Lev. xii., quest. 21.

another greater than that. Thus you see Erastus could not make his type agree with his antitype. Whence it doth further appear that the exclusion of the unclean under the law, did teach and hold forth somewhat in a political sense, touching the communion and fellowship of the church in this life. Whatsoever it might signify more I will not now dispute, but this it did signify. And this I shall so far make good, that I shall at once both answer Erastus and propound a strong argument for the keeping off from the holy things those that are morally and scandalously unclean. First, Let it be remembered that I have proved already from Heb. xiii. 15, 16; 2 Pet. ii. 13; Jude, ver. 12, that the people of God are defiled by communion and fellowship with scandalous sinners. In the second place, Consider that prophecy, Isa. lii. 1, "Put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city; for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean." That whole chapter is a prophecy concerning the condition of the church in the New Testament, as is evident by six parallels at least: ver. 5 with Rom. ii. 24; ver. 7 with Rom. x. 15; ver. 10 with Luke iii. 6; the beginning of ver. 11 with Rev. xviii. 4; the following part of ver. 11 with 2 Cor. vi. 17; ver. 15 with Rom. xv. 21. Neither is it the church invisible, but the church visible; for ver. 15 is applied to the calling of the Gentiles, Rom. xv. 21, and ver. 11 to the church's open separation from Babylon, Rev. xviii. 4. It is also the church ministerial: ver. 7, 8, 11, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings," &c. "Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice," &c. "Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord." It remains to consider what is meant by the *unclean*. Ver. 1, It cannot be meant of legal uncleanness (the ceremonial law being abolished), nor of the hid uncleanness of close hypocrites (for in that sense it is only the privilege of the church triumphant, that no unclean thing, nor no hypocrite, shall enter there). It must therefore be meant of such as are visibly or scandalously unclean. And when it is said, "There shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean," it must be understood *respective*; the uncircumcised signifying such as are not fit to be at all church-members; the unclean signifying such as are not fit to have communion in the holy things: for so these two were

distinguished under the law. Thirdly, There is another place which, to me, puts it out of controversy, 2 Cor. vi. 14—17, where the Apostle exhorteth believers to avoid all intimate conversation or fellowship with unbelievers, by marrying with them, by going to the idol temples, or the like. He concludeth with a manifest allusion to the legal ceremony, "Be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing," or, *the unclean things*, as the Syriac hath it; "And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols," ver. 16, where the Syriac readeth thus, *And what agreement hath the temple of God with the temple of devils?* Remember, would the Apostle say, that as under the law the touching or eating of unclean things made those that touched them or did eat of them to be unclean, so doth your fellowship with unbelievers, or your eating in their idol temples, defile you. And as then those that had touched any unclean thing were not received into the sanctuary, so I will not receive you into fellowship with me and my people, saith the Lord, except you be separate from the sons of Belial. Therefore "touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you;" which is not spoken of receiving us into heaven, but of receiving us into the tabernacle of God in this life, as is manifest by Lev. xxvi. 11, 12, the place cited by the Apostle in the words immediately preceding, "And I will set my tabernacle among you, and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people." And in this manner God saith he will not receive us except we avoid fellowship with the workers of iniquity, especially in holy things. I shall add fourthly, for further clearing of this point in hand, Peter's vision and the interpretation thereof, Acts x. and xi., a passage cited by Erastus, p. 138, 139, while he is proving that the thing signified by the legal uncleanness, was only the corruption and infidelity of nature, which excludeth a sinner from heaven. The place is so far from proving what he would, that it proveth the contrary; for it speaketh plainly of that uncleanness which excludeth men from fellowship with the saints in this life, from companying together, from eating together. And when Peter expoundeth the vision, he saith, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or to come unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that

I should not call any man common or unclean," meaning, for being a Gentile and not a Jew, Acts x. 28. You see, the not eating nor touching of unclean beasts, birds, and creeping things (such as Peter saw in the vision), was understood by the people of God, as forbidding their association or fellowship in this world with heathens or irreligious persons, and such as walked not according to the law. And in this sense the law was understood not only by Peter, but generally by the Jews, Acts xi. 3; Gal. ii. 12.

Nay, fifthly, the legal uncleanness, in the sense of the Jews, did signify not only such things as did exclude others from fellowship with them, but such as did exclude the Jews themselves from the holy things. Therefore it is said, John xviii. 28, "They themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover;"—intimating, that if they had gone into the house of an uncircumcised man, or had, upon such a day, gone into the judgment hall about a litigious action, they had been unclean, and so might not eat the passover. Whether it were the coming into the house of Pilate, he being a man uncircumcised, or whether it were (which I rather think) a litigious action upon a holy day,¹ which might have defiled them, this is plain, that they thought there was a moral uncleanness (signified by the ceremonial uncleanness) which might keep men from the passover.

The fifth animadversion shall be this: Whereas Erastus holdeth, p. 106, that under the law every one was judged clean or unclean according to his own judgment and conscience, and not according to the priest's, the lepers only excepted; also, that when a man had committed any sin, it was in the free will of the sinner to expiate his sin when he pleased; and he was no way compelled to it,—I answer, If every unclean person,

except the leper, was allowed to judge and pronounce himself clean when he pleased, then to what purpose did that law serve,¹ Lev. vii. 20, 21; or that whoever was unclean, and had not purified himself, was not to be admitted to come into the tabernacle, and if he presumed to come, he was to be cut off from the congregation? Num. xix. By Erastus's principles no man should have been cut off, if he had pleaded himself not to be unclean; and how many would do so, if that could save them from being cut off? Is it not also plain from Lev. xv. 15, 30, 31, that both men and women, who were unclean by their issues (not by leprosy), were to bring an offering to the priest for their cleansing, otherwise were not to be accounted clean, but looked upon as defilers of the tabernacle in their uncleanness, whatever they might think of themselves? So women that were unclean after child-birth, had not power to pronounce themselves clean, and were not free to come to the sanctuary when they pleased; but they were first to bring a sin-offering, and the priest was to make atonement for them, Lev. xii. 6—8. There was a certain number of days appointed for the cleansing, both of women after child-birth, and of men who had an issue, yea, when the days of the cleansing were fulfilled they were not free to come unto the tabernacle except they brought their offering for atonement, Lev. xii. 6, 7; xv. 13—15. Philo the Jew, *de Vita Mosis*, lib. 3, p. 531, tells us, there was a certain definite time, till the expiring whereof those that were unclean by a dead body were excluded from the temple. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, lib. 3, cap. 10, records the like, not only of lepers, but of those that had an issue, or were defiled by the dead, that till the set time was fulfilled, all these were kept back from the congregation.

The other thing which Erastus saith, that it was left free to the sinner to expiate his sin when he pleased, doth no better agree with the word; for it was commanded that upon the very knowledge of the sin the trespass-offering should be brought, and the sin confessed, Lev. iv. 14, 28; v. 3—5.

¹ Tostatus in Matt. xxvi., quest. 48. Etiam acutus quidam præter contactum, reddebant homines immundos ad manducandum agnum, vel quæcunque sanctificata, sicut litigare judicialiter, vel intrare in locum iudicii ad litigandum, sic dicit ut, John xviii. Lud. Capelli ΕΠΙΚΡΙΣΙΣ de ultimo Christi paschate, p. 25. Cum itaque hæc una fuerit illarum traditionum, ut ne die festo capitali iudicio vacarent, causa nulla est cur existimemus eos sine necessitate voluisse proprias constitutiones ita pedibus conculcare, et tam solennis festi religionem prophanare. Casaubon, Exerc. 16, annot. 34, num. 32, citeth a plain passage in Maimonides, declaring that they held it unlawful to judge of capital cases upon the preparation to the Sabbath or to a holyday.

¹ L'Empereur, Annot. in Cod. Middoth, p. 20. Arcebantur autem huiusmodi contaminati, donec ea peregissent quæ ad reatum cæremonialem quem contraxerant delentum facerent, atque hac ratione suis magistris morem gessissent. The unclean were not permitted to partake of the sacrifices. Josephus de Bello Jud., lib. 7, c. 17.

Sixthly, Whereas Erastus, p. 105, urgeth the universal law, by which all are commanded to keep the passover, except the unclean and those in a journey, therefore all others (how flagitious or scandalous soever in their lives) were bound to keep it, I answer, Who knows not, that many universals in Scripture are to be restricted, and not to be understood as the words at first sound? As John ii. 10, "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine," that is, every master of a feast; Luke xiii. 15, "Doth not each one of you, on the Sabbath, loose his ox or his ass," that is, each one that hath an ox or an ass; John x. 8, "All that ever came before me were thieves and robbers," meaning, whoever before him did make himself the true door by which the sheep must enter in; so Joel ii. 28, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh," yet not upon all and every one, but upon those only whom he receiveth in covenant; Rev. xiii. 8, "And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him (the beast), whose names are not written in the Book of life," yet there have been many reprobates who neither worshipped the Pope nor knew him; but it is meant of all under the power of the beast. So when all are commanded to keep the passover, it must be understood of all fit persons, and such as were not to be excepted. You will say the law excepteth none but the unclean and those in a journey, therefore all others not excepted were to keep it; for where an exception is made from an universal rule, that rule is the more sure and certain concerning all other particulars not excepted. To that I answer, Erastus himself addeth another exception, and that is, of the sick who could not be present. The Hebrews make divers other exceptions, for they say, "Women and servants are not bound to appear; but all men are bound, except the deaf, and the dumb, and the fool, and the little child, and the blind, and the lame, and the defiled, and the uncircumcised, and the old man, and the sick, and the tender, and weak, which are not able to go upon their feet;—all these eleven are discharged," &c. See Ainsworth on Exod. xxiii. 17, and compare this with Maimonides, *de Idolol.*, chap. 11, sect. 18, where he that hearkens to soothsayers, wizards, charmers, and the like, is said to be reckoned among fools and children, whose reason is imperfect; therefore these were to be excepted as well as fools and children,

and so were other scandalous persons, which I shall prove anon.

A seventh animadversion shall be this: Erastus, in these arguments of his from the law, doth confound *sacraments* with *sacrifices* (as I touched in the beginning), yea, he argueth expressly,¹ that whoever were admitted to expiate their sin by sacrifices, were thereby admitted to sacraments, because (saith he) all these sacrifices were true sacraments. So he speaketh in other places, that he might seem to dispute the more oppositely for promiscuous admission to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. But sacrifices and sacraments are as different as giving and receiving.² In sacrifices, man is the giver, God is the receiver; in sacraments God is the giver, man is the receiver. In sacrifices peace is made with God; in sacraments it is sealed and supposed to be made. They therefore that hold the passover was a sacrifice (an opinion partly grounded on Deut. xvi. 2, and partly taken from the Jews dispersed, who, though they observe divers paschal rites, yet they do not kill the paschal lamb, nor keep the passover according to the law, it being to them unlawful to offer sacrifices, except in the land of Canaan)—have the shorter evasion from Erastus's argument touching the admission to the passover. But I have given other answers; and this much shall suffice for answer to the Erastian arguments drawn from the law of Moses, which are supposed by some to be the strongest.

CHAPTER XII.

FOURTEEN ARGUMENTS TO PROVE THAT SCANDALOUS AND PRESUMPTUOUS OFFENDERS AGAINST THE MORAL LAW (THOUGH CIRCUMCISED AND NOT BEING LEGALLY UNCLEAN) WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE PASSOVER.

There is so much weight laid, both by Erastus himself and by Mr Prynne, upon

¹ P. 94. Hoc ipso, quod ad explandum peccatum jubetur adferre sacrificium, non excluditur a sacramentis, sed ad ea invitatur; nam omnia hæc sacrificia erant vera sacramenta.

² Pareas in Lev. iv. Differunt sacrificium et sacramentum; quod sacrificium est obedientia nostra Deo ad mandatum ejus præstita, sive moralis sive cærimonialis cum morali conjuncta: sacramentum est signum gratiæ dei erga nos in fide a nobis susceptum.

the universal law commanding all that were circumcised to eat the passover, except such as were legally unclean, or were in a journey, that I am resolved, once for all, to demonstrate against them, that men were excluded from the passover for scandalous and enormous trespasses against the moral law as well as for legal uncleanness. Peradventure it will seem to some that I undertake to prove a paradox, and to walk in an untrodden or obscure path; yet my arguments are such as, I trust, shall weigh much with intelligent men.

The first argument shall be this (which is hinted by Ursinus and Pareus, *Explic. Catechit.*, quest. 85, art. 2): Whosoever, by God's appointment, were excluded from the privileges of church members, and not to be reckoned among the congregation of Israel, those were, by God's appointment, excluded from the passover. But whosoever committed any scandalous sin presumptuously, or with an high hand, were, by God's appointment, excluded from the privileges of church members, and not to be reckoned among the congregation of Israel; therefore the proposition hath this manifest reason for it: Those *all* who were commanded to eat the passover cannot be understood to be of a larger extent than the church of Israel; those therefore who were not to be acknowledged or used as church members, were, by God's appointment, excluded from the passover. The assumption is proved from Num. xv. 30, 31, "But the soul that doeth ought presumptuously (whether he be born in the land or a stranger), the same reproacheth the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people. Because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall utterly be cut off: his iniquity shall be upon him."

The presumption here spoken of is not only the presumption of heart (saith Cajetan), of which God only is judge, but a presumption manifested in word or work, which he conceives to be intimated by the Hebrew phrase, *with an high hand*. Grotius understands, one that either denies that there is a God, or that the law was given by God, or, after admonition, goeth on in his trespass. But sure he mistakes the punishment, which he understands to be extrajudicial, and that he who finds one thus sinning presumptuously, may kill him *ex jure zelotarium*, as Phinehas did kill Zimri and Cozbi.

I have spoken before of the cutting off, which I will not here resume. Only this: such presumptuous and contumacious sinners were not to be reckoned among the people of God, nor to enjoy the privilege of church members, therefore not admitted to the passover.

Secondly, Josephus, *de Bello Jud.*, lib. 7, cap. 17, speaking of such as were permitted to eat the passover in the time of Cestius, doth thus design them, *καθαρὸν ἀνάντων καὶ ἁγίων*, being all of them pure and holy,—not only pure from legal uncleanness, but such as were also esteemed holy. But, moreover, it is clear from John xviii. 28, "They themselves (the Jews) went not into the judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover," that the Jews did so understand the law,—that moral as well as ceremonial uncleanness did render them incapable of the passover; for they had no such ceremonial law, that they who came into the judgment-hall, should be legally or ceremonially unclean, yet this had disabled them from eating the passover; for they held litigious or forensical actions unlawful upon a holy day, as Capellus and Casaubon (above cited) do prove. Such a sinful and scandalous act had kept them back from the passover.

Thirdly, If we consult the Chaldee Paraphrase upon Exod. xii. 43, it saith thus, "Every son of Israel, who is an apostate, shall not eat of it;" and upon the same place Mr Ainsworth proves out of Maimonides, that no apostate nor idolater was permitted to eat of the passover. Yea, some Israelites who were not apostates nor idolaters, were for a scandalous action excluded from civil, how much more from ecclesiastical fellowship. See Maimonides, *Of Idolatry*, cap. 9, sect. 15, "With an Israelite, who hath made defection to the worship of idols, it is forbidden to have traffic or commerce, either in his going or returning; with another Israelite going to the markets and fairs of heathens, we are only forbidden to have commerce in his returning." If it was unlawful to them so much as to have civil commerce with an Israelite coming from the markets of heathens (fearing lest he had sold somewhat which was dedicate to idolatry, as the reason is there given), although he was no apostate nor idolater, it is not easily imaginable that such a one was freely admitted to the passover.

Fourthly, An Israelite, though circum-

cised, and not legally unclean, yet, if he either turned idolater, or an heretic, or an Epicurean, was no longer acknowledged to be in church-fellowship or communion, therefore rendered incapable of the passover. Is. Abrabanel, in his book, *de Capite Fidei*, as he sheweth whom they esteemed apostates or heretics, cap. 12, so he also intimateth that such were excluded from the communion of their law, cap. 3, dub. 5, none being acknowledged to be in the communion of Israel, who did not believe the articles of faith professed in the Jewish church, cap. 6; yea, he tells us, cap. 24 (which the Talmud itself saith, *Tit. Sanhedrim*, cap 11, sect. 1), that heretical or Epicurean Israelites were looked upon as excluded from having portion in the world to come. And as Dr Buxtorff sheweth out of their own writers, they esteemed an heretical Israelite to be so abominable, that they did straight, and without delay, excommunicate him, *Levic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.*, p. 195. How is it then imaginable that they admitted such a one to eat the passover? Let us hear R. Moses Maimonides himself, *de Idololatria*, cap. 2, sect. 8, "An idolatrous Israelite is as an heathen in all things which he doth, &c.; so also Israelites who are Epicures are not esteemed to be Israelites in any action of theirs, &c. Now, they are Epicures who ask counsel from the thoughts of their own mind, being ignorant of those things we have spoken of, until having transgressed the chief heads of the law, they offend by contumacy and presumption, and say there is no sin in this thing. But it is forbidden to speak with them, or to answer them; for it is said, 'Come not near the door of her house,'" Prov. v. 8. Therefore the whorish woman that Solomon speaks of was (in the opinion of Maimonides) such a one as was not to be esteemed as an Israelite, nay, nor such as was to be spoken with, much less to be admitted to the passover; yea, Maimonides, *de Idol.*, cap. 10, sect. 2, saith yet more, "But those Israelites which forsake their religion, or become Epicures, we are bidden kill them, and persecute them even unto hell." How could they then admit to the passover those whom they thought themselves obliged to persecute even unto hell?

Fifthly, Those arguments which prove an exclusion of known profane persons from the temple, will also prove an exclusion of known profane persons from the passover, for none might eat of the passover who might not

also come into the temple. That scandalous profane persons might not come into the temple hath been proved already.

Sixthly, I argue from the lesser to the greater. If men were to be kept back for legal uncleanness, much more for moral uncleanness, this being more hateful to God and more hurtful to men than the other. This just consequence Grotius, *Annot. in Luke vi. 22*, doth admit. If by the law, saith he, one that was leprous or had a filthy scab was separated from men's company lest he should infect others, it was no ill consequence, that (if no heavier thing) this at least should be imposed on flagitious and wicked persons, who did by the contagion of their sinful example hurt others, and bring a reproach upon the whole congregation, from which the congregation could not be free but by some public detestation of that wickedness. Thus Grotius.

Seventhly, The purging out of leaven from the congregation of Israel was a significant teaching ceremony, holding forth this duty, that the church ought to put away wicked persons from among them; for so doth the Apostle expound it, 1 Cor. v. 6, 7, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; purge out therefore the old leaven." Which relateth not only to the purging of their own hearts, but to the purging of the church, and the putting away of that wicked person, this being the scope of the whole chapter. Now the moral signification of that ceremony of purging out the leaven did concern the church of Israel as well as the Christian church; even as the divers washings under the law did teach and hold forth the duty of sanctification and purity to the people of God at that time, as well as typify the sanctification of the Christian church.

Eighthly, Though the hallowed bread might in case of necessity be lawfully given to David and his men (the *ceremonials* of the first table yielding to the *substantials* of the second), yet Abimelech the priest would not adventure to give it till he understood that the young men had then kept themselves at least from women, 1 Sam. xxi. 4—6, this being a part of that sanctification which was required in those who did partake of holy things, not only among the Hebrews but among other nations, as Hugo Grotius noteth upon the place, and upon Exod. xix. 15. Now the shew-bread, or the twelve loaves which did show or present

the people to God, cannot be supposed to be holier than the paschal lamb, which did show or present Christ to the people, and was a sacrament or seal of the covenant of grace. David also, and his men, in that danger of their lives, had as good right to eat the shew-bread as any Israelite could pretend to for his eating the passover; yea, that was a substantial duty of the second table, which Christ himself justifieth; this was a ceremonial duty of the first table, and grounded on a positive law. This therefore doth afford me an argument with manifold advantages; for if the shew-bread might not be given to David and his men in their extreme necessity, unless they had for a certain space before abstained from the use of their wives, otherwise lawful, how much less might the passover be given as an holy ordinance (which did not concern the saving of men's lives in extreme necessity) to scandalous persons, living in known whoredom and adultery.

Ninthly, I argue from that place, Ezek. xxii. 26, "Her priests have violated my law, and have profaned mine holy things; they have put no difference between the holy and profane." Will any man say that they were to put a difference between the holy and profane in other ordinances, and not in the passover? And why not in the passover as well as in other ordinances? If such difference was to be put in the passover, then how shall one imagine that no man was kept back from the passover because of known profaneness or moral uncleanness. For what difference was put between the holy and profane, when the profane were received as well as the holy? Mr Coleman held that this text reacheth not to the keeping pure of the ordinances by any act of government, but only that the priests did profane the holy things in their own practice by eating in their uncleanness, and also in their ministry, because they taught not the children of Israel to put a difference between the clean and the unclean, *Maledicis*, p. 11. But the text gives not the least ground to restrain this fault of the priests, here reprov'd, either to their personal actions, or to their doctrinal ministry. Nay, the text will reach to an act of government neglected, for the word here used to express the distinguishing or putting of a difference between the holy and profane is בָּרַל, which is often used in Scripture to express an act of government or authority whereby one per-

son is separated or distinguished from another person, or one thing from another thing, as Ezra viii. 24, "Then I separated twelve of the chief of the priests," &c.; Ezra x. 8, "All his substance should be forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation." Here it signifieth such a separation as was a public censure. Why not also Ezek. xxii. 56? The same word is used in the story of the division of the land by Joshua; Josh. xvi. 9, "And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim." It is used also to express God's dividing of light from darkness, Gen. i. 4; also his separating of Israel from all other nations, Lev. xx. 24. And whereas Mr Coleman did take hold of the following words in that place of Ezekiel, "Neither have they showed difference between the unclean and the clean," as being merely doctrinal,—First (if it were so), how will it appear that these words are exegetical to the former, and that the putting of difference between the holy and profane, mentioned in the former words, was only meant of showing the difference doctrinally; or why may we not rather understand that the priests are charged with neglect of duty both in doctrine and government. Secondly, even that latter word פָּרַדְתִּי *fecerunt scire*, the Septuagints render διέσπελλον; and they use διαστέλλω as synonymous with χωρίζω, ἀφορίζω, διορίζω, διαίρεσμαι, ἀποχίζω: by all these (signifying to separate or to divide) they render בָּרַל; yea, the Septuagints express a forensical censure or judicial separation by διαστέλλω; as Ezra x. 8, καὶ αὐτὸς διασπάλησται; so that when they retain the same word in rendering פָּרַדְתִּי in this text of Ezekiel, they do thereby intimate that the latter word will reach a power which was more than doctrinal, as well as the former, which I do the rather assert, because פָּרַדְתִּי is taken by the Septuagints (not seldom) as agreeing in signification with פָּרַדְתִּי *de voluntate suo certiorē reddidit, constituit, decrevit*; so that it will reach the making of others to know a thing, not only doctrinally, but by rules, canons, statutes, and government. Yea, פָּרַדְתִּי will reach the teaching or making men to know by censures or punishments inflicted; as Judges viii. 16, Gideon took briers and thorns (פָּרַדְתִּי, Pagnin, *et confregit*), and he brake with these the men of Succoth. Jerome, *et contrivit*. The Septuagints, κατέλαυν, *comminuit*. The English translation, "and with these he taught (in the

margin, *made to know*) the men of Succoth." For this signification of the word, namely, *conterere*, Arias Montanus, in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, citeth Isa. liii. 3; Ezek. xix. 7. So *conteri*, Psal. lxxiv. 5; Prov. x. 9. Upon this last place Mercerus tells us that the Hebrews do not only admit this sense of that text, but in other places also take the same word *pro confringi*. So that without the least violence to the text in Ezekiel it may be thus read, "They have not separated (or put difference) between the holy and profane, neither have they broken or (divided) between the unclean and the clean." The latter part seemeth to charge the priests with the admission of such as were legally unclean, the former part with the admission of such as were morally unclean, or profane, to such ordinances as were appointed only for the holy and clean.

Tenthly, Heathens or strangers, who were not *proselytes of the covenant of righteousness*, were not permitted to eat of the passover. Now one that is by profession a church member, but living in profaneness and scandalous wickedness, ought to be esteemed as an heathen, Matt. xviii. 17, yea, as worse than an infidel, 1 Tim. v. 8. Hence was it that the word *heathen* was used for an irreligious or wicked man, as is observed by Mathias Martinus in *Lex. Phil.* p. 717, 718, and as a discriminating name from believers; so Zonaras in *Conc. Carthag.* can. 24. When David speaks of his persecuting wicked enemies, though Israelites, he calls them strangers and heathens, Psal. liv. 3; lix. 5. How then can it be supposed that those who were esteemed as heathens were admitted to all church privileges as well as the best Israelites?

Eleventhly, That which was among the Jews a sufficient cause to deny circumcision to him who desired to be admitted and received into the Jewish church as **בְּרִית** *Ger ben berith*, a proselyte, son of the covenant, or **צַדִּיק** *Ger tsedek*, a proselyte of righteousness, was also a sufficient cause to deny the passover to a proselyte who desired to eat it. Even as now that for which we may and ought to refuse baptism to one that desireth it, must needs be also a cause and reason to refuse the Lord's supper to him that desireth to receive it; for he that is not fit to be baptized is much less fit to receive the Lord's supper. But profaneness, or a scandalous conversa-

tion, was among the Jews a sufficient cause and reason to refuse circumcision. Yea, as Dr Buxtorff tells us in *Lexic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.* p. 408, before the Jews would circumcise or baptize a proselyte (for after circumcision they did baptize him), they did first examine him exactly, and prove him narrowly, whether he desired to be a proselyte, from covetousness, ambition, fear, the love of an Israelitish virgin, or the like sinister end. If upon examination it did appear that he was not moved by any worldly consideration, but by affection to religion and the glory of God, then they proceeded to set before his eyes the strictness of the law, and how strait and narrow a path he must walk in, telling him also of the persecutions and tribulations of Israel. If after all this trial they found him steadfast in his desires and resolutions, then they received him, he being first instructed in the articles of their faith, and in the commandments of the law. How much less would they have circumcised a scandalous person, being so far from any hopeful signs of sincerity that he had the black marks of a worker of iniquity. And if they would not receive such a scandalous flagitious person to circumcision, how could they receive such a one (being circumcised) to the passover?

Twelfthly, Compare Ezra vi. 21, with Ezra x. 16, 17. First, it is marked Ezra vi. 21, that such proselytes did eat the passover with the children of Israel, "as had separated themselves unto them from the filthiness of the heathen of the land, to seek the Lord God of Israel." If those who did eat were thus qualified, it is not obscurely intimated that those who were not thus qualified did not eat. And if no proselyte who did not separate himself from the filthiness of the heathen was allowed to eat the passover, then much less was an Israelite who did not separate himself from the filthiness of the heathen allowed to eat it. I like well Beda's observation upon Ezra x. 16, 17. Israel was purged from unlawful marriages, and the strange wives put away, and this work was ended against the beginning of the first month, to the intent that none defiled with unlawful marriages might eat the passover, *Ut ante initium mensis primi consummarentur omnes qui prophano erant connubio maculati, id est a tali scelere purgarentur, quatenus ipsum mensem primum in quo erat pascha faci-*

endum, mundi intrarent, mundi paschalia festa peragerent, &c.

Thirteenthly, I argue from the signification of the legal or ceremonial uncleanness, and from that which was signified by the exclusion of those that were legally unclean. Without all controversy the keeping back of such was a significant ceremony; for all the legal ceremonies concerning cleanness or uncleanness were teaching ceremonies, and are therefore called *doctrines*, Matt. xv. 9; Col. xxii. 2. What was taught and signified thereby I have before showed, namely, that profane ones be not admitted to fellowship with God's people in their holy things. Yea, was not profaneness and open wickedness more hateful to God than legal uncleanness? Yes, saith Erastus, p. 144, because God appointed greater punishments for the former than for the latter; the greater crimes were punished by fire and sword, stoning, hanging; the smaller by mulcts and stripes. But yet (say I) by his grounds the legal uncleanness was more hateful to God than profaneness and wickedness in reference to fellowship in the holy things (for that is the point); he holds that the most flagitious and profane were commanded of God to eat the passover, and yet those that were only legally unclean were forbidden, though the Scripture say, Prov. xv. 8; xxi. 27, that the sacrifice of the wicked is abomination to the Lord, and the oblations of those whose hands were full of blood, his soul hated, and he could not away with them, Isa. i. 11—14, and when they came to his house, he told them, "When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to tread my courts?"

I shall not need to insist here upon the excluding of bond-servants, and those that were bought with money, from the passover, and the admitting only of those that were free, which some of the Zurich divines¹ themselves have interpreted to signify the exclusion of those who are servants of sin, and as those who seek only the things of the earth. But there is one argument more (it shall be the last) which doth convince me that others besides the uncircumcised, and they that were legally unclean, even those that had scandalously transgressed the moral law, were excluded from the passover. The ground of my argument is that whereof I

have spoken before, the law for confession of sin and declaration of repentance, without which the trespass-offering was not accepted, Lev. v. 5, 6, which law is extended to every known sin that was to be expiated by sacrifice, Num. v. 6, 7, "When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to go a trespassing against the Lord (the Seventy read, *and despising he despise*, to note rebellion or contumacy), and that person be guilty (that is, be found guilty, or when the sin shall be known, so the phrase of being guilty is explained, Lev. iv. 13, 14), then they shall confess their sin which they have done;" after which follows restitution to the party wronged, and atonement made by the priest. Whence I argue thus: If the scandalous persons were not admitted to the trespass-offering (which was a reconciling ordinance) without confession of their sin, which was known to have been committed by them, much less were they admitted to the passover (which was a sealing ordinance) without such confession of their sin. But scandalous persons were not admitted to the trespass-offering (which was a reconciling ordinance), without confession of their sin, which was known to have been committed by them; therefore much less were they admitted to the passover (which was a sealing ordinance) without such confession. This argument I did before, chap. x., vindicate from Mr Prynne. I will here farther strengthen it, and vindicate it from another exception, which, peradventure, will be made against it. The proposition is certain; for some are called to make their peace with God who cannot have any assurance sealed unto them that their peace is made with God. But if God will not be reconciled, he will far less seal reconciliation. "There is no peace to the wicked," saith God, how much less can their peace be sealed to them. The assumption is manifest from the scriptures last cited; and if any shall say that the law, Lev. v., is meant only of private sins and those of ignorance, which, so soon as they come to knowledge, are to be confessed, I answer, 1. It is more than can be proved, that only private sins and those of ignorance are there meant of. Of this I have spoken elsewhere. But be it so. If some private sins, yea, sins of ignorance, were to be publicly confessed when they were known, how much more were public and scandalous sins to be publicly confessed? 2. The Hebrews understand the law of con-

¹ Lavater, hom. 23 in Ezram.

fession to be extended to all sins whatsoever that were expiated by sacrifice; and that before atonement could be made, the sinner must make confession and say, "O God, I have sinned and done perversely, I have trespassed before thee, and have done thus and thus; and, lo! I repent and am ashamed of my doings, and I will never do this thing again." 3. In all sacrifices for atonement or expiation, a man laid his hand upon the head of his offering, Lev. i. 4; Exod. xxix. 10, 15, 19. This laying on of hands was the rite used in confession of sin, whereby a man did profess that he was worthy to be destroyed for his sin; and that he laid his sin upon the beast which was killed in his stead, thereby figuring that upon Christ are laid the iniquities of us all. And with the laying on of hands upon the sacrifice, confession of sin was made by word of mouth, which, as it is the judgment of interpreters,¹ so it is easily proved from Lev. xvi. 21, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat." Whereupon I conclude, that any sin which was expiated by sacrifice, whether a public or secret offence, was confessed before it was expiated. 4. The law, Num. v. 6, extends confession to any sin that men commit, as hath been before observed. 5. Philippus Gamacheus, a learned doctor of Sorbon, *Comment. in Tertiam partem Thomæ, de Penitentia Sacramento*, cap. 13, doth ingeniously acknowledge, that the foresaid law of Moses, concerning confession of sin, is no warrant for their private auricular and sacramental confession, because the Jews were not, by that law, bound to confess any other sins¹ but sinful actions or external transgressions, nor all such, but chiefly the notorious and scandalous sins. If he had perceived the least colour of an argument from that Mosaical law, for the necessity of confessing private sins to the priest, surely he had taken hold of it, and had not quit it.

¹ Tostatus in Lev. i. quæst. 15; Ainsworth on Lev. i. 4.

² Deinde nec Judæi confitebantur peccata omnia exacte, accurate, sicut nos; non enim peccata interna et mentalia, sed solum externa, quæ opere ipso consummat essent, et in exteriorem actum transissent, etc. Tertio, nec Judæi omnia externa peccata in confessione declarabant, sed præsertim notoria et publica, ut fert opinio probabilior.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR PRYNNE'S ARGUMENT FROM I COR. X.
(WHICH HE TAKES TO BE UNANSWERABLE)
DISCUSSED AND CONFUTED.

Mr Prynne, in the 15th page of his *Vindication*, endeavoureth to prove that spiritual pollution, by reason of gross and scandalous sins, did not debar them that were circumcised from the passover, "as (saith he) Paul expressly determines, 1 Cor. x. 1—10 (an unanswerable text to this purpose), 'Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant that (the text saith how that) all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat (to wit the passover and manna), and did all drink of the same spiritual drink; for they drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.' But perhaps all these communicants were visible saints, free from any legal pollution, at least not tainted with any scandalous sin. The Apostle, to take off this evasion, subjoins in the very next words, 'But with many of them, God was not well pleased,' &c. So that the Israelites, being once circumcised, were all admitted to eat the passover, though some of them were idolaters; others lusters after evil things; others fornicators; others tempters of Christ; others murmurers against God and Moses." The same argument he hinteth, p. 9, to prove the like under the gospel. It is one of Erastus's arguments, *Confirm. Thes.*, p. 118, 119, and as colourable as any other, yet not unanswerable as Mr Prynne holds.

For, 1. Though he saith the Apostle clearly determines that those who were tainted with gross and scandalous sins were admitted to the passover, yet I find nothing of the passover, either in the text or in the sense of any interpreter which I have looked upon; nay, it did not so much as fall in the thoughts of Erastus himself; for Beza having objected to him, that he ought to have compared our sacraments with the purely sacred feasts in the Old Testament rather than with the manna, and with the water of the rock, which were for corporal nourishment, Erastus replieth nothing concerning the passover (which had been his best an-

swer if he had seen any probability for it), only he saith, that he compareth our sacraments with the manna and the water of the rock, as the Apostle doth before him.

2. The text itself seemeth rather to determine clearly that the passover is not there intended; for all the other particulars there mentioned did agree to all the Israelites, men, women, and children: all these were under the cloud, and all these passed through the sea, and all these drank of the water of the rock; and why shall we not understand that all these did also eat of the same spiritual meat, that is, of the manna, not of the passover, of which women and children under thirteen years of age did not eat? Neither did all the males above thirteen years eat of it; for the unclean were excluded by the law: those that were in a journey did not eat of it, nor the hired servant. The sick, saith Erastus, did not eat of it: the Jews exclude also the dumb and the deaf. If it be said that ver. 1 speaketh only of the fathers, and that therefore the text is not to be understood of women and children also, I answer, This is as inconsequent as if one would argue, Paul saith, "Men, brethren, and fathers," therefore no women were among that multitude of the people, Acts xxi. 35, 36, 39, 40; or thus the Apostle saith, "Brethren, pray for us," therefore he desires not believing sisters to pray for him. In this same text in hand the Apostle speaks to the whole church of Corinth, to make them afraid of God's judgments if they sin as the Israelites did. If he had argued only from the sin and judgment of the men, and not also of the women in the wilderness, the women in Corinth had so much the less applied it to themselves. But if I should grant (which will never be proved), that by the fathers are understood the men only, yet it cannot be said, that as all the men of Israel were baptized in the cloud and sea, and all of them drank of the same spiritual drink which came out of the rock, so all of them did eat the passover; for even of the males divers were excluded from the passover, as the unclean, the hired servant, the child, the sick, &c., so that this would make the Apostle's argumentation, running upon a five-fold *all*, to hang ill together. I had not insisted at all upon this, but to show the weak grounds of Mr Prynne's strong confidence.

3. If this argument of his hold good, he must grant, by analogy, that all baptized

persons must be admitted to the Lord's table, though they be idolaters, fornicators, &c., which, as it is contrary to the ordinance of parliament, so to his own professed tenets; for he professeth elsewhere, he is not for the admission of scandalous persons to the sacrament, and that he would have them, in case of obstinacy, not only suspended from the sacrament, but excommunicated from all other ordinances, till public satisfaction given for the scandal, and till external symptoms of repentance appear. So *The Antidote advertised* tells us, and his own *Vindication*, p. 50. If this be his mind, then it is incumbent to him to loose his own knot—all circumcised persons, though tainted with gross scandalous sins, as idolatry and fornication, were admitted to the passover, and so it ought to be under the gospel. If he say that those scandalous sinners in the wilderness had not been admonished, were not obstinate, or that they professed repentance and promised amendment, and did not, in the meanwhile, persevere in their wickedness, but satisfied for the scandal: First, How proves he that? Next, In so saying he will answer for us as well as for himself; and his argument (if all granted) cannot prove that such scandalous sinners as have manifest symptoms of impenitency, or do not confess and forsake their sin, may be admitted to the Lord's table.

4. The manna, and the water out of the rock, though they had a spiritual and evangelical signification, and did typify Jesus Christ, yet they were also the ordinary food and drink of the people in the wilderness; so that if scandalous sinners had been excluded from partaking of these, they had been deprived of their ordinary daily corporal nourishment, which makes a vast difference between their case in the wilderness, and ours at the Lord's table.

5. The Apostle speaks of those scandalous sins as committed not before, but after the eating of that spiritual meat, and drinking of that spiritual drink. First, This is clear of their baptism in the cloud and in the sea, Exod. xiv., before any of the gross and scandalous sins there mentioned were committed; and therefore was not pertinent to be objected. Immediately thereafter they did eat of the spiritual meat, that is, of the manna, Exod. xvi., and drank of the spiritual drink, that is, of the water out of the rock which followed them, Exod. xvii., "to give drink to my people, my chosen, saith

the Lord," Isa. xliii. 20. Now, after those men had eaten of the spiritual meat, and drank of the spiritual drink, they did fall into idolatry, fornication, &c., and this is all which the Apostle saith, thereby warning the Corinthians not to presume upon their partaking in the ordinances, nor to think all well with themselves because they were baptized, and had eaten and drank at the Lord's table; for after all this they had need to take heed, lest they fall in foul sins, and lust after evil things, and so draw upon themselves the heavier judgments. That which Mr Prynne takes for granted (upon a marvellous mistake of the Apostle's words) he hath yet to prove, that is, that after some of them had fallen into idolatry, others into fornication, others into murmuring against God, those who were known to have committed those gross and scandalous sins were allowed and admitted, as before, to eat of the spiritual meat, and drink of the spiritual drink. I mean not only the passover (which is not at all meant in this text), but even from the manna and the water of the rock those scandalous sinners were cut off by death, except such of them as did repent and turn, for whom atonement was made to God. As soon as Moses came into the camp, he gave a charge to slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, which had committed the sin of idolatry; and for the rest who survived Moses made atonement, and got an answer of peace from God concerning them, Exod. xxxii. and xxxiii. We read also that the Lord plagued the people because of their idolatry, Exod. xxxii. 35; and the people did mourn and humble themselves, and cast off their ornaments, Exod. xxxiii. 4; so that (I am sure) the first case mentioned by the Apostle maketh much against our opposites. The second example is the matter of Peor, where they did fall both into idolatry and fornication together. But what came of it? Moses gave a charge to the judges of Israel to slay every one his men that were joined to Baal-Peor, Num. xxv. 7; and there died also of the plague 24,000, ver. 9. But what was the people's part in repenting? Verse 6 tells us, that "all the congregation of the children of Israel were weeping before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation;" and for those that remained alive, Phinehas made atonement, and the Lord smelled a savour of rest, ver. 11, 13. As for the third case instanced by the Apostle, which

is the tempting of Christ, much people of Israel died for it, and the remnant did repent and confess that particular sin, that they had "spoken against the Lord and against Moses," and therefore did desire Moses to pray unto the Lord for them, Num. xxi. 6, 7. Lastly, for that of murmuring, those that had the chief hand in it died of the plague, Num. xiv. 37; and "the people mourned greatly," and confessed, "we have sinned," ver. 39, 40; and thus, by searching for an answer to our opposites' argument, we have found this argument against them:—

If God himself did execute such discipline upon those who were tainted with the gross and scandalous sins of idolatry, fornication, &c., that he would not permit them to enjoy their former liberty of eating of the manna, and drinking of the water of the rock (being spiritual meat and spiritual drink, as typifying Christ, though appointed of God also for ordinary daily food and drink to his people) until they mourned, repented, confessed, and atonement was made for them, it is much less the will of God that such scandalous sinners as are manifestly impenitent, and manifestly not reconciled to God, should be admitted and received to the Lord's supper, which is an ordinance purely spiritual. But the *former* part is true; therefore so is the *latter*.

6. Another answer I shall add (though I need add no more): Those sins mentioned by the Apostle were not scandals given by a few persons, nor yet by a few families, nor by a tribe, but they were common national sins, and so fall not within the verge of our controversy, which is not concerning the suspending of a scandalous nation from the sacrament for some national sin, but concerning the suspension of scandalous persons for their personal public offences. If it be objected unto me that the Apostle saith, that some of them were idolaters, and some of them did commit fornication, &c., I answer, When he saith *some*, he saith so in reference to the *all* which had gone before, that is, all the Israelites who did eat of the manna and drink of the water of the rock during the forty years in the wilderness successively; so that he makes a distribution of Israel in the wilderness, comparing one passage with another, not distributing those that lived together at one and the same time. And that it must needs be so understood I prove from Exod. xxxii., where we find *all the people* falling into idolatry; so

Num. xiv. 2, "And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron." The other two are also called the sins of the people and of Israel, and the people were punished, and for one of them all the heads of the people commanded to be hanged, Num. xxi. 5, 6; xxv. 3, 4. Peradventure every one did not act in each of these sins, but yet they were national (as

we call national) sins, the generality of the children of Israel, either acting or partaking therein. In such a case Augustine thought fit to suspend the exercising of excommunication for the sin of drunkenness rather than to excommunicate all Africa.

These are my six answers to Mr Prynne's unanswerable argument.

AN APPENDIX TO THE FIRST BOOK,

CONTAINING AN ADDITIONAL DEBATE CONCERNING THE JEWISH CHURCH
GOVERNMENT AND CENSURES.

I have said enough (as I suppose) of a church government and church censures distinct from magistracy and civil justice among the Jews, whereby the seeming Old Testament strength of the Erastians is sufficiently, yea, abundantly broken; and now it appeareth how ill-grounded that assertion is, which did lately come abroad in the discourse entitled, *The Difference about Church Government Ended*, p. 8, "Moses was first the sole ruler, &c. Afterwards, when kings reigned in Israel, king Solomon put Abiathar the high-priest from his office, setting up Zadok; and David distinguished the courses of the priests; and other godly kings, from time to time, ruled in things ecclesiastical, and priests never, till that after their return from the Babylonish captivity," &c. And no better grounded are the first five questions in Mr Prynne's *Diotrephes Catechised*, in which he doth intimate that there was no distinct ecclesiastical jurisdiction among the Jews; and that all scandalous sins and offences now pretended to be of ecclesiastical cognisance, were, by God's own institution, throughout the Old Testament, inquirable, examinable, determinable, and punishable, only by the temporal magistrates or civil powers, not by any ecclesiastical persons or officers. But when he should prove that there was no ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from the civil, he brings many scriptures to prove that there was a civil jurisdiction, and civil or temporal pun-

ishments in the Old Testament. How cold the consequence from hence will be, against church government, the intelligent reader cannot but perceive.

The most of that strength which doth militate against these Erastian principles is presented and drawn up in this preceding book. That which I now intend is only an additional debate.

And first of all it is to be observed, that the same point of controversy is debated with the Anabaptists,¹ they holding, as the Erastians do, that in the Old Testament there was but one kind of government, one kind of jurisdiction, one kind of punishment, and that it was civil or temporal; but an ecclesiastical judicature or censure in the Old Testament they deny, wherein they are contradicted by those that write against them.

¹ See Ampsingius Disp. Adv. Anabapt., p. 276, Joh. Cloppenburg. in Gangræna Theol. Anabapt. part. 3, Disp. 11, citeth these words out of a book of the Anabaptists, de Censur. Eccles.: "Ante adventum Christi tempore veteris, Testamenti, unicum tantum institutum fuisse regimen, ac non nisi unicum punitionem, videlicet a magistratu exercendam secundum scriptam legem a Mose traditam: qua luendum erat vel in bonis vel in corpore, ac sustinenda aut Mors, aut carcer, aut multa pecuniaria: quæ omnia politici erant, non ecclesiastici iudicii." In opposition hereunto he addeth. "In ecclesiis reformatis creditur ex verbo Dei, fuisse a Deo jam olim in U.T. institutum duplex regimen, duplici officio gubernationis, qua politicæ, qua ecclesiasticæ, distinctum."

Secondly, We must distinguish with great caution, and (as they say) *cum grano salis*, between that which was ordinary, and that which was extraordinary in the Jewish government. We cannot, from extraordinary cases, collect and conclude that which was the fixed, settled, ordinary rule. The examples which have been alleged for the administration of church government, the purging away of scandals, the ordering of the ministry in the Old Testament by the temporal magistrate or civil powers only, and by their own immediate authority, how truly alleged, or how rightly apprehended, shall appear by and by: this I say for the present, divers of them were extraordinary cases, and are recorded as precedents for godly magistrates' duty and authority, not in a reformed and constituted church,¹ but in a church which is full of disorders and wholly out of course, needing reformation. So that the Erastian arguments drawn from those examples, for investing the magistrate with the whole and sole power of government and jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, are no whit better than the popish and prelatical arguments for the lawfulness of the civil power and places of clergymen (as they called them), drawn from some extraordinary examples of Aaron's joining with Moses, and Eleazar with Joshua, in civil business of greatest consequence; of the administration and government of the commonwealth by Eli the priest, and by Samuel the prophet; of the anointing of Jehu to be king by Elisha; of the killing of Athaliah, and the making of Joash king, by the authority of Jehoiada the priest; of the withstanding and thrusting out of king Uzziah by four-score valiant men of the priests, and such like cases. Mr Prynne himself, in his *Diotrephes Catechised*, p. 4, noteth that Ezra the priest received a special commission from Artaxerxes, to set magistrates and judges which might judge all the people, Ezra vii. 11, 25, from all which it appeareth, that as priests did extraordinary some things which ordinarily belonged to magistracy, so magistrates did extraordinarily that which ordinarily did not belong to their administration. I conclude this point with a passage in the *Second Book of the Discipline of the*

Church of Scotland, chap. 10: "And although kings and princes that be godly, sometimes by their own authority, when the church is corrupted, and all things out of order, place ministers, and restore the true service of the Lord, after the example of some godly kings of Judah, and divers godly emperors and kings also in the light of the New Testament, yet where the ministry of the church is once lawfully constituted, and they that are placed do their office faithfully, all godly princes and magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the majesty of the Son of God speaking in them."

In the third place, let us take a particular survey of such objections, from which the Erastians do conclude that the power of church government in the Old Testament was only in the hand of the magistrate.

And first, concerning Moses, it is objected that he, being the supreme magistrate, did give laws and ordinances for ordering the church in things pertaining to God.

Ans. This he did as a prophet from the mouth of the Lord, yea, as a type of Jesus Christ the Great Prophet, Deut. xviii. 15, 18, not as civil magistrate.

Obj. 2. We read not of an ecclesiastical sanhedrim adjoined with Moses, but only of a civil sanhedrim, Num. xi. Neither doth the Talmud mention any supreme sanhedrim but one.

Ans. 1. If those seventy elders, Num. xi., be understood only of the civil sanhedrim (which some do not admit, though for my part I do not gainsay it), yet we read of the constitution of another sanhedrim or assembly of seventy before them, which I have before proved from Exod. xxiv. 1.

2. And if there had been no distinct ecclesiastical sanhedrim in Moses' time, yet by the law, Deut. xvii., when the people came into the land of promise, they were to have two distinct courts in the place which the Lord should choose: of which also before. And whereas Mr Prynne, in his *Diotrephes Catechised*, quest. 2, intimateth, that by the law, Deut. xvii., the priests were only jointly and together with the temporal judges to resolve hard civil cases or controversies,—this sense can neither agree with the disjunction in the text, ver. 12, the man that will not hearken "unto the priest, or unto the judge," nor yet with the received interpretation of those words, "between stroke and stroke," that is, "be-

¹ Dr Pareus in Deut. xvii. *Judicia ecclesiastica ad ecclesiam pertinent secundum verbum Dei. Magistratus nihilominus est custos utriusque tabulae, et ceslantibus, sacerdotibus vel degenerantibus, debet reformare secundum legem.*

tween leprosy and leprosy;" the decision whereof is nowhere in Scripture found to be either committed unto or assumed by the civil judge. As for the Talmud, that of Babylon was not begun to be compiled before the year of Christ 367, nor finished before the year of Christ 500. The Jerusalem Talmud can pretend to no greater antiquity than the year of Christ 230, so that both were collected long after the dissolution of the sanhedrim and government of the Jews. No marvel, therefore, if these declining times did wear out the memory of some part of their former government.

Obj. 3. The king was, by God's appointment, entrusted with the custody of the book of the law, Deut. xvii. 18; 2 Kings x. 12.

Ans. 1. The principal charge of the custody of the law was committed to the priests and Levites, Deut. xxxi. 9; xxiv. 25, 26. Of the king it is only said, Deut. xvii. 18, "That he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests and Levites."

2. I heartily yield that a lawful magistrate, whether Christian or heathen, ought to be a keeper or guardian of both tables; and, as God's vicegerent, hath authority to punish heinous sins against either table, by civil or corporal punishments, which proves nothing against a distinct church government for keeping pure the ordinances of Christ.

Obj. 4. King David did appoint the offices of the Levites, and divided their courses, 1 Chron. xxiii; so likewise did Solomon appoint the courses and charges of the priests, Levites and porters, in the temple.

Ans. David did not this thing as a king, but as a prophet, 2 Chron. viii. 14, "For so had David the man of God commanded;" the same thing being also commanded by other prophets of the Lord, 2 Chron. xxix. 25, "According to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet, for so was the commandment of the Lord by his prophets," which cleareth also Solomon's part; for (beside that himself also was a prophet) he received from David, the man of God, a pattern of that which he was to do in the work of the house of the Lord, and directions concerning the courses of the Levites, 1 Chron. xxviii. 11—13; 2 Chron. viii. 14.

Obj. 5. King Solomon deposed Abiathar from his priesthood, and did put Zadok in his place.

Ans. 1. Abiathar was guilty of high treason for assisting and aiding Adonijah against Solomon, whom not only his father David, but God himself had designed to the crown; so that the crime was of civil cognisance, and Abiathar deserved to die for it. That which Solomon did was an *ἐπιείκεια*, a moderation of the punishment, as Strigelius calls it; when Solomon might justly have put him to death, he only banisheth him from Jerusalem to Anathoth, there to enjoy his own inheritance, to live a private life, and no more to intermeddle in state affairs. Wherefore this example doth belong to the case of a capital crime committed by a minister, but not to the case of scandal or maladministration in his ministry.

2. Neither did Solomon directly or intentionally put Abiathar from the priesthood for that offence, but by consequence it followed upon his banishment from Jerusalem, the place where the high-priest was to exercise his calling, 1 Kings ii. 27, "So (that is, in respect of banishment from Jerusalem, mentioned in the verse immediately preceding) Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord." A minister now banished is not thereby thrust out from all exercise of his ministry, for he may exercise it in another place; but Abiathar, being thrust out from Jerusalem, was *eo ipso* thrust from the calling of the high-priest, which was necessarily to be exercised in that place.

3. Solomon being a prophet, who knows what warrants he had more than ordinary for that which he did to Abiathar? That it was not without an extraordinary divine instinct some collect from the next words: "That he (Solomon) might fulfil the word of the Lord which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shilo."

4. As for the investing of Zadok with the place and authority of the high-priest, it doth not prove that the magistrate hath a constitutive power to make or authorise church-officers; for Zadok had been formerly chosen by the congregation of Israel, and anointed to be high-priest, 1 Chron. xxix. 22, yea, he did fall to the place *jure divino*, for the high priesthood was given to Eleazar, the eldest son of Aaron, and was to remain in the family of Eleazar, from whom Zadok had lineally descended; whereas Abiathar was not of the family of Eleazar, but of the family of Ithamar.

Obj. 6. Hezekiah did apply his regal power to the reformation of the Levites and

to the purging of the temple, 2 Chron. xxix. 5; and did also appoint the courses of the priests and Levites, every man according to his service, 2 Chron. xxxi.; so likewise did king Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv.

Ans. Hezekiah, in exhorting the Levites to sanctify themselves, and to cleanse the temple, doth require no other thing than the law of God did require, Num. viii. 6, 11, 15; xviii. 32; which Hezekiah himself pointeth at, 2 Chron. xxix. 11. And why should not the magistrate command ministers to do the duties of their calling, according to the word of God? As for his appointing of the courses of the priests and Levites, he did nothing therein but what the Lord had commanded by his prophets, 2 Chron. xxix. 25. The like I answer concerning king Josiah, for it is recorded that what he did, was after the writing of David and Solomon, 2 Chron. xxxv. 4; "And according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun, the king's seer," ver. 15; "as it is written in the book of Moses," ver. 12.

Obj. 7. King Joash, while he yet did right, in the days of Jehoiada the priest, sent the priests and Levites to gather from all Israel a collection for repairing the house of the Lord; and when they dealt negligently in this business, he discharged them to receive any more money so collected.

Ans. Joash did impose no other collections but those *quæ divino jure debebantur*, which were due by divine right, saith Wolphius in 2 Kings xii. The thing was expressly commanded in the law of Moses; compare 2 Chron. xxiv. 6; Exod. xxx. 12—14. As for the king's prohibition afterwards laid upon the priests: 1. The priests had still neglected the work till the three-and-twentieth year of his reign was come. 2. The priests themselves consented to receive no more money. 3. The high-priest had still a chief hand in the managing of that business, in which also the priests that kept the door had an interest, all which is plain from 2 Kings xii. 6—10. And beside all this, it was a money matter, concerning the hiring and paying of workmen, and so did belong to *τὰ ἔξω*, to the extrin-sical, not to the intrin-sical things of the church.

Obj. 8. The kings of the Jews have purged the land from idolatry and superstition, have broken down altars, cut down

groves, destroyed high places, and such like idolatrous monuments.

Ans. This was nothing but what was commanded in the law of Moses, whereunto also the secular coercive power was necessary.

Let it be remembered concerning those godly reforming kings of Judah. 1. The case was extraordinary, no matter of ordinary government. 2. Their reformation was *jure divino*, the law of God was the rule, and *jus divinum* was not then startled at, but embraced. 3. Sometime also the reformation was not without an assembly of the prophets, priests and elders, as 2 Kings xxiii. 1.

Obj. 9. Mr Prynne, in his *Diotrephes Catechised*, quest. 2, starteth another objection from 2 Chron. xix., asking, "Whether it be not clearly meant, that as king Josiah himself (he should have said Jehoshaphat) did, by his own regal authority, appoint judges in the land and in Jerusalem, in the preceding verses (5—10), to determine all controversies, and punish all offences whatsoever, according to the laws of God and that kingdom, so he did by the self-same regal authority appoint Amariah, then chief-priest, over the priests and Levites only (implied in the word *you*, not over the people of the land), in all matters of the Lord, that is, to order, direct the priests and Levites under him in their several courses, and all matters whatsoever concerning the worship," &c.

Ans. 1. Mr Prynne will never prove from that text that Jehoshaphat, by his regal authority, did appoint or set Amariah the chief-priest to be over the rest. The English translators express the sense by interlacing the word *is*, ver. 11, "And behold Amariah the chief-priest is over you in all matters of the Lord." 2. To restrict the word *you* to the priests and Levites only is an intolerable wresting of the text; for all these relatives, ver. 9—11, *them, ye, you*, must needs repeat the antecedent, ver. 8, and so relate to the chief of the fathers of Israel, as well as to the priests and Levites. So that these words, "Amariah the chief priest is over you," are spoken to the sanhedrim; and the plain meaning is, that Amariah the chief-priest was at that time the *nasi*, or *princeps senatus*, the prince or chief ruler of the senate, as Grotius expounds it. 3. That the high-priest was a ruler of the people as well as

of the priests and Levites, is manifest from Acts xxiii. 5, where Paul applieth to the high-priest that law, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." 4. Wherefore to retort the objection, Mr Prynne doth here acknowledge upon the matter two distinct governments to have been at that time, one civil, another ecclesiastical; distinct, I say, both *objectively* and *subjectively*: *objectively*, for he expounds the *Lord's matters* to be meant of the sacrifices and other services in the temple, the *king's matters* he takes to be the king's household, lands, revenues; *subjectively* also, for he yieldeth upon the matter both Amariah and Zebediah to have had a certain ruling or governing power in ordering and directing those over whom they were set, which well agreeth both with the version of the LXX. (giving the name of *ἡγοούμενος* both to the one and to the other), and with the original; for he that is over the sandedrim itself must needs be a ruler.

Obj. 10. The causes of leprosy, Lev. xiii., xiv., and jealousy, Num. v. are "the only cases wherein the priests were appointed to be as judges in the Old Testament." So Mr Prynne in his *Diotrephes Catechised*, quest. 3.

Ans. 1. If the priests were judges in these cases, then (so far at least) there was a judging, decisive, binding sentence of the priests, distinct from and not subordinate unto the civil magistracy. 2. But that these two were the only cases wherein the priests were appointed to be as judges is easily confuted, being an assertion contrary to divers texts of Scripture, as, first, Deut. xxi. 5, in the trial of secret murder, the law appointeth thus, "And the priests, the sons of Levi, shall come near, &c., and by their word shall every controversy and every stroke be tried," that is, every controversy which was to be ended by purgations or purifications, oaths or confession, as Pelargus noteth upon the place. There is also a general comprehensive expression concerning the priests' judging and deciding of controversies forensically, Ezek. xlv. 24, "And in controversy they shall stand in judgment, and they shall judge it according to my judgments." Likewise Deut. xvii. 8, 9, 12, the priest as well as the judge hath authority to give forth a binding decree concerning hard matters brought from inferior courts to Jerusalem. Again, 2 Chron. xxiii. 19, the porters of the temple (that is, the

priests that kept the door, as they are designed, 2 Kings xii. 9, of whom also it is said, that Jehoiada the high-priest "appointed officers over the house of the Lord," 2 Kings xi. 18, which text Grotius, following Josephus, doth parallel with 2 Chron. xxiii. 19) had this charge, "that none which was unclean in anything should enter in."

Obj. 11. If the priests' power of judging reached further than the cases of leprosy and jealousy, the most was to judge of such as were unclean in anything, and that according to their sentence the unclean were to be excluded.

Ans. Not to insist now upon these texts, Deut. xvii. 9, 12; xxi. 5; Ezek. xlv. 24, which hold forth the juridical power of the priests more generally and comprehensively, without restricting it to cases of clean and unclean only, nor yet to repeat divers other answers before given, in answer to Erastus and Mr Prynne, concerning legal and moral uncleanness, I shall here only give this one answer out of that text, 2 Chron. xxiii. 19, "none which was unclean in anything." What cogent argument can now restrict this text, concerning the exclusion of unclean persons from the temple, to such only who were legally or ceremonially unclean? If we should suppose and grant that it is meant only of the legal uncleanness, yet both by analogy and *a fortiori* that text affordeth an argument against the Erastians, and I have accordingly made use of it before; yet, nevertheless, I believe it will puzzle them to prove that this text doth not comprehend those also that were morally unclean; that is, scandalous profane persons. For my part I do believe that it is meant of keeping back those that were morally unclean, as well as those that were ceremonially such. And my reasons are these, 1. The text saith generally, "none which was unclean in anything," or as the LXX. have it, *ἀκάθαρτος εἰς πάντα λόγον*, such as were unclean in every or any word, or (if you will) against any word, that is, against any commandment of the law. 2. Because impiety, profaneness, and wickedness, hath the name of uncleanness, even in the Old Testament, and such as commit sin and ungodliness are called unclean, and are said to defile themselves, as well as those that were legally unclean. I shall not need to expound Lev. v. 3, "If he touch the uncleanness of man, whatsoever uncleanness it

be that a man shall be defiled withal," as if it were meant of fellowship with scandalous sinners; which is Origen's interpretation, hom 3, in Lev., who also taketh a commentary to that text from 1 Cor. v. 11. It will have more weight in it to observe Targum Onkelos, Deut. xxiii. 2, where the law concerning *mamzer*, a bastard or whore's son, is thus explained: "A bastard shall not be clean that he may enter into the congregation of the Lord: even unto the tenth generation his sons shall not be clean, that they may enter into the congregation of the Lord." But I will give yet surer warrants for what I say: Job. xxxvi. 14, "Their life is among the unclean," that is (as Pagnin, following the Chaldee Paraphrase, expresseth it), *inter scortatores*; Jerome, *inter effeminatos*; others, *inter impudicos*; the same word is rendered *Sodomites*, 1 Kings xiv. 24. It cometh from שָׂדֵם, which ἐνφύμω, or *per Antiphrasin* signifieth to be impure or unclean, and it is used of the legal uncleanness; Deut. xxii. 9, "Lest the fruit of thy vineyard be defiled." So Hag. ii. 13, 14, both he that touched a dead body, and he that trespassed against the moral law, is נָמָס *unclean*; for after the resolution concerning that which was legally unclean, it is added, "So is this people, and so is this nation before me, saith the Lord; and so is every work of their hands, and that which they offer there is unclean." The same name is given to an ungodly person, Eccl. ix. 2, where the godly person is called *the clean*; the notorious scandalous profane person is called *the unclean*. So wickedness is frequently called *uncleanness*, as Ezra ix. 11; Ezek. xxxvi. 25; Zech. xiii. 1. I will here add a testimony of Maimonides in *More Nevochim*, part 3, cap. 47: "Hence also the transgression of the commandment is called uncleanness or pollution, and it is said of the principal and fundamental commandments, of idolatry, of uncovering the nakedness, of the shedding of blood. Of idolatry it is said, Lev. xx. 3, 'Because he hath given of his seed unto Molech to defile my sanctuary, and to profane my holy name.' Of the uncovering of the nakedness, Lev. xviii. 24, 'Defile not yourselves in any of these things.' Of the shedding of blood, Num. xxxv. 33, 34, 'Defile not therefore the land wherein ye dwell.' Wherefore this word *uncleanness* or *defilement* is said of three sorts of things: First, Of a man's qualities,

and of his transgressions of the commandments, whether theoretical or practical (that is, which concern either doctrine or his conversation). Secondly, Of external filthiness and defilements, &c. Thirdly, Of these imaginary things, that is, the touching or carrying upon the shoulders some unclean thing," &c. Add hereunto the observation of Drusus, *de Tribus Sect. Judæor.*, lib. 2, num. 82—84. The Pharisees did account sinners and profane persons to be unclean, and thought themselves polluted by the company of such persons; for which reason also they used to wash when they came from the market. Though there was a superstition in this ceremony, yet the opinion that profane persons are unclean persons, and to be avoided for uncleanness, had come from the purest antiquities of the Jews, even from Moses and the prophets. Since, therefore, both in the Old Testament phrase, and in the usual language of the Jews themselves, a scandalous profane person was called an unclean person, it is to me more than probable that where I read, "None which was unclean in anything should enter in," it is meant of those that were morally unclean by a scandalous wicked conversation, no less, yea, much more, than of those that were only ceremonially unclean. 3. Especially considering that the sanctuary was profaned and polluted by the moral uncleanness of sin, and by profane persons entering into it, as is manifest from Lev. xx. 3; Ezra xxiii. 39. How can it then be imagined that those priests whose charge it was to keep back those that were unclean in anything, would admit and receive such as were not only unclean persons in the language of Scripture and of the Jews themselves, but were also, by express scriptures, declared to be defilers or polluters of the sanctuary? 4. It is said of the high-priest, Lev. xvi. 16, "And he shall make atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins;" or *from* their uncleanness, and *from* their transgressions, as the Chaldee and the LXX. have it: the sense is the same; and it sheweth that the holy place was made unclean by the transgressions and sins of the children of Israel, which uncleanness of transgression, if it were visible, public and notorious, then the priests had failed in admitting such to the holy place.

Obj. 12. Throughout the Old Testament we read only of temporal punishments, as

burning, hanging, stoning, fines, stripes, and the like, but never of excommunication or any church censure. Neither did the Jews know the distinction of laws ecclesiastical and laws civil, causes ecclesiastical and causes civil; for the church of the Jews was their commonwealth, and their commonwealth was their church, and the government of church and state among them was one and the same. Their civil lawyers were also expositors or doctors of the law of God.

Ans. That in the Jewish church there was an ecclesiastical censure or punishment distinct from the civil I have proved in this preceding book, both from Scripture and the Jewish antiquities. And if there were no more but the sequestration or separation from the temple or from the passover, for such legal uncleanness as did not separate a man from his house, nor from all company of men, even that alone proves a kind of censure distinct from all civil punishment. Neither did it belong to the magistrate or civil judge, but to the priests, to examine, judge, and determine, concerning cleanness or uncleanness, and, consequently, concerning admission to or separation from the temple, passover, and sacrifices.

That the Jewish church and the Jewish state were formally distinct, see before, chap. 2, where it hath been observed that some proselytes had the full privileges of the Jewish church, though none of them had the full privileges of the Jewish commonwealth. The like I have read of the Spaniards, who admit the Moors, or inhabitants of Morisco, to turn Christians, and receive them into ecclesiastical membership and communion, but by no means into their civil liberties. That the causes of excommunication among them were looked upon as scandals, and not as civil injuries, see chap. 4. This only I add, that *More Nevochim*, part 2, chap. 40, doth distinguish civil laws from sacred laws, even among the people of God, making the scope of the civil laws to be the good, safety, and prosperity of the commonwealth; the sacred or divine laws to concern properly religion and men's souls. He that will compare the civil laws and penal statutes of the Jews, mentioned in *Baba Kama*, with their ceremonial laws concerning the holy ordinances of God, and who should have communion therein, and who not, cannot but look upon their church and ecclesiastical laws as formally distinct from their state and civil laws. Again, he

that will consider who were the *virī synagogæ magnæ*, the men of the great synagogue, and what their power and acts were (as Dr Buxtorff describeth the same in his *Tyberias*, cap. 10, 11), and their authoritative determinations concerning the right writing, reading, and expounding of the holy Scripture, &c., must needs acknowledge that it was *senatus ecclesiasticus magnus* (as Buxtorff calls it), and that such power and acts were incompetent to the civil magistrate. As for their doctors of law and scribes, they were the sons of Aaron, yet some way diversified in their administrations, Scaliger, in *Elench. Trihæres Nic. Serar*, cap. 11, distinguisheth between the *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* and the *νομικοί*,¹ that the former were the wise men or chief of the scribes who did interpret the law, and declare the sense of it; the latter did attend civil forensical matters. Drusius *de Tribus Sect. Jud.*, lib. 2, cap. 13, noteth from Luke xi. 45, 46, that there was some distinction between the *γραμματεῖς* and the *νομικοί*, between the scribes and the lawyers, for when Christ had spoken of the scribes and Pharisees, "Then answered one of the lawyers, and said unto him, Master, thus saying, thou reproachest us also. And he said, Woe unto you also, ye lawyers." This will be more plain by that other distinction observed by Lud. de Dieu, in Mat. xxii. 35, and divers others, between *γραμματεῖς τοῦ νόμου* and *γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ*, between the scribes of the law of God who did interpret the law, such as Ezra the priest, and the scribes of the people, who were *actuarii publici*, public notaries or clerks. Whence it appeareth that the offices of scribes and lawyers (although the persons themselves were of the tribe of Levi) were so ordered, as that civil and sacred affairs might not be confounded. Yea, the scribes or notaries were of two sorts; for besides those which did attend civil courts of justice, &c., there was a chief scribe who waited upon the king, and wrote unto him a copy of the book of the law, according to that, Deut. xvii. 18. Such a scribe was Sheva, 2 Sam. xx. 25; Shaphan, 2 Kings xxii. 3—8; Baruch, Jer. xxxvi. Such a scribe had Joash, 2 Kings xii. 10. There were divers other scribes for the

¹ Quum *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* legem interpretarentur, quod proprium τῶν σοφῶν νομικῶν vero formulas juris præ scriberent, et actiones civiles docerent, et forensia magis tractarent.

house of the Lord and for the people, whose office it was to write and to read the law, 1 Chron. ii. 55; Psal. xlv. 1; Jer. viii. 8.

Obj. 13. But neither in the Old Testament nor in the Talmudists can there be found any ecclesiastical excommunication, properly so called.

Ans. I deny both, yea, I have disproved both. Moreover, as touching the excommunication used in the Jewish church, I shall add here these following testimonies of Maimonides, in *libro מנחת תורה Tract. Talmud Torah*, cap. 6, sect. 10: "He that revileth a wise man, though after his death, shall be excommunicated by the sanhedrim, by whom also, after repentance, he shall be absolved." *Ib.* sect. 11: "He who is excommunicated in his town, ought also to be esteemed in all other cities and towns as a person excommunicated." Answerable hereunto were the ancient canons, which did appoint that a person excommunicated in his own church should not be received to communion in another church. The twenty-four causes of excommunication (above mentioned) he there reckoneth forth from sect. 13 to the end of the chapter. Again, cap. 7, sect. 12: "What is the manner of a simple excommunication, or *niddui*? He that doth excommunicate saith, Let that person, N. be in (or under) an excommunication or separation. If the person excommunicated be present, they who do excommunicate say unto him, Let this person, N. be separated, or excommunicated. And when *cherem*, or the greater excommunication is inflicted, what is the manner? They say, Let N. be devoted and accursed; let an execration, adjuration, and separation be upon him. But how do they loose the person excommunicated, and how do they free him from the separation or the curse? They say, Be thou loosed, be thou pardoned. If the guilty party be absent, they say, Let N. be loosed, and let him be pardoned." In the same chapter, sect. 8: "Neither is there any certain space of time predetermined, before which the bond of the excommunication inflicted may not be loosed; for immediately, and at the same time, when excommunication is inflicted, it may be loosed, if the guilty party do immediately repent, and come to himself." Which doth further set forth the great difference between the nature and scope of excommunication, and the nature and scope of corporal or civil punishments. For how soon soever an excommunicated person giveth good signs of

true repentance, he is to be loosed from the bond of excommunication; but he that is punished in his body or estate for any crime, is not freed from the punishment because he is known to be penitent. The repentance of a criminal person is no supersedeas to civil justice. Thereafter Maimonides proceedeth thus: "Yet if it seem good to the sanhedrim that any man shall be left in the state of excommunication, for how many years shall he be left in excommunication? The sanhedrim will determine the number of years and space of time, according to the heinousness of the trespass. So likewise if the sanhedrim will, it may devote and subject to a curse, first the party himself who is guilty of the crime, and then also every other person whosoever eateth or drinketh with him, or sitteth near unto him, unless at four cubits distance; that so by this means the heavier correction may fall upon the sinner, and there may be as it were a hedge put about the law, which may restrain wicked men from transgressing it." Whence observe, 1. It was from the Jewish church, that the ancient councils of the Christian church took a pattern for determining and fixing a certain number of years to the separation of some heinous offenders from the sacrament, and sometimes from other ordinances also. Though I do not approve this thing, either in the Jewish or Christian church; for at what time soever a scandalous sinner doth give evident signs of repentance, the church ought to receive him again into her bosom and fellowship. 2. From the Jewish church also was the pattern taken for that ancient discipline in the Christian church, that he who keepeth company and communion with an excommunicated person should fall under the same censure of excommunication; which thing must be well explained and qualified before it can be approved. 3. Compare also this passage of Maimonides with 1 Cor. v. 11, "With such an one no not to eat;" 2 Thes. iii. 14, "Have no company with him, that he may be ashamed." Which texts do fitly answer to that which the Hebrew writers say of a person excommunicated. 4. The excommunication of an offender among the Jews, was intended not only for the offender's humiliation and amendment, but for an ensample to others, that they might hear and fear, and do no more any such thing: it was therefore a public and exemplary censure. And so much of sect. 8.

In the 9th and 10th sections Maimonides sheweth us, that though a wise man was allowed to prosecute unto the sentence of excommunication one that did revile or calumniate him, yet it was more praise-worthy, and more agreeable to the example of the holy men of God, to pass in silence and to endure patiently such injuries. Then followeth sect. 11, "These things which have been said, are to be understood of such reproaches and contumelies as are clandestine. For if railers do put a public infamy upon a wise man, it is not lawful to him to use indulgence or to neglect his honour: and if he shall pardon (as to the punishment) him who hath hurt his fame, he himself is to be punished, because that is a contempt of the law. He shall therefore avenge the contumely, and not suffer himself to be satisfied, before the guilty party hath craved mercy." Here is the true object, or (if you will) the procuring and meritorious cause of excommunication, viz. not a private, personal, or civil injury, which a man may pass by or pardon if he will, but a scandalous sin, the scandal whereof must be removed and healed, by some testimony or declaration of the sinner's repentance, otherwise he must fall under the censure and public shame.

These testimonies of Maimonides, and the observations made thereupon, beside all that hath been said in this preceding book, will make it manifest that the spiritual censure of excommunication was translated and taken from the Jewish church into the Christian church.

Furthermore, beside all the scriptural proofs already brought, I shall desire another text (Neh. xiii. 1—3) to be well weighed. After the reading of the law (Deut. xxiii. 3), that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever, "it came to pass," saith the text, "when they heard the law, that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude." I conceive that this separation was a casting out of the church of Israel, and is not meant here of a civil separation from honours and privileges, nor yet only in reference to the dissolution of unlawful marriages. I understand also, by the prohibition of entering into the congregation of the Lord, Deut. xxiii. 1—3, that such were not to be received into church communion. *Ostendit autem qui a cœtibus fidelium debeant excludi:* He sheweth who ought to be excluded from the assemblies of

the faithful, saith Aretius, upon Deut. xxiii. 1. *Hic dicitur ecclesia Dei atrium mundorum, quod non debebant tales ingredi:*

Here that court of the temple which was appointed only for the clean, is called the congregation of God, whereunto such persons ought not to enter, saith Hugo Cardinalis upon the same place. *Audita lege de duabus inimicis gentibus anathematizandis, &c.:* Having heard the law concerning the two hostile nations to be anathematized or accursed, saith Beda, on Neh. xiii., thereupon they separated the mixed multitude. Pelargus on Deut. xxiii., citeth Theodoret, Procopius, and Rabanus, besides the Canonists, for this sense, that the not entering into the congregation of the Lord, is meant of refusing ecclesiastical, not civil privileges. I know that divers others understand Deut. xxiii. 1—3, of not admitting unto, and Neh. xiii. 3, of separating from, marriages with the Jews, and civil dignities or places of magistrates or rulers in that commonwealth; such an one "shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord,"—that is, shall not be received into the assembly or court of judges. But there are some reasons which dissuade me from this, and incline me to the other interpretation.

First, The law, Deut. xxiii., being read to the people, Neh. xiii. 3, upon the hearing of that law, "they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude." It is not to be imagined that all this mixed multitude were married to Jews, much less that they were all magistrates, rulers, or members of courts and judicatures in Israel. But by the mixed multitude are meant all such as were in Israel, but not of Israel, or such as conversed and dwelt among the Jews, and had civil fellowship with them, but had no part nor portion (by right) in church membership and communion; in which sense also the mixed multitude is mentioned, Exod. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4.

Secondly, That this separation from Israel is to be understood in a spiritual and ecclesiastical sense, it appeareth by the instance and application immediately added, Neh. xiii. 4—10. And before this,—that is, before this separation, Eliashib the priest, being allied unto Tobiah, had prepared for him a chamber in the courts of the house of God; but now when the separation of the mixed multitude was made, Nehemiah did cast out the stuff of Tobiah, and commanded to cleanse the chambers of the temple which

had been defiled by Tobiah. Behold an instance of the separation in reference to the temple or holy place, not to any civil court!

Thirdly, The Chaldee Paraphrase helpeth me, Deut. xxiii. 1—3, for instead of these words, "shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord," Onkelos readeth, "shall not be clean to enter into the congregation of the Lord," having respect to the law which did forbid unclean persons to enter into the temple. *Ita isti mundi reputantur*: So likewise were these (Ammonites, Moabites, bastards, &c.) esteemed as unclean, saith Tostatus in Deut. xxiii., quest. 1.

Fourthly, Edomites and Egyptians might enter into the congregation of the Lord in the third generation, Deut. xxii. 7, 8. Was the meaning, that Edomites and Egyptians should, in the third generation, marry with the Jews, or be magistrates in Israel, members of the sanhedrim, or judges? He that will think so, will hardly prove that it was so. To me it is not at all probable that God would allow his people either to marry with the Edomites and Egyptians, or to prefer them to be magistrates and judges in Israel, no not in the third generation. But it is very probable, that when an Edomite or Egyptian came to dwell in the land of Israel, as a proselyte indweller, observing the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah, the children of that Egyptian or Edomite in the third generation might enter into the congregation of the Lord,—that is, might, upon their desire and submission to the whole law of Moses, be received as proselytes of righteousness or of the covenant, and so free to come to the court of Israel, and in all church relations to be as one of the Israelites themselves.

Fifthly, Philo the Jew, lib. *de Victimis Offerentibus*, towards the end, tells us that their law did prohibit all unworthy persons from their sacred assemblies, *προαναγγελοι πάντας τοὺς ἀναξίους ἱερὸν συλλόγον*. From the same sacred assemblies of the church, he saith that their law did also exclude eunuchs and bastards, or such as were born *ἐκ πόρνῃς* (the word used by the LXX. in Deut. xxiii. 2), where Philo most certainly hath respect to that law, Deut. xxiii., understanding by the congregation of the Lord in that place, neither a civil court nor liberty of marriage, but the sacred or church assembly.

There are but two objections which I find brought against that which I have been now

proving. One is from Exod. xii. 48, a law which admitteth strangers to the church and passover of the Jews, provided they were willing to be circumcised. The other is from the example of Ruth the Moabitess, who was a member of the church of Israel.

To the first I answer, that Exod. xii. 48 will not prove that every stranger who desired to be circumcised, and to eat the passover, was to be immediately admitted upon that desire, without any more ado; only it proves that before any stranger should eat of the passover he must first be circumcised. A stranger might not be *ger tsedek*, a proselyte of righteousness, when he pleased, but he was first to be so and so qualified. Besides this, it may be justly doubted whether Deut. xxii. 3 be not an exception from the rule, Exod. xii. 48, for all strangers were not to be alike soon and readily received to be proselytes of righteousness: but a great difference there was between those nations which God had expressly and particularly devoted and accursed, and others not so accursed.

To the other objection concerning Ruth, Rabanus, cited by Pelargus on Deut. xxiii., answereth, that the tenth generation of the Moabites was past before that Ruth did enter into the congregation of the Lord. And if it had not, yet the case was extraordinary, and one swallow makes not summer.

Obj. 14. But is there any pattern or precedent in the Jewish church for keeping back scandalous sinners from the sacrament?

Ans. There is; for I have proved a keeping back of notorious sinners both from the passover and from the temple itself, which had a sacramental signification, and was a type of Christ and communion with him. It is worthy of observation, that by the Chaldee Paraphrase, Exod. xii. 43, any Israelite who was *דאשחמד*, an apostate, might not eat of the passover. Again, ver. 48, *וכלחילוני, et omnis profanus*. So the Latin interpreter of Onkelos, "And no profane person shall eat of it." The word is used not only of a heathen, but of any profane person, as Prov. ii. 16, where the Chaldee expresseth the whorish woman (though a Jewess) by the name of *חילוניתא*. It cometh from *חלל*, to be profaned, *et sancto profanum fieri*. Surely Onkelas had not thus paraphrased upon Exod. xii. if it had not been the law of the Jews that notorious profane persons should be kept back from the passover.

THE SECOND BOOK.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE RISE, GROWTH, DECAY, AND REVIVING OF ERASTIANISM.

Divers learned men have (to very good purpose) discovered the origin, occasion, first authors, fomenters, rise and growth of errors, both Popish and others. I shall, after their example, make known briefly what I find concerning the rise and growth, the planting and watering, of the Erastian error. I cannot say of it that it is *honestis parentibus natus*, it is not born and descended of honest parents. The father of it is the old serpent, who, finding his kingdom very much impaired, weakened and resisted, by the vigour of the true ecclesiastical discipline, which separateth between the precious and the vile, the holy and profane, and so contributeth much to the shaming away of the unfruitful works of darkness, thereupon he hath cunningly gone about to draw men, first into a jealousy, and then into a dislike of the ecclesiastical discipline by God's mercy restored in the reformed churches. The mother of it is the enmity of nature against the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which he, as Mediator, doth exercise in the government of the church; which enmity is naturally in all men's hearts, but is unmortified and strongly prevalent in some, who have said in their hearts, "We will not have this man to reign over us," Luke xix.; "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us," Psal. ii. 3. The midwife which brought this unhappy brood into the light of the world, was Thomas Erastus, doctor of medicine at Heidelberg, of whom I shall say no more than what is apparent

by his own preface to the reader, namely, that as he was once of opinion that excommunication is commanded in the word of God, so he came off to the contrary opinion, not without a malecontented humour, and a resentment of some things which he looked upon as provocations and personal reflections, though it is like enough they were not really such, but, in his apprehension, they were. One of these was a public dispute at Heidelberg, in the year 1568, upon certain theses concerning the necessity of church government, and the power of presbyteries to excommunicate; which theses were exhibited by Mr George Withers, an Englishman, who left England because of the ceremonies, and was at that time made doctor of divinity at Heidelberg. And the learned dispute thereupon you may find epitomised (as it was taken the day following from the mouth of Dr Ursinus) in the close of the second part of Dr Pareus' *Explication of the Heidelberg Catechism*.

The Erastian error being born, the breasts which gave it suck were profaneness and self-interest. The sons of Belial were very much for it, expecting that the eye of the civil magistrate shall not be so vigilant over them, nor his hand so much against them for a scandalous and dissolute conversation, as church discipline would be. *Germanorum bibere est vivere*, in practice as well as in pronunciation. What great marvel if many among them (for I do not speak of all) did comply with the Erastian tenet? And it is as little to be marvelled at if those, whether magistrates, lawyers, or others, who conceived themselves to be so far losers, as ecclesiastical courts were interested in government, and to be greater gainers by the

abolition of the ecclesiastical interest in government, were biassed that way. Both these you may find among the causes (mentioned by Aretius, *Theol. Probl.* loc. 133) for which there was so much unwillingness to admit the discipline of excommunication. *Magistratus jugum non admittunt, timent honoribus, licentiam amant, &c.*: The magistrates do not admit a yoke, are jealous of their honours, love licentiousness. *Vulgus quoque et plebs dissolutior: major pars corruptissima est, &c.*: The community also and people are more dissolute: the greater part is most vicious.

After that this unlucky child had been nursed upon so bad milk, it came at last to eat strong food, and that was arbitrary government, under the name of royal prerogative. Mr John Wemyes (sometime senator of the College of Justice in Scotland), as great a royalist as any of his time, in his book *de Regis Primatu*, lib. 1, cap. 7, doth utterly dissent from and argue against the distinction of civil and ecclesiastical laws, and against the synodical power of censures; holding that both the power of making ecclesiastical laws, and the corrective power to censure transgressors, is proper to the magistrate.

The tutor which bred up the Erastian error was Arminianism; for the Arminians, finding their plants plucked up, and their poison antidoted by classes and synods, thereupon they began to cry down synodical authority, and to appeal to the magistrate's power in things ecclesiastical, hoping for more favour and less opposition that way. They will have synods only to examine, dispute, discuss, to impose nothing under pain of ecclesiastical censure, but to leave all men free to do as they list. See their *Exam. Cens.* cap. 25, and *Vindic.* lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 131—133. And for the magistrate, they have endeavoured to make him head of the church, as the Pope was; yea, so far, that they are not ashamed to ascribe unto the magistrate that jurisdiction over the churches, synods, and ecclesiastical proceedings, which the Pope did formerly usurp. For which see Apollonius in his *Jus Majestatis Circa Sacra*.

But the Erastian error being thus born, nursed, fed and educated, did fall into a most deadly decay and consumption; the procuring causes whereof were these three:—First, The best and most (and in some respect all) of the reformed churches refused

to receive, harbour, or entertain it, and so left it exposed to hunger and cold, shame and nakedness.

Some harbour it had in Switzerland, but that was looked upon as coming only through injury of time, which could not be helped: the theological and scriptural principles of the divines of those churches being anti-Erastian and Presbyterial, as I have elsewhere shown against Mr Coleman;¹ so that Erastianism could not get warmth and strength enough, no not in Zurich itself. Yea, Dr Ursinus, in his *Judicium de Disciplina Ecclesiastica et Excommunicatione*, exhibited to the Prince Elector Palatine Frederick III. (who had required him to give his judgment concerning Erastus's theses), doth once and again observe, that all the reformed churches and divines, as well those that did not practise excommunication as those who did practise it, agree, notwithstanding, in this principle, that excommunication ought to be in the church;² which is a mighty advantage against Erastianism.

The second cause was a misaccident from the midwife, who did half stifle it in the birth, from which did accrue a most dangerous infirmity, of which it could never recover. Read the preface of Erastus before the Confirmation of his Theses,³ also the close of his

¹ See Nihil Respondes, p. 32, 33, Male audis, p. 52, 53.

² In aliis (ecclesiis) ubi aut nulla est excommunicatio in usu, aut non legitime administratur, ac nihilominus absque omni controversia, in confesso est ac palam docetur, eam merito in ecclesia vigere debere. *Et infra*. Ne etiam celsitudo tua se suasque ecclesias ab aliis omnibus ecclesiis, tam ab iis quæ nullam habent excommunicationem, quam ab iis quæ habent, nova hæc opinione sejungat: siquidem universæ ac singulæ uno ore confitentur, semperque confessæ sunt, merito illam in usu esse debere.

³ *Erast. Prefat.* Nos de illis solis loqui peccatoribus qui doctrinam intelligunt, probant amplectuntur: peccata sua se agnoscere vere atque odisse aiunt, et sacramenta secundum institutionem Christi uti cupiunt. *Et lib. 6, cap. 2*, Faciunt præterea nobis injuriam (immo vera calumnia est) cum dicunt nos omnes sine ullo examine velle admitti, quales sint ac esse velint. Quippe sic volumus unumquemque admitti, quomodo ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudo et regula jubet. *Et infra*. Sine ut idololatram et apostatam, negamus membrum esse ecclesiæ Christi, sic etiam *Nequitiam suam defendentem* negamus inter membra ecclesiæ censendum esse. Et quemadmodum illos ex Christiano cœtu judicamus exterminandos, sic hos quoque putamus in eo cœtu non esse ferendos. Verum neque de his, neque de illis quæruntur nostræ theses: sed disputatur in eis, de solis doctrinam amplexantibus, et sacramentis rite cum ecclesia uti cupientibus, hoc est penitentiam eodem modo quo alii profitentibus.

sixth book : put these together, you will find him yield that all ought not to be admitted promiscuously to the sacrament, but that such admission be according to the custom and rule observed in the church of Heidelberg (and what that was, you may find in the *Heidelberg Catechism*, quest. 82 and 87, namely, a suspension of profane scandalous persons from the sacrament; and in case of their obstinacy and continuing in their offences, an excommunicating of them). He yields also that these seven sorts of persons ought not to be esteemed as members of the church, and that if any such be found in the visible church, they ought to be cast out:—1. Idolaters. 2. Apostates. 3. Such as do not understand the true doctrine; that is, ignorant persons. 4. Such as do not approve and embrace the true doctrine; that is, heretics and sectaries. 5. Such as desire to receive the sacrament otherwise than in the right manner, and according to Christ's institution. 6. Such as defend or justify their wickedness. 7. Such as do not confess and acknowledge their sins, and profess sorrow and repentance for them, and a hatred or detestation of them. And thus, you see, as Erastianism pleadeth for no favour to sectaries, or whosoever dissent in doctrine, or whose tenets concerning Christ's institution, or manner of administration, are contrary to that which is received in the church where they live (for it is content that all such, were they never so peaceable and godly, be cast out of the church by excommunication: ¹ all the favour and forbearance which it pleadeth for is to the loose and profane), so neither doth it altogether exempt the profane, but such only as do neither deny nor defend their wickedness, but confess their sins, and profess sorrow for them. Let the Erastians of this time observe what their great Master hath yielded touching the ecclesiastical censure of profane ones, which, though it is not satisfactory to us, for reasons elsewhere given, yet it can be as little satisfactory to them. But whereas Erastus, together with those his concessions (that he may seem to have said somewhat), falls a quarrelling with presbyteries for pre-

suming to judge of the sincerity of that repentance professed by a scandalous sinner, and their not resting satisfied with a man's own profession of his repentance: if his followers will now be pleased to reduce the controversy within that narrow circle—whether a presbytery may excommunicate from the church, or at least suspend from the sacrament, any church member, as an impenitent scandalous sinner, who yet doth not defend nor deny his sin by which he hath given scandal, but confesseth it, and professeth sincere and hearty repentance for it (which is the point that Erastus is fain to hold at in the issue),—then I hope we shall be quickly agreed, and the controversy buried; for we do rest satisfied with the offender's confession of his sin and profession of his repentance, unless his own known words or actions give the lie to his profession of repentance; that is, if he be known to justify and defend his sin in his ordinary discourse, or to continue in the practice of the sin which he professeth to the presbytery he repents of; if these or such like sure signs of his impenitency be known, must the presbytery notwithstanding rest satisfied with his verbal profession of repentance? All that fear God (I think) would cry, Shame, shame, upon such an assertion. And, moreover, let us take it in the case of an idolater, heretic, apostate (for Erastus is content that such be excluded from the sacrament). Suppose such a one doth confess his sin, and profess repentance, but in the meanwhile is known to be a writer or spreader of books in defence of that idolatry or heresy, or to be a persuader and enticer of others secretly to that way; or if there be any other known infallible sign of his impenitency, must his verbal profession to the presbytery in such cases be trusted and taken as satisfactory? I am confident Erastus himself would not have said so. Wherefore as in the case of an heretic, so in the case of a profane person, or one of a scandalous conversation, there is a necessity that the presbytery examine the real signs of repentance; and the offender's verbal profession is not all.

The third cause which helped forward the deadly malady and consumption of Erastianism, was the grief, shame, confusion, and loss which it sustained by the learning and labour of some divines in the reformed churches, who had to very good purpose taken pains to discover to the world the cursed nature of that unlucky brood, being

¹ Erastus *ib.* Equidem in Thesis ab initio monui, me de sola illa excommunicatione agere, qua aliqui doctrinam intelligentes, probantes, amplexantes, et sacramentis recte uti cupientes, quod ad externum usum attinet ab eisdem propter antea actae vitae turpitudinem a quibusdam presbyteris repelluntur: quia scilicet non videtur eis serio dolere, qui lapsus fuit, ac sibi dolere id profitetur.

of the seed of the Amalekites, which ought not to enter into the congregation of the Lord. The divines who have more especially and particularly appeared against it are (to my observation) these: Beza, *de Excommunicatione, et Presbyterio contra Erastum*, which was not printed till Erastus's reply unto it was first printed. Whereunto, as Beza, in a large preface, layeth the foundation of a duply, so he had prepared and perfected his duply had he not been hindered by the great troubles of Geneva, at that time besieged by the Duke of Savoy; Beza himself being also at that time seventy-one years old: howbeit, for all that, he did not lay aside the resolution and thought of that duply, if he should have opportunity, and see it requisite or called for; all which is manifest from that preface. Next to him I reckon Zecharias Ursinus, a most solid judicious divine, who did (as I touched before) exhibit to the Prince Elector Palatine Frederick III., *Judicium de Disciplina Ecclesiastica et Excommunicatione* (which you may find in the end of his third vol.), wherein he doth soundly confute the theses of Erastus; neither hath any reply been made thereto, that ever I could learn of. Also in his *Catechetical Explications*, quest. 85, he plainly disputes against the Erastian principles. The more strange it is, that Mr Hussey, in his *Epistle to the Parliament*, would make them believe that Ursinus is his, and not ours, in this controversy.

After these, there did others, more lately, come upon the stage against the Erastian principles, as Casparus Brochmand, a Lutheran, in *System. Theol.* tom. 2, *Artic. de Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, where he examineth the most substantial arguments of Erastus; Antonius Walden, *de Munere Ministrorum Ecclesiæ et inspectione Magistratus circa illud, et in locis com. de clavibus et potestate ecclesiastica*, et tom. 2, *Disp. de Disciplina Ecclesiastica*; Helmichius, *de vocatione Pastorum et institutione Consistoriorum*; D. Triglandius, in *dissertatione de Potestate Civili et Ecclesiastica*; D. Revius, in *examine libelli de Episcopatu Constantini magni*; D. Apollonii, *Jus Majestatis circa sacra*; D. Cabelavius, *de libertate Ecclesiæ in exercenda Disciplina Spirituali*; Dr Voetius, in his *Politica Ecclesiastica*, especially his *Disputationes de Potestate et Politia Ecclesiarum*. Besides Acronius, Thysius, Ludov. à Renesse, who were champions against that unhappy error

revived in the Low Countries, by Wtenbogaard, a proselyte of the Arminians.

But now, while Erastianism did thus lie a dying, and like to breathe its last, is there no physician who will undertake the cure, and endeavour to raise it up from the gates of death to life? Yes, Mr Coleman was the man, who (to that purpose) first appeared publicly: First, by a sermon to the parliament; next, by debating the controversy with myself in writing; and, lastly, by engaging in a public debate in the reverend Assembly of Divines, against this proposition,—“Jesus Christ, as King and Head of his church, hath appointed a government in the church, in the hands of church-officers, distinct from the civil government.” After he had some days argued against this proposition (having full liberty both to argue and reply as much as he pleased), it pleased God to visit him with sickness, during which the Assembly (upon intimation from himself, that he wished them to lay aside that proposition for a time, that, if God should give him health again, he might proceed in his debate), did go upon another matter, and lay this aside for that season. The Lord was pleased to remove him by death before he could do what he intended in this and other particulars. One of his intentions was to translate, and publish in English, the book of Erastus against excommunication. But, through God's mercy, before the poison was ready, there was one antidote ready, I mean Mr Rutherford's answer to Erastus. But though Mr Coleman was the first man, he was not the only man that hath appeared in this controversy in England. Others (and those of divers professions) are come upon the stage. I shall leave every man to his Judge, and shall judge nothing before the time; only I shall wish every man to consider sadly and seriously, by what spirit and principles he is led, and whether he be seeking the things of Christ, or his own things; whether he be pleasing men, or pleasing Christ; whether sin be more shamed and holiness more advanced, this way or that way; which way is the most agreeable to the word of God, to the example of the best reformed churches, and so to the solemn League and Covenant. The controversy is now hot: every faithful servant of Christ will be careful to deliver his own soul by his faithfulness, and let the Lord do what seemeth him good. The cause is not ours, but Christ's; it stands him upon his honour, his crown, his laws, his kingdom.

Our eyes are towards the Lord, and we will wait for a divine decision of the business : " For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king, he will save us.

CHAPTER II.

SOME POSTULATA OR COMMON PRINCIPLES TO BE PRESUPPOSED.

For a foundation to the following discourse, I shall premise the particulars following, which I hope shall be condescended upon, and acknowledged, as so many *κοινὰ ἔρροιαί*.

1. There must be a most conscientious and special care had, that there be not a promiscuous admission of all sorts of persons (that please or desire) to partake in all the public ordinances of God ; but a distinction is to be made of the precious and the vile, the clean and the unclean ; I mean those who are apparently and visibly such. This was a principle and rule among the heathens themselves ; therefore, when they came to do sacrifice, the profane were bidden begone,¹ and Cæsar tells us, that of old the Druids (the heathenish French priests) did interdict the flagitious from their sacrifices and holy things².

These Druids France had from England, if the observation of Francis Holy-Oke, out of Tacitus, hold.

2. That censures and punishments ought to be appointed and inflicted, as for personal and private injuries between man and man, so much more for public and scandalous sins, whereby God is very much dishonoured, and the church dangerously scandalised. Tiberius's slighting maxim, *Deorum injurias diis*

curæ esse, may be entertained among Atheists, but is exploded among all true Christians. *Πρῶτον γὰρ ἡ περὶ θεῶν ἐπιμέλεια*, is the Christian maxim. Care is to be first taken of things pertaining to God.

3. It is requisite and necessary, that he who hath given public scandal and offence to the church, and hath openly dishonoured God by a gross notorious sin, should honour God, edify others, and (so far as in him lieth) remove the offence by a public confession of the sin, and declaration of his sorrow and repentance for the same, and of his resolution (through the grace of Christ) to do so no more ; as many of the believers at Ephesus did publicly confess and show their deeds, Acts xix. 18 : the Syriac addeth, *their offences*. A pattern of this confession we have in the law of Moses and Jewish policy (whereof elsewhere), as likewise in the baptism of John, Mat. iii. 6.

Of this public confession of sin, see Festus Honnius, disp. 51, thes. 2 ; Mr Hildersham on Psal. li. lect. 34, 37, and divers others. Both the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches, leadeth us this way. The Centurists, Cent. 1, lib. 2, cap. 4, observe four kinds of confession in the New Testament : First, a confession of sin to God alone, 1 John i. 9. Secondly, A confession *coram ecclesia*, before the church, when men acknowledge publicly their wicked and scandalous deeds, and do profess their repenting and loathing of the same ; and for this they cite Acts xix. 18. Thirdly, A confession one to another of particular private injuries and offences, chiefly recommended to those who are at variance, and have wronged one another, James v. 16. Fourthly, The confession or profession of the true faith, 1 John iv. 2.

4. That public shame put upon a scandalous sinner, and the separating or casting out of such an one, as the vile from the precious, is the fittest and most effectual means which the church can use to humble him, to break his heart, and to bring him to the acknowledgment of his offence.

5. That there may be, and often are, such persons in the church whom we must avoid,¹ Rom. xvi. 17. Withdraw from them, 1 Tim. vi. 5 ; 2 Tim. iii. 5 ; 2 Thes. iii. 6.

¹ Procul, hinc procul ite profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque abistite luco.
Et illud, ἰνὰς ἰνὰς ἄνους ἀλίεργος

Et illud, Tu Genitor cape sacra manu patriosque penates.

Me bello extento digressum et cæde recenti
Attractare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
A bluerio—

² Cæsar, lib. 6, de Bello Gallico.—Si quis privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna est apud eos gravissima. Quibus est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur. Ii omnes decedunt. Others read, Ab iis omnes decedunt aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant.

¹ Erastus, lib. 4, cap. 7.—Horum debetis vitam et mores observare, et quos impuros esse cognovistis vitare, ne vos quoque inficiamini ; ipsi autem pudeant et in viam redeant.

Have no company with them, 2 Thes. iii. 14. Not eat with them, 1 Cor. v. 11. Nor bid them God speed, 2 John, 10, 11.

6. That since there must be a withdrawing from a brother that walketh disorderly and scandalously, it is more agreeable to the glory of God, and to the church's peace, that this be done by a public authoritative ecclesiastical judgment and sentence, than wholly and solely to trust it to the piety and prudence of each particular Christian, to esteem as heathens and publicans, whom, and when, and for what he shall think good, and accordingly to withdraw and separate from them.

7. That there is a distinction between magistracy and ministry, even *jure divino*. That the civil magistrate hath not power to abolish or continue the ministry, *in abstracto*, at his pleasure; nor yet to make or unmake ministers *in concreto*,—that is, to ordain or depose ministers as he thinks fit.

8. As the offices are distinct, so is the power:¹ magistrates may do what ministers may not do, and ministers may do what magistrates may not do.

9. It is *juris communis*, a principle of common equity and natural reason, that the directive judgment in any matter doth chiefly belong to such as (by their profession and vocation) are devoted and set apart to the study and knowledge of such matters, and (in that respect) supposed to be ablest and fittest to give judgment thereof: a consultation of physicians is called for when the magistrate desires to know the nature, symptoms, or cure of some dangerous disease; a consultation of lawyers in legal questions; a council of war in military expeditions. If the magistrate be in a ship at sea, he takes not on him the directive part of navigation, which belongs to the master, with the mates and pilot; neither doth the master of the ship (if it come to a sea-fight) take on him the directive part in the fighting, which belongs to the captain. And so in all other cases, *artifici in sua arte credendum*. Wherefore, though the judgment of Christian prudence and discretion belongs to every Christian, and to the magistrate in his station; and though the

magistrate may be, and sometime is, learned in the Scriptures, and well acquainted with the principles of true divinity, yet, *ut plurimum* and ordinarily, especially in a rightly reformed and well constituted church, ministers are to be supposed to be fittest and ablest to give a directive judgment in things and causes spiritual and ecclesiastical; with whom also other ruling church officers do assist and join, who are more experimentally and practically (they ought also to be, and divers times are, more theoretically) acquainted with the right way and rules of church government and censures, than the civil magistrate (when he is no ruling elder in the church, which is but accidental) can be rationally or ordinarily supposed to be.

10. There is some power of government in the church given to the ministry by Christ, else why are they said to be set over us in the Lord, and called rulers and governors? as we shall see afterwards.

CHAPTER III.

WHAT THE ERASTIANS YIELD UNTO US, AND WHAT WE YIELD UNTO THEM.

For better stating of the controversy, we shall first of all take notice of such particulars as are the opposites' concessions to us, or our concessions to them. Their concessions are these:—

1. That the Christian magistrate, in ordering and disposing of ecclesiastical causes and matters of religion, is tied to keep close to the rule of the word of God; and that as he may not assume an arbitrary government of the state, so far less of the church.¹

2. That church officers may exercise church government, and authority in matters of religion, where the magistrate doth not profess and defend the true religion: in such a case, two governments are allowed to stand together—one civil, another ecclesiastical. This Erastus granteth, as it were,

¹ Erastus, Confirm. Thes. lib. 3. cap. 1.—Veruntamen ut in rebus profanis curandis ei (magistratui) non licet terminos et fines sequitatis, justitiæ ac honestatis, hoc est præscriptionem legum et statutorum Reip. transcendere. Sic in disponendis et ordinandis rebus sacris, vel ad cultum divinum pertinentibus, longe minus ei licet ulla in parte, a præscripto verbi Dei discedere; quod tarquam regulum in omnibus debet sequi, ab eo quævisquam vel latum pilum deflectere.

¹ Salmasius, Appar. ad lib. de prim. p. 303.—Cum sit ut jam vidimus duplex potestas ecclesiastica, altera interna, externa altera, tam peccant qui utramque principi, vel magistratui civili tribuunt, quam qui utramque denegant ministro ecclesiastico.

by constraint;¹ and it seems by way of compliance with the divines of Zurich (who hold excommunication by church officers under an infidel magistrate, and that *jure divino*) to move them to comply the more with him in other particulars.

3. That the abuse of church government is no good argument against the thing itself: "There being no authority so good, so necessary in church or state, but by reason of their corruptions who manage it, may be abused to tyranny and oppression." These are Mr Prynne's words, *Vindic. of the Four Questions*, p. 2.

4. That some jurisdiction belongs to presbyteries by divine right. Mr Prynne, in his epistle dedicatory before the Vindication of his Four Questions, saith, that his scope is, "not to take from our new presbyteries all ecclesiastical jurisdiction due by divine right to them, but to confine it within certain definite limits, to prevent all exorbitant abuses of it.

5. That the Christian magistrate ought not, may not, preach the word, nor minister the sacraments. Mr Coleman, in his *Brotherly Examination Re-examined*, p. 14, "I never had it in my thoughts that the parliament had power of dispensing the word and sacraments." Then so far there is a distinction of magistracy and ministry *jure divino*; yet in this he did not so well agree with Erastus.²

6. That the ministry is *jure divino*, and ministers have their power and authority of preaching the word derived to them from Christ, not from the magistrate. So Mr Hussey in his epistle to myself, "We preach the word with all authority from Christ, derived to us by those of our brethren that were in commission before us. Magistrates may drive away false teachers, but not the preachers of the gospel, but at their utmost peril."

7. They admit and allow of presbyteries, so that they do not exercise government and jurisdiction. Erastus, lib. 4, cap. 1.

Our concessions to our opposites are these:

¹ Erastus, Confirm. Theas. lib. 3, cap. 1.—Intelligi hoc debet de ea repub. dictum, in qua magistratus et subditi, eandem profitentur religionem, eamque veram. In hac dico duas distinctas jurisdictiones minime debere esse. In alia, in qua videlicet magistratus falsam tuetur sententiam, certo quodammodo tolerabilis videri fortasse possit divisio rectionum.

² Ibid. lib. 4, cap. 2.—Quod addis non licere magistratui, re ita postulante, docere et sacramenta administrare (si modo per negotia possit utrique muneri sufficere) id verum non est.

1. That all are not to be admitted promiscuously either to be governors or members in the ecclesiastical republic, that is, in a visible political church. None are to govern nor to be admitted members of presbyteries or synods, except such as, both for abilities and conversation, are qualified according to that which the apostle Paul requireth a bishop or elder to be.¹ Scandalous or profane church-officers are the worst of dogs and swine, and to be first cast out. And as all are not to govern, so all are not to be governed ecclesiastically, but only church members, 1 Cor. v. 12; therefore what hath been objected concerning many, both pastors and people in England, who are still branches of the old stock, doth not strike against what we hold: All are not fit for a church government; therefore those that are fit shall not have a church government. So they must argue, or thus: A popish people are not fit to be governed presbyterially, and episcopal ministers are not fit to govern, therefore the rest of the nation shall want a government.

2. Presbyterian government is not despotic, but ministerial; it is not a dominion, but a service. We are not lords over God's heritage, 1 Pet. v. 3, but we are the servants both of Christ and of his church. "We preach not ourselves (saith the Apostle), but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake," 2 Cor. iv. 5.

3. That power of government with which pastors and elders are invested, hath for the object of it, not the external man, but the inward man. It is not, nor ought not to be, exercised in any compulsive, coercive, corporal, or civil punishments; when there is need of coercion or compulsion, it belongs to the magistrate, and not to the minister, though the question be of a matter of religion, of persons or things ecclesiastical; which as it is rightly observed by Salmasius,² so he further asserteth against the popish

¹ Bullinger, de Conc., lib. 1, cap. 8.—Si turpe aut indignum quondam videbatur gentes inducere in templum Dei: quare non videatur hodie sacrilegum, introducere in synodum ecclesiasticam canes et porcos.

² Appar. ad lib. de Primatu, p. 294.—Ubiunque sane imperio opus est per vim agente ac jubente, aut jurisdictione cogente et coercente, nihil istis habent quod agant verbi divini ministri, neque jus agendi ullum, etiamsi de re aut persona ecclesiastica quæstio sit, aut de religione agatur, sed ad principes aut magistratus ea vis coactiva, et illud jus imperativum et coercitivum pertinet. Ibid. p. 295.—Jurisdictionem iidem (pontifici doctores) porro

writers, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath for the object of it, only the inward man; for consider the end of church censures, saith he, even when one is excommunicated or suspended from the sacrament, it is but to reduce him and restore him by repentance, that he may again partake of the sacrament rightly and comfortably: which repentance is in the soul or inward man, though the signs of it appear externally.

4. Presbyterian government is not an arbitrary government, for clearing whereof take these five considerations:—1. We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth; and the power which the Lord hath given us is to edification, and not to destruction, 2 Cor. xiii. 8, 10. All presbyterial proceedings must be levelled to this end, and squared by this rule. 2. Presbyters and presbyteries are subject to the law of the land, and to the corrective power of the magistrate: *Quatenus ecclesia est in re publica, et reipub. pars. non respublica ecclesiae*.—In so far as the church is in the commonwealth, and a part of the commonwealth, not the commonwealth a part of the church, saith Salmasius, *Appar. ad lib. de Primatu*, p. 292; for which, p. 300, he cites Optatus Milivitanus, lib. 3, *Non enim respublica est in ecclesia, sed ecclesia in re publica*, Ministers and elders are subjects and members of the commonwealth, and in that respect punishable by the magistrate if they transgress the law of the land. 3. Yea, also as church officers, they are to be kept within the limits of their calling, and compelled (if need be) by the magistrate to do those duties which by the clear word of God and received principles of Christian religion, or by the received ecclesiastical constitutions of that church, they ought to do. 4. And in *corrupto ecclesiae statu*, I mean, if it shall ever happen (which the Lord forbid, and I trust shall never be) that pres-

byteries or synods shall make defection from the truth to error, from holiness to profaneness, from moderation to tyranny and persecution, censuring the innocent and absolving the guilty, as Popery and Prelacy did, and their being no hopes of redressing such enormities in the ordinary way, by intrinsic ecclesiastical remedies; that is, by well-constituted synods, or assemblies of orthodox, holy, moderate presbyters; in such an extraordinary exigence, the Christian magistrate may and ought to interpose his authority to do divers things which, in an ordinary course of government, he ought not to do; for in such a case, magistracy (without expecting the proper intrinsic remedy of better ecclesiastical assemblies) may immediately, by itself, and in the most effectual manner, suppress and restrain such defection, exorbitancy, and tyranny, and not suffer the unjust, heretical, tyrannical sentences of presbyteries or synods to be put in execution. Howbeit, in *ecclesia bene constituta*, in a well-constituted and reformed church, it is not to be supposed that the condition of affairs will be such as I have now said. We heartily acknowledge with Mr Cartwright, annot. on Matt. xxii., sect. 3, "That it belongeth to the magistrate to reform things in the church as often as the ecclesiastical persons shall, either through ignorance or disorder of the affection of covetousness or ambition, defile the Lord's sanctuary." For saith Junius, *Animad. in Bell. contr.* 4, lib. 1, cap. 12, 18, "Both the church, when the concurrence of the magistrate faileth, may extraordinarily do something which ordinarily she cannot; and again when the church faileth of her duty, the magistrate may extraordinarily procure that the church return to her duty.

5. I dare confidently say, that if comparisons be rightly made, presbyterial government is the most limited and the least arbitrary government of any other in the world. I should have thought it very unnecessary and superfluous to have once named here the papal government, or yet the prelatical, but that Mr Prynne, in his preface to his four grand Questions, puts the reverend Assembly of Divines in mind, that they should beware of usurping that which hath been even by themselves disclaimed against, and quite taken away from the Pope and prelates. Mr Coleman also, in his Sermon, brought objections from the usurpations of Pope Paul V. and of the archbishop of

interiorem ac exteriorem ita distinguunt, ut interior sit qua sacerdos possit peccatorem confessum a peccatis absolvere et satisfactionem imponere: exterior autem qua peccatores adstringit vinculo anathematis, aliasque publicas censuras irrogat, et abiisdem exsolvit. Verum hæc duæ jurisdictiones unam faciunt, eam que solam interiorum. Nulla quippe exterior est, cum utraque respiciat et pro objecto habeat hominem interiorem, id est animam. Ibid. p. 297.—Finis tantum respici debet. Aliquis suspenditur et excommunicatur? Sane, sed ut pœnitentiam restitui possit, et sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Christi iterum participare. Et pœnitentia illa quam quis agit ut possit reconciliari, interioris est hominis.

Canterbury. Well, if we must needs make a comparison, come on. The papal usurpations are many: 1. The Pope takes upon him to determine what belongs to the canon of Scripture, what not. 2. That he only can determine what is the sense of Scripture. 3. He addeth unwritten traditions. 4. He makes himself judge of all controversies. 5. He dispenseth with the law of God itself. 6. He makes himself above general councils. 7. His government is monarchial. 8. He receiveth appeals from all the nations in the world. 9. He claimeth infallibility, at least *ex cathedra*. 10. He maketh laws absolutely binding the conscience, even in things indifferent. 11. He claimeth a temporal dominion over all the kingdoms in the world. 12. He saith he may depose kings, and absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance. 13. He persecuteth all with fire and sword, and anathemas, who do not subject themselves to him. 14. He claimeth the sole power of convocating general councils. 15. And of presiding or moderating therein by himself or his legates. —What conscience or ingenuity can there now be in making any parallel between papal and presbyterial government?

As little there is in making the comparison with Prelacy, the power whereof was indeed arbitrary and impatient of those limitations and rules which presbyteries and synods, in the reformed churches, walk by. For, 1. The prelate was but one, yet he claimed the power of ordination and jurisdiction as proper to himself in his own diocese. We give the power of ordination and church censures not *uni*, but *unitati*; not to one, but to an assembly gathered into one. 2. The prelate assumed a perpetual pre-eminence, and a constant privilege of moderating synods, which presbyterial government denieth to any one man. 3. The prelate did not tie himself either to ask or to receive advice from his fellow-presbyters, except when he himself pleased; but there is no presbyterial nor synodical sentence which is not concluded by the major part of voices. 4. The prelate made himself pastor to the whole diocese (consisting it may be of some hundreds of congregations), holding that the ministers of particular congregations did preach the word and minister the sacraments in his name, by virtue of authority and order from him, and because he could not act by himself in every congregation: the presbyterial government acknow-

ledgeth no pastoral charge of preaching the word and ministering the sacraments to more congregations than one; and doth acknowledge the pastors of particular churches, being lawfully called, to have power and authority for preaching the word and ministering the sacraments in the name of Christ, and not in the name of the presbytery. 5. The prelates, as they denied the power and authority of pastors, so they utterly denied the very offices of ruling elders and deacons, for taking more especial care of the poor in particular congregations. 6. They did not acknowledge congregational elderships, nor any power of discipline in particular congregations, which the presbyterial government doth. 7. They intruded pastors oft times against the consent of the congregation, and *reclamante ecclesia*, which the presbyterial government doth not. 8. They ordained ministers without any particular charge, which the presbyterial government doth not. 9. In synods they did not allow any but the clergy alone (as they kept up the name) to have decisive suffrage. The presbyterial government gives decisive voices to ruling elders as well as to pastors. 10. The prelates declined to be accountable to, and censurable by, either chapters, diocesan or national synods. In presbyterial government, all (in whatsoever ecclesiastical administration) are called to an account in presbyteries, provincial and national assemblies respectively, and none are exempted from synodical censures in case of scandal and obstinacy. 11. The prelate's power was not merely ecclesiastical, they were lords of parliament, they held civil places in the state, which the presbyterial government condemneth. 12. The prelates were not chosen by the church, presbyters are. 13. The prelates did presume to make law binding the conscience, even in things indifferent, and did persecute, imprison, fine, depose, excommunicate men for certain rites and ceremonies acknowledged by themselves to be indifferent (setting aside the will and authority of the law-makers). This the presbyterial government abhorreth. 14. They did excommunicate for money matters, for trifles, which the presbyterial government condemneth. 15. The prelates did not allow men to examine, by the judgment of Christians and private discretion, their decrees and canons, so as to search the Scriptures and look at the warrants, but would needs have men think it enough to know

the things to be commanded by them that are in place and power. Presbyterian government doth not lord it over men's consciences, but admitteth (yea commendeth) the searching of the Scriptures, whether these things which it holds forth be not so, and doth not press men's consciences with *sic volo, sic jubeo*, but desireth they may do in faith what they do. 16. The prelates held up pluralities, non-residencies, &c., which the presbyterial government doth not. 17. As many of the prelates did themselves neglect to preach the gospel, so they kept up in divers places a reading non-preaching ministry, which the presbyterial government suffereth not. 18. They opened the door of the ministry to divers scandalous, Arminianised, and popishly-affected men, and locked the door upon many worthy to be admitted. The presbyterial government herein is as contrary to theirs, as theirs was to the right. 19. Their official courts, commissaries, &c., did serve themselves heirs to the sons of Eli, "Nay, but thou shalt give it me now, and if not, I will take it by force." The presbyterial government hateth such proceedings. 20. The prelates and their high commission court did assume *potestatem utriusque gladii*, the power both of the temporal and civil sword. The presbyterial government meddleth with no civil nor temporal punishments.

I do not intend to enumerate all the differences between the papal and prelatical government on the one side, and the presbyterial government on the other side, in this point of unlimitedness or arbitrariness. These differences which I have given may serve for a conscientious caution to intelligent and moderate men, to beware of such odious and unjust comparisons as have been used by some, and among others by Mr Saltmarsh, in his *Parallel between the Prelacy and Presbytery*; which, as it cannot strike against us, nor any of the reformed churches (who acknowledge no such presbytery as he describeth), and, in some particulars, striketh at the ordinance of parliament (as, namely, in point of the Directory), so he that hath a mind to a recrimination, might, with more truth, lay divers of those imputations upon those whom (I believe) he is most unwilling they should be laid upon.

In the third place, The presbyterian government is more limited and less arbitrary than the independent government of single congregations, which, exempting themselves

from the presbyterial subordination, and from being accountable to, and censurable by, classes or synods, must needs be supposed to exercise a much more unlimited or arbitrary power than the presbyterial churches do; especially when this shall be compared and laid together with one of their three grand principles, which disclaimeth the binding of themselves for the future unto their present judgment and practice, and avoucheth the keeping of this reserve to alter and retract. See their *Apologetical Narration*, p. 10, 11, by which it appeareth that their way will not suffer them to be so far moulded into an uniformity, or bounded within certain particular rules (I say not with others, but even among themselves), as the presbyterian way will admit of.

Finally, The presbyterial government hath no such liberty nor arbitrariness, as civil or military government hath, there being in all civil or temporal affairs a great deal of latitude left to those who manage the same, so that they command nor act nothing against the word of God. But presbyterial government is tied up to the rules of Scripture, in all such particulars as are properly spiritual and proper to the church, though, in other particulars, occasional circumstances of times, places, accommodations, and the like, the same light of nature and reason guideth both church and state; yet in things properly spiritual and ecclesiastical, there is not near so much latitude left to the presbytery, as there is in civil affairs to the magistrate.

And thus I have made good what I said, That presbyterial government is the most limited and least arbitrary government of any other; all which vindication and clearing of the presbyterial government doth overthrow (as to this point) Mr Hussey's *Observation*, p. 9, of the irregularity and arbitrariness of church government. And so much for my fourth concession.

The fifth shall be this: It is far from our meaning that the Christian magistrate should not meddle with matters of religion, or with things and causes ecclesiastical, and that he is to take care of the commonwealth, but not of the church. Certainly there is much power and authority which, by the word of God, and by the Confessions of Faith of the reformed churches, doth belong to the Christian magistrate in matters of religion, which I do but now touch by the way, so far as is

necessary to wipe off the aspersion cast upon presbyterial government. The particulars I refer to chapter 8.

Our sixth concession is, That in extraordinary cases, when church government doth degenerate into tyranny, ambition, and avarice, and they who have the managing of the ecclesiastical power, make defection and fall into manifest heresy, impiety or injustice (as under Popery and Prelacy it was for the most part), then, and in such cases (which we pray and hope we shall never see again), the Christian magistrate may and ought to do divers things in and for religion, and interpose his authority divers ways, so as doth not properly belong to his cognisance, decision and administration ordinarily, and in a reformed and well-constituted church; for extraordinary diseases must have extraordinary remedies. More of this before.

A seventh concession is this, The civil sanction added to church government and discipline, is a free and voluntary act of the magistrate, that is, church government doth not, *ex natura rei*, necessitate the magistrate to aid, assist, or corroborate the same, by adding the strength of a law. But the magistrate is free in this to do or not to do, to do more or to do less, as he will answer to God and his conscience. It is a cumulative act of favour done by the magistrate. My meaning is not, that it is free to the magistrate, *in genere moris*, but *in genere entis*. The magistrate ought to add the civil sanction *hic et nunc*, or he ought not to do it. It is either a duty or a sin; it is not indifferent. But my meaning is, the magistrate is free herein from all coercion, yea, from all necessity and obligation, other than ariseth from the word of God binding his conscience. There is no power on earth, civil or spiritual, to constrain him. The magistrate himself is his own judge on earth how far he is to do any cumulative act of favour to the church; which takes off that calumny, that presbyterial government doth force or compel the conscience of the magistrate. I pray God we may never have cause to state the question otherwise, I mean, concerning the magistrate's forbidding what Christ hath commanded, or commanding what Christ hath forbidden, in which case we must serve Christ and our consciences, rather than obey laws contrary to the word of God and our covenant; whereas in the other case, of the magis-

trate's not adding of the civil sanction, we may both serve Christ, and do it without the least appearance of disobedience to the magistrate.

Eightly, We grant that pastors and elders, whether they be considered distributively, or collectively in presbyteries and synods, being subjects and members of the commonwealth, ought to be subject and obedient in the Lord to the magistrate and to the law of the land; and, as in all other duties, so in civil subjection and obedience, they ought to be ensamples to the flock; and their trespasses against law are punishable as much, yea, more, than the trespasses of other subjects. Of this also before.

Ninthly, If the magistrate be offended at the sentence given, or censure inflicted, by a presbytery or a synod, they ought to be ready, in all humility and respect, to give him an account and reason of such proceedings, and by all means to endeavour the satisfaction of the magistrate's conscience, or otherwise to be warned and rectified if themselves have erred.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE AGREEMENTS AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NATURE OF THE CIVIL AND OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWERS OR GOVERNMENTS.

Having now observed what our opposites yield to us, or we to them, I shall, for further unfolding of what I plead for or against, add here the chief agreements and differences between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, so far as I apprehend them. They both agree in these things: 1. They are both from God—both the magistrate and the minister is authorised from God—both are the ministers of God, and shall give account of their administrations to God. 2. Both are tied to observe the law and commandments of God, and both have certain directions from the word of God to guide them in their administration. 3. Both civil magistrates and church officers are fathers, and ought to be honoured and obeyed according to the fifth commandment. *Utrumque scilicet dominium*, saith Luther, tom. 1, fol. 139. Both governments, the civil and the ecclesiastical, do pertain to that commandment. 4. Both magistracy and minis-

try are appointed for the glory of God as supreme, and for the good of men, as the subordinate end. 5. They are both of them mutually aiding and auxiliary each to other; magistracy strengthens the ministry, and the ministry strengthens magistracy. 6. They agree in their general kind, they are both powers and governments. 7. Both of them require singular qualifications, eminent gifts and endowments, and of both it holds true, *Quis ad hæc idoneus?* 8. Both of them have degrees of censure and correction according to the degrees of offences. 9. Neither the one nor the other may give out sentence against one who is not convicted, or whose offence is not proved. 10. Both of them have a certain kind of jurisdiction *in foro exteriori*; for though the ecclesiastical power be spiritual, and exercised about such things as belong to the inward man only, yet, as Dr Rivet upon the Decalogue, p. 260, 261, saith truly: "There is a two-fold power of external jurisdiction which is exercised *in foro exteriori*, one by church censures, excommunication, lesser and greater, which is not committed to the magistrate, but to church officers; another, which is civil and coercive, and that is the magistrate's." But Mr Coleman told us, "He was persuaded it will trouble the whole world to bound ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, the one from the other," *Maledicis*, p. 7. Well, I have given ten agreements, I will now give ten differences.

The difference between them is great. They differ in their causes, effects, objects, adjuncts, correlations, executions, and ultimate terminations.

1. In the efficient cause. The King of nations hath instituted the civil power; the King of saints hath instituted the ecclesiastical power; I mean, the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth, who exerciseth sovereignty over the workmanship of his own hands, and so over all mankind, hath instituted magistrates to be in his stead as gods upon earth. But Jesus Christ, as Mediator and King of the church, whom his Father hath "set upon his holy hill of Zion," Psal. ii. 6, "to reign over the house of Jacob for ever," Luke i. 33, "who hath the key of the house of David laid upon his shoulder," Isa. xxii. 22, hath instituted an ecclesiastical power and government in the hands of church-officers, whom, in his name, he sendeth forth.

2. In the matter. Magistracy, or civil

power, hath, for the matter of it, the earthly sceptre and the temporal sword, that is, it is monarchical and legislative; it is also punitive or coercive of those that do evil. Understand, upon the like reason, remunerative of those that do well. The ecclesiastical power hath, for the matter of it, the keys of the kingdom of heaven.¹ 1. The key of knowledge or doctrine, and that to be administered not only severally by each minister *concionaliter*, but also consistorially and synodically, in determining controversies of faith, and that only according to the rule of holy Scripture, which is *clavis doctrinæ*. 2. The key of order and decency, so to speak, by which the circumstances of God's worship, and all such particulars in ecclesiastical affairs as are not determined in Scripture, are determined by the ministers and ruling officers of the church, so as may best agree to the general rules of the Word concerning order and decency, avoiding of scandal, doing all to the glory of God, and to the edifying of one another. And this is *clavis disciplinæ*. 3. The key of corrective discipline, or censures to be exercised upon the scandalous and obstinate, which is *clavis coercitivæ*. 4. Add also the key of ordination or mission of church-officers, which I may call *clavis æconomizantivæ*, the authorising or power-giving key; others call it *missio potestativa*.

3. They differ in their forms. The power of magistracy is *ἀρχιτετονική* and *δεσποτική*. It is an authority or dominion exercised in the particulars above mentioned, and that in an immediate subordination to God; for which reason magistrates are called gods. The ecclesiastical power is *ὑπερηλική*, or *διακονική*, or *οἰκονομική* only. It is merely ministerial and steward-like, and exercised in an immediate subordination to Jesus Christ as King of the church, and in his name and authority.

4. They differ in their ends. The supreme

¹ Festus Honnius, disp. 30, thes. 6.—Circa bonum spirituale versatur potestas ecclesiastica proprie ita dicta, cujus proprium officium est verbum Dei prædicare, sacramenta administrare, disciplinam ecclesiasticam exercere, ministros ecclesiæ ordinare, de controversiis ecclesiasticis quæ circa doctrinam aut regimen ecclesiæ interdicunt, ordinario judicare, et de ritibus adiaphoris ad ordinem, decorum atque ædificationem ecclesiæ pertinentibus, canones seu leges ecclesiasticas constituere. J. Gerhardus, loc. com. tom. 6, p. 494.—Distinguitur Christi regnum ad quod potestas clavium pertinet, ab imperiis mundanis quæ gladio corporali in administratione utuntur.

end of magistracy is only the glory of God as King of nations, and as exercising dominion over the inhabitants of the earth; and in that respect the magistrate is appointed to keep his subjects within the bounds of external obedience to the moral law, the obligation whereof lieth upon all nations and all men. The supreme end of the ecclesiastical power is either *proximus* or *remotus*. The nearest and immediate end is the glory of Jesus Christ, as Mediator and King of the church. The more remote end is the glory of God, as having all power and authority in heaven and earth. You will say, Must not then the Christian magistrate intend the glory of Jesus Christ, and to be subservient to him, as he is Mediator and King of the church? Certainly he ought and must; and God forbid but that he should do so. But how? Not *qua* magistrate, but *qua* Christian. If you say to me again, Must not the Christian magistrate intend to be otherwise subservient to the kingdom of Jesus Christ as Mediator, than by personal or private Christian duties, which are incumbent on every Christian? I answer, No doubt he ought to intend more, even to glorify Jesus Christ in the administration of magistracy; which that you may rightly apprehend, and that I be not misunderstood, take this distinction: It is altogether incumbent on the ruling officers of the church to intend the glory of Christ as Mediator, even *ex natura rei*, in regard of the very nature of ecclesiastical power and government, which hath no other end and use for which it was intended and instituted, but to be subservient to the kingly office of Jesus Christ in the governing of his church upon earth (and therefore *sublata ecclesia perit regimen ecclesiasticum*, take away the church out of a nation, and you take away all ecclesiastical power of government, which makes another difference from magistracy, as we shall see anon). But the magistrate, though Christian and godly, doth not *ex natura rei*, in regard of the nature of his particular vocation, intend the glory of Jesus Christ as Mediator and King of the church; but in regard of the common principles of Christian religion, which do oblige every Christian, in his particular vocation and station (and so the magistrate in his), to intend that end. All Christians are commanded, that whatever they do in word or deed, they do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, Col. iii. 17, that is, according to the will of Christ, and

for the glory of Christ; and so a merchant, a mariner, a tradesman, a schoolmaster, a captain, a soldier, a printer, and, in a word, every Christian, in his own place and station, ought to intend the glory of Christ, and the good of his church and kingdom. Upon which ground and principle, if the magistrate be Christian, it is incumbent to him so to administer that high and eminent vocation of his, that Christ may be glorified as King of the church, and that this kingdom of Christ may flourish in his dominions (which would God every magistrate called Christian did really intend). So then the glory of Christ, as Mediator and King of the church, is to the ministry both *finis operis*, and *finis operantis*. To the magistrate, though Christian, it is only *finis operantis*, that is, it is the end of the godly magistrate, but not the end of magistracy; whereas it is not only the end of the godly minister, but the end of the ministry itself. The ministers' intendment of this end flows from the nature of their particular vocation; the magistrates' intendment of the same end flows from the nature of their particular vocation of Christianity, acting, guiding, and having influence into their particular vocation. So much of the supreme ends.

Now, the subordinate end of all ecclesiastical power is, that all who are of the church, whether officers or members, may live godly, righteously, and soberly, in this present world, be kept within the bounds of obedience to the gospel, void of all known offence toward God and toward man, and be made to walk according to the rules delivered to us by Christ and his apostles. The subordinate end of the civil power is, that all public sins committed presumptuously against the moral law, may be exemplarily punished, and that peace, justice, and good order, may be preserved and maintained in the commonwealth, which doth greatly redound to the comfort and good of the church, and to the promoting of the course of the gospel. For this end the Apostle bids us pray for kings and all who are in authority (though they be pagans, much more if they be Christians), "that we may live under them a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty," 1 Tim. ii. 2. He saith not simply, "that we may live in godliness and honesty," but that we may both live peaceably and quietly, and also live godly and honestly, which is the very same that we commonly say of the magistrate, that he is

custos utriusque tabulæ. He is to take special care that all his subjects be made to observe the law of God, and live not only in moral honesty, but in godliness, and that so living they may also enjoy peace and quietness. More particularly, the end of church censures is, that men may be ashamed, humbled, reduced to repentance, that their spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord; the end of civil punishments inflicted by the magistrate is, that justice may be done according to law, and that peace and good order may be maintained in the commonwealth, as hath been said. The end of delivering Hymeneus and Alexander to Satan was, "that they may learn not to blaspheme," 1 Tim. i. 20. Erastus yields to Beza, p. 239, that the apostle doth not say, *Ut non possint blasphemare*, "that henceforth they may not be able to sin as they did before (which yet he acknowledgeth to be the end of civil punishments), but that they may learn not to blaspheme." Wherefore, when he expounds *ἵνα παιδευῶσι* to no other sense but this—that the Apostle had delivered those two to be killed by Satan, *Ut non possint*, that they may not be able to blaspheme so any more, just as a magistrate delivers a thief to the gallows, that he may not be able to steal any more, and (as he tells us some speak) that he may learn to steal no more,—he is herein confuted not only out of the text, but out of himself. So then, the end of church censures is *ἵνα παιδευῶσι*, that the offenders may learn, or be instructed, to do so no more, which belongeth to the inward man or soul. The end of civil punishments is, *Ut non possint* (as Erastus tells us), that the offenders may not be able, or at least (being alive and some way free) may not dare to do the like, the sword being appointed for a terror to them who do evil, to restrain them from public and punishable offences—not to work upon the spirit of their minds, nor to effect the destroying of the flesh by mortification, that the spirit may be safe in the day of the Lord.

The fifth difference between the civil and ecclesiastical powers is in respect of the effects. The effects of the civil power are civil laws, civil punishments, civil rewards; the effects of the ecclesiastical power are determinations of controversies of faith, canons concerning order and decency in the church, ordination or deposition of church-officers, suspension from the sacrament, and

excommunication. The powers being distinct in their nature and causes, the effects must needs be distinct which flow from the actuating and putting in execution of the powers. I do not here speak of the effects of the ecclesiastical power of order, the dispensing of the word and sacraments, but of the effects of the power of jurisdiction or government, of which only the controversy is.

Sixthly, The civil power hath for the object of it *τὰ βιωτικά*, the things of this life, matters of peace, war, justice, the king's matters, and the country matters—those things that belong to the external man; but the ecclesiastical power hath for its object, things pertaining to God, the Lord's matters, as they are distinct from civil matters, and things belonging to the inward man, distinct from the things belonging to the outward man. This difference Protestant writers do put between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Fr. Junius, *Ecclesiast.*, lib. 3, cap. 4, saith thus: "We have put into our definition human things to be the subject of civil administration; but the subject of ecclesiastical administration we have taught to be things divine and sacred. Things divine and sacred we call both those which God commandeth for the sanctification of our mind and conscience as things necessary, and also those which the decency and order of the church requireth to be ordained and observed, for the profitable and convenient use of the things which are necessary. For example, prayers, the administration of the word and sacraments, ecclesiastical censures, are things necessary and essentially belonging to the communion of saints; but set days, set hours, set places, fasts, and the like, belong to the decency and order of the church, &c. But human things we call such as touch the life, the body, goods, and good name, as they are expounded in the second table of the Decalogue; for these are the things in which the whole civil administration standeth." Tile-nus, *Synt.*, part 2, disp. 32, tells us to the same purpose, that civil government or magistracy *versatur circa res terrenas et hominem externum*. "*Magistratus* (saith Daneus, *Pol. Christ.*, lib. 6, cap. 1.) *instituti sunt à Deo rerum humanarum quæ hominum societati necessariæ sunt, respectu et ad earum curam*."

If it be objected, how can these things agree with that which hath been before by us acknowledged, that the civil magistrate

ought to take special care of religion, of the conservation and purgation thereof, of the abolishing idolatry and superstition; and ought to be *custos utriusque tabulae*, of the first as well as second table? I answer, that magistrates are appointed not only for civil policy, but for the conservation and purgation of religion, as is expressed in the *Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland*, before cited, we firmly believe as a most undoubted truth. But when divines make the object of magistracy to be only such things as belong to this life and to human society, they do not mean the object of the magistrate's care (as if he were not to take care of religion), but the object of his operation. The magistrate himself may not assume the administration of the keys, nor the dispensing of church censures; he can but punish the external man with external punishments. Of which more afterwards.

The seventh difference stands in the adjuncts; For, 1. The ecclesiastical power in presbyterial or synodical assemblies ought not to be exercised without prayer and calling upon the name of the Lord, Matt. xviii. 19: there is no such obligation upon the civil power, as that there may be no civil court of justice without prayer. 2. In divers cases civil jurisdiction hath been, and is, in the person of one man; but no ecclesiastical jurisdiction is committed to one man, but to an assembly, in which two at least must agree in the thing, as is gathered from the text last cited. 3. No private or secret offence ought to be brought before an ecclesiastical court, except in the case of contumacy and impenitency after previous admonitions. This is the ordinary rule, not to dispute now extraordinary exceptions from that rule, but the civil power is not bound up by any such ordinary rule; for I suppose our opposites will hardly say (at least hardly make it good) that no civil injury or breach of law and justice, being privately committed, may be brought before a civil court, except first there be previous admonitions, and the party admonished prove obstinate and impenitent.

The eighth difference stands in the correlations. The *correlatum* of magistracy is people embodied in a commonwealth, or a civil corporation. The *correlatum* of the ecclesiastical power is people embodied in a church, or spiritual corporation. The commonwealth is not in the church, but the church is in the commonwealth; that is, one

is not therefore in or of the church, because he is in or of the commonwealth, of which the church is a part; but yet every one that is a member of the church is also a member of the commonwealth, of which that church is a part. The Apostle distinguisheth those that are without and those that are within in reference to the church, who were notwithstanding both sorts within in reference to the commonwealth, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. The *correlatum* of the ecclesiastical power may be quite taken away by persecution, or by defection, when the *correlatum* of the civil power may remain, and therefore the ecclesiastical and the civil power do not *se mutuo ponere et tollere*.

Ninthly, There is a great difference in the ultimate termination. The ecclesiastical power can go no further than excommunication, or (in case of extraordinary warrants, and when one is known to have blasphemed against the Holy Ghost) to *anathema maranatha*. If one be not humbled and reduced by excommunication, the church can do no more but leave him to the judgment of God, who hath promised to ratify in heaven what his servants, in his name and according to his will, do upon earth. Salmasius spends a whole chapter in confuting the point of the coactive and magistratical jurisdiction of bishops, see *Walo Messal*. cap. 6. He acknowledgeth in that very place, p. 455, 456, 459, 462, that the elders of the church have, in common, the power of ecclesiastical discipline, to suspend from the sacrament and to excommunicate, and to receive the offender again upon the evidence of his repentance. But the point he asserteth is, that bishops or elders have no such power as the magistrate hath, and that if he that is excommunicate do not care for it, nor submit himself, the elders cannot compel him; but the termination or *quo usque* of the civil power is quite different from this, "It is unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment," Ezra vii. 26.

Tenthly, They differ in a divided execution; that is, the ecclesiastical power ought to censure sometime one whom the magistrate thinks not fit to punish with temporal or civil punishments; and again, the magistrate ought to punish with the temporal sword, one whom the church ought not to cut off by the spiritual sword. This difference Pareus gives, *Explic. Catech.* quest. 85, art. 4, and it cannot be denied; for those

that plead most for liberty of conscience, and argue against all civil or temporal punishments of heretics, do notwithstanding acknowledge, that the church whereof they are members ought to censure and excommunicate them, and doth not her duty except she do so. The church may have reason to esteem one as an heathen and a publican that is no church member, whom yet the magistrate, in prudence and policy, doth permit to live in the commonwealth. Again, the most notorious and scandalous sinners, blasphemers, murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, robbers, &c., when God gives them repentance, and the signs thereof do appear, the church doth not bind but loose them, doth not retain but remit their sins, I mean ministerially and declaratively; notwithstanding the magistrate may and ought to do justice according to law, even upon those penitent sinners.

CHAPTER V.

OF A TWOFOLD KINGDOM OF JESUS CHRIST :
A GENERAL KINGDOM, AS HE IS THE ETERNAL SON OF GOD, THE HEAD OF ALL PRINCIPALITIES AND POWERS, REIGNING OVER ALL CREATURES; AND A PARTICULAR KINGDOM, AS HE IS MEDIATOR REIGNING OVER THE CHURCH ONLY.

The controversy which hath been moved concerning the civil magistrate's vicegerentship, and the holding of his office of, and under, and for Jesus Christ, as he is Mediator, hath a necessary coherence with, and dependence upon, another controversy concerning a twofold kingdom of Jesus Christ: one, as he is the eternal Son of God, reigning together with the Father and the Holy Ghost over all things; and so the magistrate is his vicegerent, and holds his office of and under him; another, as Mediator and Head of the church, and so the magistrate doth not hold his office of and under Christ as his vicegerent. Wherefore, before I come to that question concerning the origin and tenure of the magistrate's office, I have thought good here to premise the enodation of the question concerning the twofold kingdom of Jesus Christ. It is a distinction which Mr Hussey cannot endure, and no marvel, for it overturneth the foundation of his opinion. He looks upon it as

an absurd assertion, p. 25, "Shall he have one kingdom as Mediator, and another as God?" He quarrelleth all that I have said of the twofold kingdom of Christ, and will not admit that Christ, as Mediator, is King of the church only, p. 25—27, 35—37.

The controversy draweth deeper than he is aware of, for Socinians and Photinians, finding themselves puzzled with those arguments which (to prove the eternal godhead of Jesus Christ) were drawn from such scriptures as call him "God, Lord, the Son of God;" also from such scriptures as ascribe worship and adoration to him, and from the texts which ascribe to him a supreme lordship, dominion, and kingdom over all things (for this hath been used as one argument for the godhead of Jesus Christ and his consubstantiality with the Father, "The Father reigns, the Son reigns, the Holy Ghost reigns, vide lib. *Isaaci Clari Hispani Adversus Varimadum Arianum*), thereupon they devised this answer, That Jesus Christ, in respect of his kingly office, and as Mediator, is called God, and Lord, and the Son of God (of which see *Fest. Honnii Specimen Controv. Belgic.*, p. 24; *Jonas Schlichtingius contra Meisnerum*, p. 436); and that in the same respect he is worshipped, that in the same respect he is King, and that the kingdom which the Scripture ascribeth to Jesus Christ, is only as Mediator and Head of the church, and that he hath no such universal dominion over all things as can prove him to be the eternal Son of God. This gave occasion to orthodox Protestant writers more fully and distinctly to assert the great difference between that which the Scripture saith of Christ as he is the eternal Son of God, and that which it saith of him as he is Mediator; and particularly to assert a twofold kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to prove from Scripture that, besides that kingdom which Christ hath as Mediator, he hath another kingdom over all things, which belongs to him only as he is the eternal Son of God. This the Socinians to this day do contradict, and stiffly hold that Christ hath but one kingdom, which he exerciseth as Mediator over the church, and in some respect over all things; but by no means they admit that Christ, as God, reigneth over all things. But our writers still hold up against them the distinction of that twofold kingdom of Jesus Christ, see *Stegmanni Photinianismus*, disp. 27, quest. 6. The same distinction of the twofold kingdom of

Christ, as God and as Mediator, is frequently to be found in Protestant writers, see *Synops. pur. Theol.*, disp. 26, thes. 53; Gomarus in *Obad. ver. ult.*; the late *English Annotations* on 1 Cor. xv. 24, and many others. Let Polanus speak for the rest.¹ See also the same distinction cleared and asserted by Mr Apollonius in his *Jus Majestatis Circa Sacra*, part 1, p. 33, *et seq.*

The arguments to prove that distinction of the twofold kingdom of Christ are these:

First, Those kingdoms—of which the one is accessory and adventitious to the Son of God, and which, if it were not, the want of it could not prove him not to be God; the other necessarily floweth from his godhead, so that without it he were not God—are most different and distinct kingdoms. But the kingdom of Christ as Mediator, and the kingdom of Christ as he is the eternal Son of God, are such; therefore, if the Son of God had never received the office of Mediator, and so should not have reigned as Mediator, yet he had been the natural Son of God; for this could not be a necessary consequence: He is the natural Son of God, therefore he is Mediator; for he had been the natural Son of God though he had not been Mediator, and though man had not been redeemed. But if you suppose that the Son of God reigns not, as God, with the Father and the Holy Ghost from everlasting to everlasting, then you must needs suppose that he is not the natural and eternal Son of God.

Secondly, Those kingdoms, of which the one is proper and personal to Jesus Christ as God-man, the other not proper and personal, but common to the Father and the Holy Ghost,—are most different and distinct kingdoms; but the kingdom of Jesus Christ as Mediator, and his kingdom as he is the eternal Son of God, are such. Therefore, that kingdom which Christ hath as Mediator, by special dispensation of God

committed to him, is his alone properly and personally; for we cannot say that the Father reigns as Mediator, or that the Holy Ghost reigns as Mediator. But that kingdom which Christ hath, as he is the eternal Son of God, is the very same consubstantially with that kingdom whereby God the Father and God the Holy Ghost do reign.

Thirdly, He that hath a kingdom which shall be continued and exercised forever, and a kingdom which shall not be continued and exercised forever, hath two distinct kingdoms. But Jesus Christ hath a kingdom which shall be continued and exercised forever, namely, the kingdom which he hath as the eternal Son of God; and another kingdom which shall not be continued and exercised forever, namely, the kingdom which he hath as Mediator: Therefore, the eternity of the one kingdom is not doubted of: but that the other kingdom shall not be forever exercised, that is, that Christ shall not forever reign as Mediator, is proved from 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.¹ Mr Hussey, p. 35—37, goeth about to answer this argument, which he confesseth to say something; and indeed it saith so much, that though he maketh an extravagant exception—"Doth it appear," saith he, "that the kingdom that he shall lay down to God his Father, is not over all the world?"—yet he plainly yields the point which I was then proving. "Christ (saith he), in the day of judgment, shall lay down all the office of Mediatorship." I hope he will not say that Christ shall lay down at the day of judgment that kingdom which he hath as the eternal Son of God. So then I have what I was seeking, that Christ hath one kingdom as Mediator, another as the eternal Son of God. And whereas Mr Hussey holdeth that Christ, as Mediator, reigns over all things as the vicar of his Father, we shall see anon the weakness of his arguments brought to prove it. Meanwhile, I ask, What then is that kingdom which belongs to Christ as the eternal Son of God, and which shall not be laid down, but continue forever? Let him think on this argument. Whatsoever belongs to that kingdom which shall be continued forever, and shall not be laid down at

¹ Synt. Theol., lib. 6, cap. 29.—Regnum Christi vel naturale est, vel donativum. Regnum Christi naturale est quod Christus a natura habet, estque communis totius Deitatis, etc. Hos regnum etiam universale dicitur, quia est simpliciter in universa. At regnum Christi donativum est quod Christus tradium a Patre ut *ἐκδοτικός* accepit, etc. Hoc regnum est proprium Christi, quod ut Rex Mediator obtinet in persona sua: ac regnum etiam singulare dicitur quia est peculiare in ecclesia, etc. Utque naturale regnum obtinet jure naturæ, quia est naturalis filius Dei Patris: ita donativum regnum obtinet jure donationis.

¹ Synt. pur. Theol. disp. 26, thes. 35.—Ipai (Patri) suum quoque acceptum Mediatorium seu economicum traditurus dicitur, ut imperium mere divinum eadem gloria ac majestate cum Patre, erga suos electos in æternum exerceat. Zach. Ursinus, tom. 1, 398.—Christus Patri tradet regnum post glorificationem ecclesiæ, id est, desinet facere officium Mediatoris.

the day of judgment, doth belong to Christ, not as Mediator, but as the eternal Son of God. But the general power and dominion by which Jesus Christ exerciseth sovereignty over all creatures, without exception, doing to them, and fulfilling upon them all the good pleasure of his will, belongs to that kingdom which shall be continued forever, and shall not be laid down at the day of judgment; therefore, that general power and dominion by which Jesus Christ exerciseth sovereignty over all creatures, without exception, doing to them, and fulfilling upon them, all the good pleasure of his will, doth belong to Christ, not as Mediator, but as the eternal Son of God. And thus I make a transition to another argument.

Fourthly, He that hath a kingdom administered by and in evangelical ordinances, and a kingdom administered by his divine power, without evangelical ordinances, hath two different and distinct kingdoms. But Jesus Christ hath a kingdom administered by and in evangelical ordinances, and a kingdom administered by his divine power, without evangelical ordinances; therefore, doth not Jesus Christ reign over devils and damned spirits by his divine power, reserving them in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day? But will Mr Hussey say that Christ reigns over the devils and damned spirits as Mediator, or by the same kingdom by which he reigns in his church by and in his ordinances? Therefore we must needs say, that Christ hath one kingdom as the eternal Son of God, another as Mediator.

Fifthly, He that hath a kingdom in subordination to God the Father, and as his vicegerent, and another kingdom wherein he is not subordinate unto, but equal with God the Father, hath two most different kingdoms. But Jesus Christ hath a kingdom in subordination to God the Father, and another kingdom wherein he is not subordinate unto, but equal with God the Father; therefore, the kingdom which Christ hath as Mediator, doth (in regard of the office of Mediatorship) constitute him in a subordination to his Father, whose commandments he executeth, and to whom he gives an account of his ministration. So that though he that is Mediator, being the eternal Son of God, is equal with the Father, yet as Mediator he is not equal with the Father, but subordinate to the Father; which our divines prove from these scriptures,—Isa. xlii. 1, "Behold my servant;"

John xiv. 28, "My Father is greater than I;" 1 Cor. xi. 3, "The head of Christ is God." In the same consideration as Christ is our head, God is Christ's head, namely, as Christ is Mediator. But that kingdom which Christ hath as he is the eternal Son of God, he holds it not in a subordination to God the Father, but as being consubstantial with his Father, and thinking it no robbery to be called equal with God; so that, in this consideration, the Father is not greater than he. Mr Hussey, p. 37, saith of Christ, in respect of the government which he hath as Mediator, "He is as it were the vicar of his Father." I hope he will not say so of that government which Christ hath as the eternal Son of God. And, p. 27, he holds that Christ, as Mediator, is subject to God; "but in the consideration that Christ is the second person of Trinity, so he is not inferior to God the Father." So that he himself cannot but yield my argument.

Sixthly, If Christ hath a kingdom in time dispensed and delegated to him, and unto which he was anointed, and hath another kingdom which is not delegated, nor in time dispensed, nor he anointed to it, but doth necessarily and naturally accompany the communication of the divine nature to him by eternal generation, then he hath two very different kingdoms: one as he is Mediator, another as he is the eternal Son of God. But Christ hath a kingdom in time dispensed and delegated, &c. If you speak of Christ as Mediator, God hath made him both Lord and Christ, Acts ii. 36, but as he is the eternal Son of God, he is not *Dominus factus*; he is not made Lord and King, any more than he is made the natural Son of God. When the Psalmist speaketh of that kingdom which Christ hath as Mediator, he tells us of the anointing of Christ, Psal. xlv. 6, "The sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre;" ver. 7, "Thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness." But we cannot say that Christ was anointed to that kingdom which he hath as the eternal Son of God.

Seventhly, If the Scripture holds forth a kingdom which Christ hath over all creatures, and another kingdom which he hath over the church only, then it holds forth the twofold kingdom which I plead for, and which Mr Hussey denieth. But the Scripture holds forth, &c.: Christ, as he is "God over all, blessed forever," Rom. ix. 5, exerciseth sovereignty and dominion over all

things, even as his Father doth, Psal. cxv. 3; Dan. iv. 34, 35, for his Father and he are one. But as he is Mediator, his kingdom is his church only, and he is "over his own house," Heb. iii. 6. You will say the word *only* is not in Scripture. I answer, When we say that faith only justifieth, the word *only* is not in Scripture, but the thing is. Just so here; for, first, David, Solomon, and Eliakim, were types of Christ the King. Now David and Solomon did reign only over God's people as their subjects, though they had other people tributaries and subdued. So doth Christ reign over the house of Jacob only, Luke i. 32, 33, "The Lord shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever;" Isa. ix. 7, "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it;" Isa. xxi. 22, "I will commit the government into his hand, and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah, and the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder." 2. It was foretold and applied to the church and people of God as a proper and peculiar comfort to the church, that Christ was to come and reign as a king, Isa. ix. 6, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder;" Zech. ix. 9, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, *thy king* cometh unto thee;" Matt. ii. 6, "Out of thee shall come a governor that shall rule my people Israel." 3. The Jews did generally understand it so, that the Messiah was to be the church's king only, which made Pilate say to them, "Shall I crucify your King?" And hence it was also, that the wise men who came to inquire for Christ, said, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" Matt. ii. 2.

Eighthly. That very place, Eph i. 21—23, from which Mr Coleman drew an argument against us, doth plainly hold forth a twofold supremacy of Jesus Christ: one over all things, another in reference to the church only, which is his body, his fulness, and to whom alone he is Head, according to that text. Of which more afterwards.

Ninthly. The Apostle, Col. i., doth also distinguish this twofold pre-eminence, supremacy, and kingdom of Jesus Christ: one which is universal, and over all things, and which belongeth to him as he is the eternal Son of God, ver. 15—17, "Who is the

image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature: for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist." Another which is economical and particular in and over the church, and this he hath as Mediator;¹ ver. 18, "And he is the head of the body, the church; who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence." That, ver. 18, he speaketh of Christ as Mediator, is not controverted. But Mr Hussey, p. 35, would fain make it out (if he could) that Christ, as Mediator, is spoken of, ver. 15—17. The Apostle, indeed, in that which went before, did speak of Christ as Mediator. But the scope of these three verses is to prove the godhead of Jesus Christ. Yea, Mr Hussey himself yieldeth, that as God, and not as Mediator, he did create the world. How can he then contend that the Apostle speaketh here of Christ as Mediator? and why doth he find fault with my exposition that the Apostle speaketh here of Christ as God? Do not our writers urge Col. i. 16, 17, against the Socinians and Photinians, to prove the eternal godhead of Jesus Christ, because by him all things were created, and he is before all things. See *Stegmanni Photinismus*, disp. 5, quest. 12; Becmanus, exercit. 4 and 8; where you may see, that the adversaries contend (as Mr Hussey doth) that the Apostle, ver. 15—17, doth not speak of the person of Jesus Christ, proving him to be true God, but that he speaks of Christ as Mediator, or in respect of his office, and of that dominion which Christ hath as Mediator (so *Jonas Schlichtingius contra Meisner*, p. 469); and that ver. 15—17, ascribeth no more to Christ than ver. 18. But Becmanus, answering Julius, distinguisheth the text as I do; for which analysis I did formerly cite Beza, Zanchius, Gualther, Bullinger, Tossanus, M. Bayne, beside divers others. But I have found none that understands the text as Mr Hussey doth, except the Socinians and Photinians, who do not

¹ Calvin in Col. i. 18.—Postquam generaliter de Christi excellentia disseruit, deque summo ejus in omnes creaturas principatu: iterum redit ad ea quæ peculiariter ad ecclesiam spectant. In nomine capituli alii plura considerant, etc. Hic vero potissimum. meo judicio, de gubernatione loquitur.

acknowledge that Christ hath such an universal dominion and lordship over all things as God the Father, but only that he ruleth over all things as Mediator.

Now for answer to that which Mr Hussey, p. 26, 27, allegeth, to prove that Christ, as Mediator, reigneth over all things: first, he tells us out of Diodati, that Christ is Head of the church, and King of the universe; and out of Calvin, that the kingdom of Christ is over all, and filleth heaven and earth. But who denieth this? That which he had to prove is, that Christ, as Mediator, is King of the universe, and, as Mediator, his kingdom is spread over all; and when he hath proved that, he hath another thing to prove, that the universality of Christ's kingdom, as he is Mediator, is to be understood not only in an ecclesiastical notion, that is, so far as all nations are or shall be brought under the obedience of the gospel, but also in the notion of civil government, that is, that Christ reigns as Mediator over all creatures, whether under or without the gospel; and that all civil power, principality and government whatsoever in this world, is put in Christ's hand as Mediator. If, therefore, he will argue, let him argue so as to conclude the point.

The next objection he maketh is from Heb. i. 2, Christ, as Mediator, is made "heir of all things."

But I answer, Christ is heir of all things, 1. As the eternal Son of God, in the same respect as it is said of Christ in the next words of the same verse, that he made the world; and thus he may be called heir of all things by nature, even as Col. i. 15, he is called "the first-born of every creature." 2. He is heir of all things as Mediator, for the heathen and all the ends of the earth are given him for an inheritance, Psal. ii. 8; but that is only church-wise; he shall have a catholic church gathered out of all nations, and all kings, and people, and tongues, and languages shall be made to serve him.

Moreover, Mr Hussey objecteth from Heb. ii. 8, and 1 Cor. xv. 28, that God hath put all things under Christ's feet as he is Mediator. *Ans.* As this is not perfectly fulfilled in this world, but will then be fulfilled when "Christ shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power:" so in the measure and degree wherein it is fulfilled in this world, it concerneth not men only, but all the works of God's hands: Heb. ii. 7, "Thou crownedst him with glory and

honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands;" which is taken out of the eighth Psalm, ver. 6, 7, "Thou hast put all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen," &c. Now how is it that the Apostle applieth all this to Christ? How doth Christ rule over the beasts, fowls, fishes? Calvin, in 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28, answereth, *Dominatur ergo, ut omnia servant ejus gloriæ*,—He ruleth, so as all things may serve for his glory. So, then, all things are put under Christ's feet as he is Mediator, both in regard of his excellency, the dignity and glory unto which he is exalted, far above all the glory of any creature, and in respect of his power and over-ruling providence, whereby he can dispose of all things so as may make most for his glory. But it is a third thing which Mr Hussey hath to prove, namely, that Christ, as Mediator, exerciseth his office and government over all men as his subjects, and over all magistrates as his deputies, yea, over all things, even over the reasonable creatures; for, by his arguing, he will have Christ, as Mediator, to govern the sheep, oxen, fowls, and fishes; all things, as well as all persons, being put under Christ's feet. But in the handling of this very argument, Mr Hussey yields the cause:—"God is said to put all things under him (saith he), whereby it is implied, that all things were not under him before they were put under him; but as the second person in Trinity, so nothing could be said to be put under him, because they were in that respect always under him." Is not this all one for substance with that distinction formerly cited out of Polanus, of a twofold kingdom of Christ: one natural, as he is the second person in the Trinity, another donative, as he is Mediator?

Lastly, Mr Hussey argueth from Phil. ii. 8—10: Christ, as Mediator, is exalted to have a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee may bow. *Ans.* Here is indeed a dignity, glory, and power, as Diodati saith, above all things, but yet not a government or kingdom, as Mediator; for those who must bow the knee to Christ, are not only things in heaven, that is, angels, and things in earth, that is, men, but also things under the earth, that is, devils; yet devils are none of the subjects of Christ's kingdom as he is Mediator. Therefore this text proves not a headship or government over all (which Mr Hussey contends for), but a power over all.

I will here anticipate another objection,

which is not moved by Mr Hussey. It may be objected from 1 Cor. xi. 3, "That the head of every man is Christ." I answer, 1. Some understand this of Christ as God, and as the Creator of man. And if it be said that the latter clause, the "head of Christ is God," is meant of Christ as Mediator, and not as God: yet Martyr tells us out of Chrysostom, that all these comparisons and subordinations in this text are not to be taken in one and the same sense. 2. I grant also that Christ may be called the head of every man, not only in respect of his godhead, but as Mediator; that is, the head of every man in the church, not of every man in the world; for the apostle speaks, *de ordine divinitus sancito in ecclesiae corpore mystico*, as Mr David Dickson (an interpreter who hath taken very good pains in the textual study of Scripture) saith upon the place. I shall clear it by the like forms of speech, Jer. xxx. 6, "Wherefore do I see every man with his hands on his loins?" Luke xvi. 16, "The kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it;" 1 Cor. xii. 7, "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal;" Heb. ii. 9, "Jesus did taste death for every man." Yet none of these places are meant of every man in the world. 3. Yea, in some sense Christ, as Mediator, may be called the head of every man in the world; that is, in respect of dignity, excellency, glory, eminence of place, *quia in hoc sexu ille supra omens eminet*, saith Gualther, or because no man had parity or equality of honour with Christ; so Martyr and Hunnius. The *English Annotations* say that Christ is the head of every man, "in as much as he is the first-begotten among many brethren." Which best agreeth with my second answer.

But for taking off all these, and for preventing of other objections, that one distinction will suffice, which I first gave in examining Mr Coleman's sermon. In the Mediator, Jesus Christ, there is, 1. *Υπεροχή* or *δόξα*, dignity, excellency, honour, glory, splendour. 2. *Δύναμις*, his mighty power, by which he is able to do in heaven and earth whatsoever he will. 3. *Βασιλεία*, his kingdom, and kingly office or government; which three, as they are distinguished in God, "thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," why not in the Mediator also? In the first two respects, Christ, as Mediator, is over all things, and so over all men, and so over all magistrates, and all

they in subjection to him, but in the third respect, the relation is only between Christ and his church, as between king and kingdom, so that the thing in difference is that which Mr Hussey hath not proved, namely, that Christ, as Mediator, doth not only excel all things in glory, and exercise a supreme power and providence over all things for his own glory, and his church's good (neither of which is denied), but that he also is as Mediator, King, Head, and Governor of the universe, and hath not only the government of his church, but all civil government put in his hand. When Mr Hussey, p. 28, saith, that I denied, p. 43, what this distinction yieldeth, namely, that Christ, as Mediator, exerciseth acts of divine power in the behalf and for the good of his church, it is a calumny; for that which I denied, p. 43, was concerning the kingdom, not the power. My words were these: "But, as Mediator, he is only the church's King, Head, and Governor, and hath no other kingdom." Yea himself, p. 26, speaking to these words of mine, noteth that I did not say, that as Mediator he hath no such power; how cometh it to pass that he chargeth me with the denying of that which himself, but two pages before, had observed that I deny it not?

Well, but, p. 43, he desires from me a further clearing of my distinction, "kingdom, power, and glory," and that I will show from Scripture how it agreeth to Christ. I shall obey his desire, though it was before easy to be understood, if he had been willing enough to understand. Solomon did excel all the kings of the earth in wisdom, riches, glory, and honour, 2 Chron. i. 12, and herein he was a type of Christ, Psal. lxxxix. 27, "I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth:" but as Solomon was only king of Israel, and was not, by office or authority of government, a catholic king over all the kingdoms of the world, nor all other kings Solomon's vicegerents or deputies, so Jesus Christ, as Mediator, is only the church's King, and is not King or Governor of the whole world, nor civil magistrates his vicegerents, though he excel them all in dignity, glory, and honour. Again, David did subdue, by power, divers states, provinces, and kingdoms, and make them tributary: but was David king of the Philistines, and king of the Moabites, and king of the Syrians, and king of the Edomites, because he smote them and subdued them? 2 Sam. viii. Nay it

is added in that very place, ver. 15, "And David reigned over all Israel, and David executed justice and judgment unto all his people." (And this is one argument to prove that those subdued and tributary territories were not properly under the government of Israel, because Israel was not bound to extirpate idolaters out of those lands, but only out of the holy land. See *Maimonides de Idolol*, cap. 7, sect. 1, with the annotation of Dionysius Vossius.) So Christ, who was set upon the throne of David, doth, as Mediator, put forth his divine and irresistible power in subduing all his church's enemies, according to that, Pŕsal. ii. 9, "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel;" Rev. xvii. 14, "The Lamb shall overcome them, for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings." But this *vis major*, this restraining, subduing power, makes not Christ, as Mediator, to be King and Governor, not only of his church, but of the whole world beside. Yea, the power of Christ is over all things, as well as all persons; over all beasts, fowls, and fishes; Heb. ii. 7, 8, compared with Pŕsal. viii. 7, 8; yea, his power is over devils, meant by things under the earth, Phil. ii. 10. Wherefore it cannot be said, that Christ, as Mediator, is King, Head and Governor of all those whom he excelleth in glory, or whom he hath under his power, to do with them what he will. It is a strange mistake when Mr Hussey, p. 43, objecteth against this distinction, that a kingdom without power and glory, is a nominal empty thing. Surely there may be a kingly right and authority to govern where there is little either power or glory. But this is nothing to my distinction, which doth not suppose a kingdom without power and glory, nor yet power and glory without a kingdom, but only that the kingdom and government is not to be extended to all those whom the king excelleth in glory (for then one king that hath but little glory shall be subject to a king that hath much glory), or over whom the king exerciseth acts of power (for then the king shall be king to his and his kingdom's enemies). I verily believe that this distinction, rightly apprehended, will discover the great mistakes of that supposed universal kingdom of Christ, as Mediator, reigning over all things, and the civil magistrate as his vicegerent.

CHAPTER VI.

WHETHER JESUS CHRIST, AS MEDIATOR AND HEAD OF THE CHURCH, HATH PLACED THE CHRISTIAN MAGISTRATE TO HOLD AND EXECUTE HIS OFFICE UNDER AND FOR HIM, AS HIS VICEGERENT. THE ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSED.

Mr Hussey is very angry at my distinctions and arguments which I brought against Mr Coleman's fourth rule, insomuch that, in his reply to me, he spendeth very near two parts of three upon this matter, from p. 16 to 44, having passed over *sicco pede* much of what I had said of other points in difference. Come now, therefore, and let us try his strength in this great point. He holds that Christ, as Mediator, hath placed the Christian magistrate under him, and as his vicegerent, and hath given him commission to govern the church, which, if he or any man can prove from the word of God, it will go far in the decision of the Erastian controversy, though this is not all which is incumbent to the Erastians to prove; for, as I first replied to Mr Coleman's fourth rule, the question is, Whether there be not some other government instituted and appointed by Jesus Christ to be in his church beside the civil government? And if it should be granted that Christ, even as Mediator, hath committed, delegated, and instituted, civil government in his church, yet they must further prove that Christ hath committed the whole and sole power of church government to the magistrate, and so hath left no share of government to the ministry. But I can by no means yield that so much contended for vicegerentship of the Christian magistrate, and his holding of his office of and under Christ, as he is Mediator.

Mr Coleman in his *Re-examination*, p. 19, was fearful to set his foot upon so slippery ground. He was loath to adventure upon this assertion, that magistracy is derived from Christ, as Mediator, by a commission of deputation and vicegerentship (which yet did necessarily follow upon the fourth rule which he had delivered in his sermon). Wherefore he made a retreat and held him at this: "That magistracy is given to Christ to be serviceable in his kingdom." But out steps Mr Hussey and boldly avers a great deal more. I much mistake if he shall not

be made either to make a retreat, as Mr Coleman did, or to do worse.

First of all, this part of our controversy is to be rightly stated. The question is not, 1. Whether the magistrate be God's deputy or vicegerent, and as God upon earth; for who denies that? Nor, 2. Whether the magistrate be Christ's deputy, as Christ is God, and as he exerciseth an universal dominion over all things, as the Father and the Holy Ghost doth? Here likewise I hold the affirmative. Nor, 3. Whether the Christian magistrate be useful and subservient to the kingdom of Jesus Christ, even as he is Mediator and King of the church; for in this also I hold the affirmative; that is, that as every man in his own calling, parents, masters, servants, merchants, soldiers, &c., being Christians, so the magistrate in his eminent station, being a Christian, is obliged to endeavour the propagation of the gospel, and the good and benefit of the church of Christ. But the question is, Whether the Christian magistrate be a governor in the church *vice Christi*, in the room and stead of Jesus Christ, as he is Mediator? Or (which is all one) whether the rise, derivation, and tenure of Christian magistracy be from Jesus Christ under this formal consideration, as he is Mediator and Head of the church? Or (which is also the same), Whether Jesus Christ, by virtue of that authority and power of government which, as Mediator and as God-man, he received of the Father, hath substituted and given commission to the Christian magistrate to govern the church in subordination to him, as he governeth it in subordination to his Father? In all these Mr Hussey is for the affirmative, I am for the negative. Let us hear his reasons. First, p. 16, he argueth from my concession: "A Christian magistrate is a governor in the church," said Mr Coleman. This understood *sano sensu* I admitted. "Now (saith Mr Hussey), if the church be Christ's kingdom, surely such as govern in it must receive commission from him; which commission (saith he) must be in this form: Christ the Mediator, King of his church, doth appoint kings and civil magistrates to govern under him." Let him find this commission in Scripture, and I shall confess he hath done much. Neither doth any such thing follow upon my concession. For, 1. It is one thing to govern in the church, another thing to govern the church. Christian parents, masters of colleges, and the like, are governors

in the church; that is, being within, not without the church, yet, as parents or masters, they are not church governors. 2. I can also admit that the Christian magistrate governeth the church; and if this had been the concession, which is more than the other, it could not have helped him. For how doth the magistrate govern the church? Not *qua* a church, but *qua* a part of the commonwealth, as learned Salmasius distinguisheth, *Appar. ad lib. de Primat.*, p. 292, 300; for the commonwealth is not in the church, but the church in the commonwealth, according to that, Rev. ii., the church in Smyrna, the church in Pergamos, the church in Thyatira. And suppose all that are members of the commonwealth to be also church members, yet, in an universal spread of the gospel, the church is governed by the magistrate as it is a commonwealth, not as it is a church. Every soul must be subject to the higher powers, church officers, church members, and all, but the *ἡ τοιοῦτον, qua tale*, and *καθ' ὃ, quo ad*, is not any ecclesiastical or spiritual, but a human and civil relation. But whereas Mr Hussey addeth, that the gospel is the law by which Christ will judge all the world: "If all the world be under the law of Christ, then the kingdom of Christ must needs reach over all the world." His proofs are mere mistakes. He cites 2 Thess. i. 7, 8, Christ shall come "in flaming fire, to take vengeance on all them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ;" but, in that place, they that obey not the gospel are those disobedient persons to whom the gospel was preached. He cites also Rom. ii. 16, "Judge all the world according to my gospel;" but the text saith not so: it saith, *the secrets of men*, not all the world. Wherefore, as the Apostle there saith of the law, ver. 12, so say I of the gospel, as many as have sinned without the gospel, shall also perish without the gospel; and as many as have sinned under the gospel, shall be judged by the gospel.

Secondly, He draweth an argument the strength whereof is taken from Psal. ii. 8, "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession;" and from 1 Tim. vi. 15, our Lord Jesus Christ is said to be "King of kings, and Lord of lords." Jesus, Christ, being names that agree to him only as Mediator.

Ans. Christ, as Mediator, hath right to

the whole earth, and all the kingdoms of the world, not as if all government (even civil) were given to Christ (for in this kind he governeth not so much as any part of the earth, as he is Mediator), which was the thing he had to prove; but it is meant only of his spiritual kingdom, which is not of this world, and in this respect alone it is that Christ, as Mediator, hath right to the government of all nations: he hath *jus ad rem*, though not *in re*. As for that title, "King of kings, and Lord of lords," it may be understood two ways: First, as Christ is the eternal and natural Son of God, the eternal Wisdom of God, by whom "kings reign, and princes decree justice," Prov. viii. 15, 16; which is spoken of Christ, as he was the Father's delight, and as one brought up with him before the foundation of the world, ver. 22—30. Neither can the names of Jesus and Christ prove that what is said there must needs be meant of him as Mediator. Mark how well-grounded Mr Hussey's arguments are. Jesus sat at meat in Simon the Pharisee's house, Luke vii. 37; Jesus wept for Lazarus, because he loved him, John xi. 35, 36. Must we needs therefore say that, as Mediator, he sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, and, as Mediator, he wept for Lazarus? Christ is the Son of David, Matt. xxii. 42. Must we therefore say that, as Mediator, he is the Son of David? Christ is "God over all, blessed for ever," Rom. ix. 5. Must we therefore say that this is meant of Christ only as Mediator? What is more ordinary than to use the names of Jesus and Christ, when the thing which is said is meant in reference to one of the natures? Secondly, Christ is "King of kings, and Lord of lords," even as Mediator: not in Mr Hussey's sense, as if kings had their commission from Christ, and did reign in his stead, as he is Mediator; but in the sense of the Hebraism, "Vanity of vanities," that is, most vain; "Holy of holies," that is, most holy; so "King of kings, and Lord of lords," that is, the most excellent glorious King of all others: the excellency, splendour, dignity, and majesty of kings, may be compared without any subordination. Drusius, *Præterit*, lib. 3, upon this very place which Mr Hussey objecteth, saith that this form of speech, "King of kings, and Lord of lords," was taken from the Persians and Assyrians, who called a great king, King of kings, and lord of lords.

Thirdly, "The kingdom of Christ (saith Mr Hussey), is as ample as his prophecy; but the prophecy of Christ is extended to all nations, as may appear by the commission, 'Go teach all nations.'" But, 1. I throw back the argument. Christ's kingdom and his prophecy are commensurable; therefore, as his prophecy is not actually extended to all nations, except successively as the gospel cometh among them, so his kingdom, as he is Mediator, is extended no farther than the church, not to all nations. 2. His argument therefore is a miserable fallacy, a *dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. Christ's prophecy is extended to all nations successively, and when the gospel comes among them, therefore his kingdom is simply extended to all nations, and is not bounded within the church only."

Fourthly, He tells us, p. 17, "If kings may be called holy, if their offices may be accounted holy offices, or not sinful, they must be held of and under Christ."

Ans. If he mean holy, in opposition to civil, human, worldly, secular, I deny the office of kings to be holy; if he mean holy, in opposition to sinful, unlawful, unholy (as it seems he doth), then I confess the office of kings is lawful, not sinful, and themselves are holy when sanctified. But this proves not that they hold their office of and under Christ, more than carters or cobblers hold their office of and under Christ. I am far from making a parallel between the magistrate and these; but this I say, Mr Hussey's plea for the magistrate is no other than agreeth to these. And where he addeth out of Calvin, "Kings have place in the church and flock of Christ, and are not spoiled of their crown and sword, that they may be admitted into the church;" this, in reference to the conclusion he driveth at, is no more than if he had argued thus, "Carters and cobblers have place in the church and flock of Christ, and are not necessitated to quit their secular calling that they may be admitted into the church of Christ; therefore they hold their offices of and under Christ."

Fifthly, He argueth thus: "That office which Christ hath declared to be of God, and bounded and limited in his gospel, that office is held under Christ as Mediator; but the civil magistrate is so, Rom. xiii. 4."

Ans. 1. His proposition is most false, and will never be proved. 2. If this argument hold good, then the pagan magistrate

holds his office under Christ as Mediator (for of such magistrates then in being the Apostle meaneth, Rom xiii.); so that either he must recal what he saith here, or what he saith afterward, that the office of the pagan magistrate is sinful and unlawful. 3. By Mr Hussey's medium, one might prove that servants hold their office under Christ as Mediator, because he hath declared their office to be of God, and hath bounded and limited it in his gospel, Eph. vi. 5—8.

Sixthly, He saith they be the same persons that are under Christ and under the magistrate; and further, "Christ's ends and the king's ends are both one;" 1 Tim. ii. 2, "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty." Now, either the office of the Mediator's kingdom is superior, or inferior, or co-ordinate, in reference to the magistrate's office.

Ans. 1. Very often they are not the same persons that are under Christ and under the magistrate; for, 1 Cor. v. 11, 12, the Apostle distinguisheth those that were *within*, or those that were called brethren, from those that were *without*,—both were under the magistrate, both were not under Christ; and now the Jews, in divers places, are under the Christian magistrate, not under Christ. 2. The end of Christ's kingly office and the end of magistracy are so different, that to say they are the same, is to offer indignity and dishonour to Jesus Christ. Kings are indeed appointed that we may live under them a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty; but herein he hath answered himself, p. 29, "The civil magistrate may require of the people that they will attend upon the means, out of natural principles," *Deum esse et colendum*. Of the ends of magistracy I have spoken before, whither I remit him. The ends of Christ's kingly office are quite another thing; namely, to destroy all our soul's enemies,—Satan, the flesh, the wicked world, death; to put all his enemies under his feet; to send out his officers and ministers for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; to govern his people by his Word and Spirit, and to keep them by the power of God through faith unto salvation. 3. The comparison between Christ's kingly office as Mediator, and the magistrate's office, is neither to be drawn from superiority and inferiority, nor co-ordination; for they are *disparata*, and differ *toto genere*.

And now I shall proceed, for method's sake, to examine other four arguments from Scripture, upon which Mr Hussey (though he doth not join them to the former six) afterward layeth no small weight for upholding that opinion, that the magistrate holds his office of and under Christ, as he is Mediator.

The seventh argument, therefore, shall be that which he draweth from Matt. xxviii. 18, p. 25, whereunto I have two answers, according to two different applications of that text. When Christ said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," it may be understood either as he is Mediator, or as he is the Second Person in the blessed Trinity, the eternal Son of God. So, when the Ubiquitaries would prove from that place the real communication of divine omnipotence to the human nature of Christ, our divines answer, The text may be understood either of Christ's person, God-man, or as he is the natural Son of God. See Gomarus upon the place. Now, take the text either way, it proves not what Mr Hussey would. Let it be understood of Christ as God-man, and as Mediator (which is the most promising sense for him) yet it cannot prove that all power, without exception, and all government,—as well without as within the church, as well secular as ecclesiastical,—is put in Christ's hand as he is Mediator, and that the civil magistrate holds his office of and under Christ: but the sense must be, All power which belongs to the Mediator, and all authority which belongs to the gathering and governing of the church is given to me: for we must needs expound his meaning as himself hath taught us,¹ John xviii. 36; Luke xii. 14. We must not say that any such power is given to him, as himself denieth to be given to him, namely, civil power and magistracy. Wherefore Martin Bucer, in his *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 273, doth rightly refer these words, "All power is

¹ Greg. de Valentia. comment. in Thom. tom. 4, disp. 1, quest. 32, punct. 6.—*Si autem per omnem potestatem, secundo intelligamus ibi cum Hieronymo et Anselmo omnem potestatem necessariam quidem Christo ad gubernandam spiritualiter omnem ecclesiam, tum in cœlo, ubi est caput et rex angelorum; tum in terra, ubi sunt homines, quorum item est rex et caput: satis constat non inde sequi quod acceperit etiam potestatem politicam. Medina in tertiam partem, quest. 59, art. 4.—Dicendum quod omnis potestas et auctoritas tribuenda est Christo, si tamen decens sit ad officium redemptionis; at quod fuerit rex temporalis totius orbis minime decuit Christum, ob idque istam auctoritatem non accepit.*

given unto me in heaven and in earth," to the head *de Ecclesie Economia*, and makes this text parallel to John xx. 21—23, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you," &c.; "Whose soever sins ye remit," &c.; and to Matt. xvi. 19, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." And this is the *πᾶσα ἐξουσία* all authority or power in heaven and in earth, which is meant, Matt. xxviii. 18; which is further confirmed by the Syriac, which readeth thus, ver. 18, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: but as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" ver. 19, "Go, therefore, teach all nations." So restricting the sense to be in reference to the church only, and excluding civil government and magistracy, from which Christ had before excluded his apostles. Medina in *tertiam Partem*, quest. 59, art. 4, holds the same thing, that the context and cohesion of ver. 18, 19, proves the kingdom of Christ to be merely spiritual.

But, 2. The text will suffer yet a further restriction, namely, that all power in heaven and in earth is said to be given unto Jesus Christ, as he is the eternal Son of God; and that both in respect of the eternal generation by which the godhead, and so all divine properties (of which omnipotence is one) was from all eternity communicated from the Father to the Son, and in respect of the declaration or manifestation of him to be the Son of God with power, when God raised him from the dead. Mr Hussey saith he is astonished to hear that any thing should be given to Christ, as God. Where, first of all, I observe, how miserably he mangleth and maimeth my words, as in other places, so here. He citeth these words as mine, "That Christ, as he is eternal God, doth, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, reign over the kingdoms of the earth, &c., and this power was given," &c. It is not fair nor just dealing to change a man's words in a citation, especially when the change is material. Now here are divers changes in this passage. This one only I take notice of: I said not "As he is eternal God," but, "As he is the eternal Son of God;" and all along in that question, I spake of the Son of God, not *essentially*, but *personally*, as he is the Son of God, or Second Person in the Trinity; and so the godhead, and all the attributes

and properties thereof, are communicated to him from the Father by the eternal generation; and, as the Nicene Creed said, he is *Deus de Deo, Lumen de Lumine*: God of God, Light of Light. I ask, therefore, Mr Hussey, What do you mutter here? Speak it out. Do you hold that Jesus Christ is not only *ὁὐσιωδῶς* but *ἰποστατικῶς*, not only *essentially* but *personally* *ἀνρίθεος*, that he is not only *ex seipso Deus*, but *ex seipso Filius*? If this be the thing you hold, then you oppose me indeed; but so as you fall into a blasphemous heresy, that Christ, as he is the eternal Son of God, hath not all power in heaven and in earth, but only as he is Mediator, because that power is given to him; and nothing can be given to Christ, as the eternal Son of God, but only as he is Mediator, by your principles. But if your meaning be no more than this, that Christ considered *ὁὐσιωδῶς*, in respect of the very nature and essence of the godhead, is *ἀνρίθεος*, not God of God, but God of himself, and that so nothing can be said to be given to him; then why have you dealt so uncharitably as to suppose me to be herein opposite unto you, when I plainly spake of the eternal Son of God *ἰποστατικῶς*, in respect of the personality or relation of filiation, or as he is the eternal Son of God? in which sense I yet aver confidently, that all power in heaven and earth may be said to be given to Jesus Christ, as he is the eternal Son of God by eternal generation.

I added, that all power in heaven and earth may be said to be given to Christ, as he is the eternal Son of God, in another respect, namely, in respect of the declaration thereof at his resurrection. To this Mr Hussey replieth, "That to hold anything should be given him that should concern his godhead at the time of his resurrection, is more monstrous." Then hath Gomarus and others given a monstrous answer to the Ubiquitaries; yet they clear it by Augustine's rule, *Aliquid dicitur fieri quando incipit patefieri*. Is it any more strange than to say that Christ was begotten that day when he was raised from the dead? Acts xiii. 33. The Son of God had, in obedience to his Father's will, laid aside and relinquished his divine dominion and power when he took upon him the form of a servant (which I said before, but it seems was not considered by Mr Hussey); now, at his resurrection, the Father restoreth with advantage that formerly-relinquished sovereignty.

But he addeth, that if Matt. xxviii. 18, be not understood of Christ as Mediator, "then he had no authority as Mediator to send his apostles; for it followeth, 'Go ye therefore and preach.' From this authority here spoken of is the authority to preach the gospel."

Ans. Not to stand upon the want of the particle *hinc* therefore, in divers Greek copies, I admit of the cohesion and dependance of the words, thus: Christ being to give a commission to the apostles to go and preach the gospel to all nations, he first anticipateth a great objection, which might arise in the apostles' minds. They might think, How shall we be able to carry the gospel through the nations? We shall have all the powers of the world against us. To remove this fear, he said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." As if he had said, Do you believe that I who send you out, am the Son of the living God? then know assuredly, that my divine power and sovereignty shall be for you, and I will so overrule all the kings and potentates, and states of the world, as may be most for my glory and your good; fear not, therefore, but go and preach to all nations."

And so much of that text, Matt. xxviii. 18. Salmeron upon the place draws from it Christ's dominion even in temporal things (as Mr Hussey doth), and thence he deriveth the temporal power of the Pope as Christ's vicar over the kings and kingdoms of the world. So Suarez in *tertium partem Thomæ*, disp. 48, sect. 2; Gamacheus in *tertium partem Thomæ*, quest. 22; yet some of the Papists themselves are ashamed to defend Christ's dominion in temporal things (except as God only), it appearing to them so far contrary to other scriptures.

Bellarmino himself, lib. 5, *de Pont. Rom.* cap. 4, confesseth that Christ, as he did not execute any temporal dominion, so he neither had nor received such power and authority: thereupon he inferreth that the Pope, whom he calleth Christ's vicar and representee on earth, hath not any temporal dominion directly, but indirectly, and in *ordine ad spiritualia*. I appeal also to Salmeron, in another place, where he speaks more soundly, tom. 4, part 3, tract. 4, p. 413. He proves from John xviii. 36, and Luke xii. 14, that Christ had not nor received not any temporal power, and thence inferreth, *Cum ergo Christus hujusmodi potestatem non habuerit, nec Petro illam tradidit.*

The eighth argument shall be that which Mr Coleman did draw from 1 Cor. xii. 28, to prove that Christ hath placed in his church magistrates or civil governments. Hereunto I had made four answers. Mr Hussey passeth two of them, which he is pleased to esteem "trifles not worth answer." Now the Gamaliel speaks *à cathedra*. The other two he offereth to confute, p. 28—31. First, Whereas I said, that if by governments, in that place be understood civil magistrates, yet the text saith not that Christ hath placed them. "Then (saith Mr Hussey) *à fortiori* you disclaim by that means any government in this place as officers under Christ." No, Sir, this reasoning is *à baculo ad angulum*. I hold church officers and church government to be under Christ, and under him as Mediator and King of the church, and am ready to prove it against any that will deny it. But upon supposition that civil government is meant in that text (which I utterly deny), I had reason to call the affirmer to his proper task, to prove from that text, that Christ, as Mediator, hath placed civil government or magistracy in his church. This was the point it was brought for, and still I call to make good that proof, for I deny it. It seems Mr Hussey finds himself puzzled to make it out, and therefore he saith, "If Mr Coleman will be ruled by me, so as Mr Gillespie will not urge this for constitution of church governments, he shall let it go." But if it be a truth, Sir, you ought to buy it, and not sell it; for my part, I dare make no bargain of Scripture.

My next answer was, that "the Apostle speaks of such governors as the church had at that time; but at that time the church had no godly nor Christian magistrates." Mr Hussey answereth, that it cannot be proved "that the Apostle speaketh of such officers as were in the church in his time only." He addeth, "I shall urge some few arguments to the contrary." To the contrary of what? I did not say that the Apostle speaketh of such officers as were in the church in his time only; but that the church at that time had all those officers whom the Apostle speaketh of. One would think that he who censureth others so much for want of skill in disputations, should not so far mistake his mark. But we know what he would have said though he hath not hit it. Let us hear his arguments. First, he tells us that the word *eterno* will signify *proposuit* or *decrevit*, so that where we read, "God hath set in

the church," it may be read, "God hath appointed to his church," so to take in those governments which should afterward by God's appointment come to the church. He clears it by John xv. 16; Acts xix. 21. *Ans.* Then the Apostle saith no more to the Corinthians than might have been said to the old world before the flood; for if the meaning be that God hath ordained and purposed, all this text had been true, if delivered in *terminis terminantibus*, to the old world, "God hath set some in the church, first Apostles," &c. 2. The context sheweth that the Apostle speaketh only of such administrations as the church had at that time; for all this is spoken in reference to the preventing of a schism in the church of Corinth, and that every member of that body might discharge its own proper function without usurping another's. 3. He confuteth himself, for he addeth, "This cannot be a catalogue of such officers as are at all times necessary to the church, for then apostles might not be mentioned." Therefore it must be said, that *ἔθετο* in this place is *posuit* or *collocavit* (according to the more usual signification of *τίθημι*), and doth relate to that present time, as well as Acts xx. 28, "The Holy Ghost hath made or set you overseers," *ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους*. In like manner here *God hath set (or placed) in the church*, and so it will agree both to ordinary and extraordinary officers. But if *ἔθετο* be *decrevit*, then it will refer the apostles, prophets, evangelists, miracles, to the future estate of the church, as if they were ordinary officers to continue in the church. 4. When *ἔθετο* signifieth *decrevit*, then the thing is not mentioned as having an actual present existence, but a futurity; so that when he takes him to the *decrevit*, he quits the *posuit*, and by that means one cannot prove from that text that the church at that time had any of these officers there enumerated: *ἔθετο* relates to all that follows, and either it must be *posuit* to them all, or to none of them.

5. If he had intended to express God's decree or purpose to give unto his church certain officers, he would not have said *καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, and *God hath decreed some in the church*; which could make no perfect sense except some other thing were added. Mr Hussey might as well expound Acts v. 18, *ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ δεσμῶν*, thus, and *they decreed them in the common prison*. Mr Hussey would render the text thus, *he hath*

appointed to his church. If the text had said *ἔθετο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* he might have rendered it so, but when the text saith *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, he must not render it *to the church*, but *in the church*, as Acts xix. 21, *ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*, "Paul purposed in the Spirit:" the purpose was not *to* the Spirit, but *in* the Spirit.

The second argument whereby he impugneth that which I said is this: "At that time there were workers of miracles which did supply the defect of civil magistrates." And here he insisteth a while to tell us that "thus much a national covenant and civil magistrate may require of the people, that they will attend upon the means out of natural principles," which at that time miracles caused men to attend upon. But *quid hæc ad Rhombum?* How comes this home to that which he undertook to prove? And if it did, I must say that the civil magistrate is but little, and a national covenant far less beholden to him. And if the workers of miracles did at that time supply the defect of civil magistrates (I suppose he should have said Christian magistrates), then he must draw Christian magistracy to come in succession not so much to the civil magistracy in the apostles' times (which yet was true magistracy), as to the miracles mentioned in the text; and so bring in the Christian magistrate upon the ceasing of miracles. A fine plea indeed for Christian magistracy.

His third argument goeth thus, We have in the text first, second, and third, when the Apostle speaks of those which might be liable to present view; but then he breaks off with *ἔπειτα*, after that miracles, which lasted somewhat longer than the apostles and prophets; and last, we have *ἐλρα*, and these may be ordinary gifts, and this *ἐλρα* relates to helps, governments: That Calvin thinks the helps "were some officers the church hath lost; but being put both in one case without any conjunction copulative, why they may not (I believe he would have said, why may they not? for the sense can be no other) belong both to one thing, and this *ἐλρα* may not have some influence upon the times and after age." *Ans.* If this be his manner, we shall not much fear the dint of his arguments, when it comes to the schools, which he calls for. What a great matter is made of mere nothing? First, He offereth violence to the text; because if *ἐλρα* note posteriority of time, and ordinary gifts, then

ἔπειτα, which is compounded from *εἶτα*, must much rather note the same thing, and so we shall have not only gifts of healing, but miracles too, ordinary and continuing administrations in the church. Next, he offereth violence to the Greek language; for when *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα* signify posteriority, not only in the enumeration, but in the time of existence, then the one must needs signify a pre-existence, and the other a post-existence; they cannot be contemporary from their beginnings. Yet Mr Hussey will needs have *ἔπειτα* before miracles, and again *εἶτα* before gifts of healing and diversities of tongues, to signify posteriority of time, though he cannot say that gifts of healing and diversities of tongues were not contemporary but posterior in time to miracles. And further, observe, that when the text runs in this order, "first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing," &c., Mr Hussey will make the sense, that there were apostles before prophets, there were prophets before teachers, there were teachers before miracles, there were miracles before gifts of healings, &c.; and *vice versa*, there were no gifts of healing till after there had been miracles, no miracles till after there had been teachers in the church, &c.; even as Mark iv. 28, *πρῶτον* "first the blade, *εἶτα* then the ear, *εἶτα* after that the full corn in the ear:" the blade hath an existence before the ear, the ear before the full corn. So that, taking *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα* in his sense, he must either make out distinctly the order of time, or else confess he would make the Apostle speak as never Grecian in the world spake, or lastly, be content to understand the Apostle's words of the order of enumeration. If the word *μετέπειτα* had been in the text, that had indeed carried it to posteriority of time, as Heb. xii. 17; but *εἶτα* (though sometime it signifieth posteriority of time, yet) in this place, having reference to such antecedents and consequents, cannot bear his sense. I see it were no ill sport to examine his quaint arguments if a man had but so much leisure.

Thirdly, He offereth violence to Calvin; for Calvin saith,¹ that these helps mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 28, were either an ancient gift and office unknown to us now, or it belongs

to deaconship, that is, the care of the poor. And this second (saith he) rather pleaseth me. *Qua fide* then, could Mr Hussey affirm that Calvin thinks they were some officers that the church hath lost?

Fourthly, Whereas he thinks helps, governments, to belong both to one thing, there was some such thing once foisted into the English Bibles: *ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις*, was read thus, helps in governments: but afterwards the prelates themselves were ashamed of it, and so it was printed according to the Greek distinctly, *helps, governments*. The Syriac addeth a copulative, and readeth thus, *and helpers, and governors*, so making them distinct officers in the church. Neither is it any unusual thing in the Greek, to put together nouns in the same case without any conjunction copulative, when the things themselves so expressed are most different, as Matt. xv. 19; Gal. v. 19—23; Rom. i. 29—31.

The next thing he brings against me, is from Eph. iv. 11, where there is no ordinary or standing officer left to us, but the teacher of the Word. Here is neither help nor government, but this poor teacher left alone to edify the body of Christ, and to perfect the saints. *Ans.* What argument is there here? Ruling elders are not mentioned Eph. iv., therefore the governments mentioned 1 Cor. xii., are such as the church had not at that time. There are divers passages of Christ's doctrine, life, and sufferings, which are not mentioned by Matthew, yet they are mentioned by John or some of the other evangelists. So if we take the primitive platform right, we must set the whole before us; that which is not in one place is in another place. The Apostle, Eph. iv., intendeth only to speak of preaching officers who are appointed for this work of the ministry, to bring us to unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, that we be not carried about with every wind of doctrine, ver. 12—14. And if the Apostle had intended to enumerate all church officers in that place which were then in the church, how comes it he doth not mention deacons, which he distinguisheth from bishops or elders? 1 Tim. iii.

His last argument is, that in this very place, 1 Cor. xii., the Apostle, when he doth again enumerate the particulars, ver. 29, 30, he leaveth out *helps, governments*; for which, he saith, he knows no reason, but because there were none such at that time,

¹ Calvin in 1 Cor. xii. 28.—Aut certe tam munus quam domum olim fuit, quod nobis hodie est incognitum: aut ad diaconiam pertinere, hoc est curam pauperum. Atque hoc secundum mihi magis arridet.

and the Apostle in that induction was to deal with their experience. This (as many other things which he hath) was before answered to Mr Coleman. I give this plain reason for the omission of these two: The Apostle speaketh to those who were not well satisfied nor contented with their own station in the church, but were aspiring to more eminent gifts and administrations: "Are all apostles? (saith he), are all prophets?" &c., and so he reckoneth out only those rare and singular gifts, which men did most covet. And, for that cause, it was neither necessary, nor had it been agreeable to the scope of the Apostle to have added, "are all helps? are all governments?" But now he purposely leaveth out these, thereby intimating to the ruling elders and deacons of the church of Corinth, that they ought to be contented with their own station, though they be neither apostles, nor prophets, &c.

It remaineth, therefore, that the governments in the church, mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 28, were such governments as were in the church at that time, and therefore not to be understood of Christian magistracy, but of church government distinct from the civil.

The ninth argument brought to prove that all government is given to Christ as Mediator, and that the Christian magistrate holds his office of and under Christ, as the head of magistracy and principality, is from Eph. i. 21—23. This argument, first propounded by Mr Coleman, is prosecuted by Mr Hussey, p. 32, 33, &c. He demures upon that which I said, that this place maketh more against him than for him; the meaning whereof was no more than this, that this place doth rather afford us an argument against him than him against us. Come we to the particulars. My first reply was, "The Apostle saith not that Christ is given to the church, as the Head of all principalities and powers: the brother saith so; and in saying so, he makes Christ a Head to those that are not of his body." This exception Mr Hussey quarrelleth; but when he hath endeavoured to prove from that text, that Christ is the Head of principalities, because he that is Head of all things is also Head of principalities; though he will never be able to make it out from that text, that Christ (as Mediator) is Head of all things; but only, that he who is the church's Head is over all things: "and gave him to be the Head *over* (not *of*) all things to the church," saith the text, which, as I told be-

fore, the Syriac readeth more plainly thus: "And him who is over all, he gave to be the Head to the church." At last he fairly gives over the proof. "It is true (saith he), disputations do require men to keep close to terms, but in Col. ii. 10, ye have the very words, 'Head of all principality and power.'" In Col. ii. 10, Christ, as he is the eternal Son of God, is called Head of all principality and power, as we shall see anon; but Eph. i., where the Apostle speaketh of Christ's headship in reference to the church, and as Mediator, he is not called the Head of all principality and power; so that I had reason to except against Mr Coleman's argument, which made that text, Eph. i., to say what it saith not. Now, what saith he to the reason I added, can Christ be a Head to them that are not of his body? He tells me, the visible church is not the body of Christ, but only the faithful. He might have observed the visible church, consisting of visible saints, plainly spoken of as the body of Christ, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 14, 27. I know the visible church is not all one with the invisible and mystical body of Christ; but he who denieth the visible church to be the visible, political, ministerial body of Christ, must also deny the visible church to be the visible church; for if a church, then certainly the body of Christ, at least visibly.

The next thing which I did reply was in explanation of the text, which was to this sense: He that is the church's Head is over all, both as he is the Son of God, or, as the Apostle saith, Rom. ix. 5, "God over all, blessed for ever;" yea, even as man, he is over or above all creatures, being exalted to a higher degree of glory, majesty, and dignity, than man or angel ever was, or shall be; but neither his divine omnipotence, nor the height of glory and honour which, as man, he is exalted to, nor both these together in the Mediator and Head of the church, omnipotence and exaltation to glory, can prove that (as Mediator) he exerciseth his kingly office over all principalities and powers, and that they hold of and under him as Mediator. Mr Hussey replieth, that the text makes Christ over or above principalities and powers, not only in dignity and honour, but as King or Head of them; and that thus we must understand the comparison, that he is above principality in principality, power in power, might in might, dominion in dominion. This is nothing but a begging of

what is in question : that the power and dominion of the civil magistrate is eminently in Christ as Mediator, and from him (so considered) derived to the magistrate, is that which I deny can be proved from that text ; and, lo ! when he comes to the point of probation, he supposeth what he had to prove. My exposition of the text made good sense ; for as an earthly king is exalted to have more power and more glory than those not only of his subjects, but of another state or kingdom to whom he is not king, so the Mediator and King of the church is exalted to power and glory far above all principality and power, but is not therefore Head, or King, or Governor, to all principality and power as Mediator. And as my exposition makes good sense of the text, his makes very bad sense of it ; for if Christ, as Mediator, be Head and King of all principalities, powers, and dominions, then he is, as Mediator, Head and King of heathenish and Turkish principality, power, might, and dominion ; and, when the Apostle wrote this to the Ephesians, it must be granted (according to Mr Hussey's gloss) that Christ, as Mediator, was Head and King of the Roman emperor, and that Cæsar held his office of and under Christ as Mediator ; for if Head of all principality, how shall they except any ?

I further brought several reasons from the text itself. The first was this : "The honour and dignity of Jesus Christ there spoken of, hath place not only in this world, but in that which is to come (ver. 21) ; but the kingdom and government which is given to Christ, as Mediator, shall not continue in the world to come." Mr Hussey answereth, p. 41, this is *ignoratio elenchi*, it followeth not "that which belongeth to him in reference to the world to come, belongeth not to him as Mediator ; therefore that government that is given to him in reference to this world is not given to him as Mediator." But still he begs what is in question, and divideth asunder what the text coupleth together,—"not only in this world, but also in that which is to come." Here is a rising and heightening, but no contradistinction ; nothing here of one exaltation in reference to the world to come, another in reference to this world ; but that exaltation of Christ above every name that is named (which this text speaks of) begins in this world, and shall continue in the world to come. Calvin in Eph. i. 21, *Seculi autem futuri disertam facit mentionem, ut significet non tempora-*

lem esse Christi excellentiam, sed æternam. He makes express mention of the world to come, that he may signify Christ's excellency not to be temporal but eternal. This doth well agree to the dignity, excellency, glory, and honour of Christ, but it cannot be said that Christ shall for ever continue in his kingly office as Mediator.

The second reason which I brought from the text was from ver. 22, "He hath put all things under his feet ;" that is, all things except the church, saith Zanchius. But all things are not yet put under his feet, except in respect of God's decree ; it is not yet done actually, Heb. ii. 8. Now Christ reigns as Mediator before all things be put under his feet, not after all things are put under his feet, which is clear, 1 Cor. xv. 25 ; Acts ii. 34, 35. Mr Hussey's reply, p. 41, 42, saith, that the church is not here to be excepted ; but church and all is here put under Christ's feet ; which he proveth by Heb. ii. 8, "He left nothing that is not put under him." But this cannot be understood to be actually done ; for the next words say, "But now we see not yet all things put under him." And if not done actually, but in respect of God's decree and foreknowledge (according to the sense I gave out of Jerome on Eph. i. 22), how can it strengthen him in this particular ? "We see not yet." This *yet* shall not expire till the end, when Christ shall put down all authority and power ; and now, when it is said, "He hath put all things under his feet," Eph. i. 22, that the church is not meant to be comprehended, but to be excepted in that place, as Zanchius saith, may thus appear : The Apostle distinguisheth the *all things* from *the church*, and calls the church the body of Christ, and him the Head to that body ; but the *all things* are put under Christ's feet (his body is not under his feet, but under the Head, and he over all things ; for so runs the text, "And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the Head over all things to the church, which is his body.")

And whereas Mr Hussey distinguisheth between Christ's putting all his enemies under his feet, 1 Cor. xv. 25, and the Father's putting all things under his feet, ver. 27 ; and maketh this latter to be an actual putting under him of friends, foes, church, and all ; whence it seems he would have it to follow that Christ reigns as Mediator, even after all things are put under his feet. He is herein easily confuted from

Heb. ii. 8, where God the Father's putting all things under Christ's feet is plainly declared to be a thing to come, and not yet actually done.

The next reason which I gave out of the text was from those words, "And gave him to be the Head over all things to the church." Christ's Headship and his government, as Mediator, are commensurable. "Christ is a Head to none but to his church." These words of mine Mr Hussey changeth thus: "He is Head over none (saith Mr Gillespie) but his church;" and then he addeth, "Is this to argue out of Scripture, or rather to deny and outface the Scripture? The Scripture saith, 'He is over all.'" See what unconscionable impudent boldness this is to cite my words (yea, in a different character too, that his reader may believe it the better), and yet to change not only my words, but my meaning. I purposely kept myself to the text, that Christ is a Head to none but to his church, yet he that is the church's Head is over all things. And since Mr Hussey will needs hold that Christ, as Mediator, is Head of all things (which the text saith not), what were the consequence hereof? The text saith *ὑπὲρ πάντα* over all things, not over all persons only; so Heb. ii. 7, 8, compared with Psal. viii. 6, 7, whence it follows, by Mr Hussey's principles (which I tremble to mention), that Christ, as Mediator, is Head and King not only of men, but of sheep, oxen, fowls, and fishes. Behold how dangerous it is for men to be wise above that which is written.

The last reason which I brought from the last verse was this: The church is there called Christ's fulness in reference to his Headship. This, Mr Hussey saith, seemeth to come tolerably from the text; but the next words, "That which makes him full and complete, so far as he is a Head or King," he calls a fallacy. "How cometh this word King in here?" saith he. First, Here he yields that the church makes Christ full and complete, so far as he is a Head; whence it followeth that, as Mediator, he is only the church's Head, and there is no other body of Christ but the church; for if the church be his fulness, his complete body, there can be no other body of Christ. Doth not this destroy what he hath been arguing for, that Christ, as Mediator, is Head of all principality and power? And for the word King, it may well come in where Head com-

eth; for is not Christ's kingdom, as Mediator, commensurable with his Headship as Mediator? Is he, as Mediator, King to any to whom he is not Head? Surely this very answer, as it is his last, so it really yieldeth the cause.

The tenth objection is that which I myself moved to prevent my antagonists. Christ is called "the Head of all principality and power," Col. ii. 10.

To this I answered out of Bullinger, Gualther, and Tossanus, The scope and meaning of the Apostle is to show that Christ is true God, and therefore we must not understand the Apostle to speak of Christ's Headship as Mediator, but as he is the natural and eternal Son of God. Mr Hussey, p. 34, thinks it is no good consequence the Apostle speaks not of Christ as Mediator, because he speaks of him as true God, "Is not Christ (saith he) true God as Mediator?" I answer, As Mediator he is God-man. But he must remember the argument is urged to prove the subordination of all principality and power to Jesus Christ as Mediator. Now let him prove that the Apostle speaketh there of Christ as Mediator. I say he speaketh of Christ as God. He cannot conclude against what I said, except he argue thus: That which Christ is as God, he is as Mediator; which is false, as I have made it appear elsewhere. Well, but Mr Hussey proves from the text that Christ is there spoken of as Mediator, ver. 9, 18, "For in him dwelleth the fulness of the godhead bodily; and ye are complete in him, which is the Head of all principality and power." But he draweth no argument from the words: neither is there anything in them that maketh against me. The Apostle shows them, that the man Jesus Christ is also true God, equal and consubstantial with the Father; for the very fulness of the godhead is in him; that is, he is fully and completely God; so that, saith Calvin, they who desire something more than Christ, must desire something more than God. Wherefore our writers make the right use of this place when they bring it against the Socinians, to prove the godhead of Christ. See Chris. Becmanus, exercit. 9. This fulness of the godhead is in Christ bodily; that is, either *personally*, to distinguish him from the holy men of God, who were inspired by the Holy Ghost; or *substantially*, as others take the word, in opposition to the tabernacle and temple in which the godhead was *typically*. "Ye are complete in him," saith

the Apostle, meaning because he is completely God; so that we need not invoke or worship angels, as if we were not complete in Christ. Mr Hussey admitteth what I said concerning the scope of the place, to teach the Colossians not to worship angels, because servants: "But (saith he) may they not worship Christ as Mediator? Yes, doubtless, they may." No doubt he that is Mediator must be worshipped, because he is God; Christ God-man is the object of divine adoration, and his godhead is the cause of that adoration; but whether he is to be worshipped because he is Mediator, or under this formal consideration, as Mediator, and whether the Mediator ought to be therefore adored with divine adoration, because he is Mediator, is *res altioris indaginis*. If Mr Hussey please to read and consider what divers schoolmen have said upon that point, as Aquinas, part 3, quest. 25, art. 1, 2; Alex. Alensis, *Sum. Theol.* part 3, quest. 30, membr. 2; Suarez, in *tertium part. Thomæ*, disp. 53, sect. 1; Valentia, *Comment. in Tho.* tom. 4, disp. 1, quest. 24, punct. 1; Tannerus, *Theol. Scholast.* tom. 4, disp. 1, quest. 7, dub. 7. But much more if he please to read *Disputatio de Adoratione Christi, habita inter Faustum Socinum et Christianum Francken*; and above all, Dr Voetius *Select. Disput. ex Poster. part. Theol.*, disp. 14: *An Christus qua Mediator sit adorandus*? then I believe he will be more wary and cautious what he holds concerning that question. But I must not be led out of my way to multiply questions unnecessarily: All that I said was, that the Apostle teacheth the Colossians not to worship angels, because they are servants, but Christ the Son of the living God, who is the Head and Lord of angels; and in that place the Apostle speaketh of the honour which is due to Christ as God. And, if we would know in what sense the Apostle calls Christ the Head of all principality and power, see how he expounds himself, Col. i. 15—17, speaking of the godhead of Jesus Christ. Finally, If Mr Hussey will prove anything from Col. ii. 10, against us, he must prove that those words, "Which is the head of all principality and power," are meant in reference not only to the angels, but to civil magistrates; and next, that they are meant of Christ, not only as God, but as Mediator: both which he hath to prove, for they are not yet proved.

CHAPTER VII.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE OF THAT QUESTION FORMERLY PROPOUNDED.

My arguments against the derivation of magistracy from Jesus Christ as Mediator, and against the magistrate's holding of his office of and under Christ as Mediator, are these:—

First, This doctrine doth evacuate and nullify the civil authority and government of all heathen or pagan magistrates; for which way was the authority of government derived from Christ, and from him as Mediator, to a pagan magistrate or emperor? If he hath not his power from Christ, as Mediator, then he is but an usurper, and hath no just title to reign, according to their principles, who hold that all government, even civil, is given to Christ, and to him as Mediator. Mr Hussey, forsooth, doth learnedly yield the argument, and answereth, p. 20, that not only it is a sin to be a heathen, but the government of a heathen is sinful and unlawful; for which he gives this reason, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." He might as well conclude, in that sense, that the best virtues of the heathen were sin, because not of faith; that is, *accidentally* sin, in respect of the end, or manner of doing, not *materially*, or in their own nature. Upon the same reason he must conclude, that the government of a Christian magistrate is unlawful, if it be not of faith, as oftentimes it is not, through the blindness and corruption of men's hearts who govern. But whether is the government of a heathen magistrate *per se, simpliciter, et ex natura sua*, unlawful and sinful? Whether hath he any just right or title to government and magistracy? If his title to civil magistracy be just, and if his government be in itself materially and substantially lawful, then he must have a commission from Christ, and from him as Mediator. This I suppose cannot be Mr Hussey's sense, for he hath not answered one syllable to the argument, tending that way. But if the government of an heathen magistrate be in itself materially, substantially, and in the nature of the tenure, sinful and unlawful, so that, as long as he remains an heathen, he hath no real right or true title to government, but only a pretended and usurped title (which must needs be Mr Hussey's sense, if he hath answered anything

at all to my argument), then he goeth cross not only to the holy men of God in the Old Testament, who honoured heathen princes, and were subject to them as to lawful magistrates, but also to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, who taught his disciples to give unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's; and of the apostles, who, in their time, exhorted the churches to be subject even to heathen magistrates (for they had no other at that time), to obey them, to pray for them, Rom. xiii.; Titus iii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; 1 Peter ii. 13—17. It is justly condemned as one of the errors of the Anabaptists, that an heathen magistrate is not to be acknowledged as a lawful magistrate, or as being from God. See Gerhard, *Loc. Com.*, tom. 6, p. 498, 499; P. Hinkelmannus, *de Anabaptismo*, disp. 13, cap. 1. The Scriptures now cited are so clear, that when Mr Hussey saith of the heathen magistrate, "Let Baal plead for himself," he might as well have said, that Christ and his apostles pleaded for Baal. They that plead for the authority of an heathen magistrate do not plead for Baal, but for God, and for his ordinance; "For the powers that be are ordained of God," saith Paul, speaking even of the heathen magistrates, Rom. xiii. 1. But what will Mr Hussey say, if his great master Erastus be found a pleader for Baal as much as I am? *Confirm. Theſ.* lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 184, speaking of the heathen and unbelieving magistrates, before whom the Corinthians went to law one against another, he saith, *An non est impius quoque magistratus à Deo præpositus, ut subjectos quoslibet ab injura et vi tueatur?* Is not the ungodly magistrate also preferred by God, that he may defend any of his subjects from injury and violence. Yea, the Scriptures afore touched are so clear in this point, that Gamachæus, in *Primam Secundæ*, quest. 4, 5, cap. 33, though he hold that by human and ecclesiastical right, pagan princes lose their dominion and authority over their subjects when their subjects turn Christians, yet he acknowledgeth that they still retain their former jurisdiction over those subjects by the law of God and nature. Surely one might as well say, that heathen parents are unlawful, and heathen masters are unlawful, and heathen husbands are unlawful (all which were contrary to the word of God), as to say that heathen magistrates are unlawful. Take the instance in parents; for all lawful magistrates are fathers by the fifth commandment: Doth the paternity of a heathen father dif-

ferre specie from the paternity of a Christian father? are they not both lawful parents, being made such by God and nature? are not their children bound to honour them, and be subject to them, and obey them in things lawful? The paternity is the same *in se*, but different *modaliter*, that I may borrow a distinction from Mr Hussey. The Christian father is sanctified, and qualified to do service to Jesus Christ, as a father, in educating his children Christianly, which an heathen father cannot do. So the heathen magistrate and the Christian magistrate are both lawful magistrates, being made such by God and nature, or by election of people. They are both of them to be honoured, submitted unto, and obeyed; they are both of them the ministers of God for good to their people; their power is the same *in actu signato*, though not *in actu exercito*. The heathen magistrate may do, and ought to do, what the Christian magistrate doth; but the Christian magistrate is fitted, qualified, enabled, and sanctified to glorify and serve Jesus Christ, as a magistrate, which the heathen magistrate is not.

Secondly, They that hold the derivation of magistracy to be from Jesus Christ, and that it is held of and under him as Mediator, must either show from Scripture that Jesus Christ, as Mediator, hath given a commission of vicegerentship or deputyship to the Christian magistrate, or otherwise acknowledge, that they have given the most dangerous and deadly wound, even to Christian magistracy itself, which ever before it received. Mr Hussey, p. 20, answereth, "I conceive he (the Christian magistrate) hath a commission from Christ;" but when he should prove it (which my argument called for), here he is at a loss. He citeth Psal. lxxii. 11, "All kings shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him;" Isa. lx. 12, "That nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish." I hope indeed there is a time coming when all kings shall fall down before Jesus Christ, and all nations shall serve him, and that will make an end of the Erastian controversy: but, I pray, do all that serve Jesus Christ hold their office of and under Christ, as Mediator, and as his vicegerents? Then the poorest servant that fears God shall be a vicegerent of Jesus Christ, as Mediator, and shall have a commission from Christ to that effect; for every godly servant doth not serve his master only, but Christ, Eph. vi.

5—7. Again, if those who shall perish because they serve not Christ, be his deputies and vicegerents, then the wickedest persecutors in the world shall have a commission of vicegerentship from Jesus Christ. Well, let the Christian magistrate animadvert, whether these men have done any thank-worthy service to magistracy, who will needs have it to hold of and under Christ as Mediator, and by a commission of vicegerentship from him; and when they are put to it to produce that commission, they prove no more than agreeeth either to the meanest Christian, or to the wickedest persecutor. The ministry hath a clear undeniable commission from Christ, as Mediator (even our opposites themselves being judges), Matt. xvi. 19; xxviii. 19, 20; John xx. 21—23; 2 Cor. v. 19, 20; Eph. iv. 11, 12; Acts xx. 28; Tit. i. 5. I say therefore again, let them also show from Scripture a commission from Jesus Christ, constituting Christian magistrates to be his vicegerents, as he is Mediator, and to hold their office of and under him as Mediator; which if they cannot show, they have done a greater disservice to the Christian magistrate than they can easily repair or amend. We are sure the lawful magistrate (whether heathen or Christian) is God's vicegerent, and that is a safe holding of his office. But our opposites shall never prove, that any civil magistrate (though Christian and godly) is the vicegerent of Jesus Christ, as Mediator. And, in seeking to prove it, I am persuaded they shall but discover their own weakness, and shall also weaken the magistrate's authority more than they can strengthen it.

Thirdly, The Scripture intimateth this difference between ministry and magistracy,—that the work of the ministry and the administrations thereof are performed in the name of Jesus Christ, as Mediator and King of the church: the work of magistracy not so, except we add to the word of God. They who will do anything in the name of Jesus Christ, as Mediator, and cannot find any scripture which can warrant their so doing, are liars, and the truth is not in them. Now, let our opposites show (if they can) where they find, in Scripture, that the Christian magistrate is to rule in the name of Christ, to judge in the name of Christ, to make laws in the name of Christ, to make war or peace in the name of Christ, to punish evil doers with the temporal sword in the name of Christ. Of the ministry I

did show, that in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ we do assemble ourselves together, Matt. xviii. 20; in his name do we preach, Luke xxiv. 47; Acts iv. 17, 18; v. 28, 44; ix. 27; in his name do we baptize, Acts ii. 38; viii. 16; xix. 5; in his name do we excommunicate, 1 Cor. v. 5. These my proofs from Scripture, Mr Hussey, p. 21, professeth he will examine according to laws of disputation. I know none transgresseth those laws more than himself, and even in this very place, where he professeth to keep close to laws of disputation, my first proof, from Matt. xviii. 20, he quarrell-eth upon a mere mistake of his own. He saith I brought it to prove the institution of church officers, and that to prove it, I do not appropriate the meeting in the name of Christ to church officers; and thereupon he tells us the text saith not, that none shall gather together in my name but church officers. Are these Mr Hussey's laws of disputation? He had need to be a better disputer who calls others to school. I did not speak here of the institution of church officers, and far less did I exclude all others from meeting in the name of Christ. Church officers assemble in the name of Christ with the church, and when they assemble in the name of Christ apart, and without the multitude, will it follow, that because they meet in the name of Christ, therefore none but they meet in the name of Christ? Well, let Mr Hussey try all his logic in this consequence, it will not do. The sixth General Council, act. 17, apply unto their own oecumenical assembly that promise of Christ, Matt. xviii. 20, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," &c. Protestant writers, both in their commentaries and polemic writings, do usually apply the same text to synods and councils; for instance, Calvin, *Instit.* lib. 4, cap. 9, sec. 1, 2, holds that the authority of councils dependeth upon that promise of Christ, "Where two or three are met together in my name," &c. That which went before, carries it to assemblies for acts of discipline, as being principally intended in that place. The promise, ver. 20, is general, belonging to all church assemblies; yet in that place it is applied to assemblies of church officers for discipline. But neither need I go so far in this present argument; for when church officers meet with the church for the word, sacraments, and other parts of worship, this is in the name of Jesus Christ, without all con-

troversy, and this is enough to justify all that I brought that text for ; especially there being herein a difference between sacred and civil assemblies. There is no such promise made to magistrate's courts of justice, as to church assemblies. That which he citeth out of Dr Whittaker and Bishop Mortoun makes nothing against me, neither doth he quote the places, peradventure because he found something in those passages which made against him. Whittaker's sense is plainly of sacred, and not of civil assemblies. And for that so much controverted text, Matt. xviii. 17, "tell the church," Whittaker expoundeth it, as we do, against the Erastians, "tell the pastors and rulers of the church." Whittaker, *de Eccles.* quest. 1, cap. 2. *Dic Ecclesiaz, hoc est Pastoribus et Præfectis Ecclesiaz.*

As for preaching, Mr Hussey saith, it is out of question that we preach in the name of Christ. Well, then, let him show such another thing of the magistrate as is, without controversy, done by him in the name of Christ.

But where I added, that in the name of Jesus Christ we baptize, though I said no more than the Scripture saith, yet he is pleased to object against me. "These places he citeth (saith he) to prove that we may baptize in the name of Jesus, as exclusively to Father and Holy Ghost (leaving out the words of the commission, Matt. xxviii., Baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost); for so the state of his question doth require; for he distinguisheth acutely and accurately between Christ as Mediator and Second Person (he should have said *as Second Person*) in Trinity, in all this argument." And so he concludes that which I had said to be "contrary to the words of the commission and the practice of all churches." What doth he drive at? I cited plain texts to prove that baptism is administered in the name of Christ. Either Mr Hussey denieth that this is done in the name of Christ as Mediator, or he denieth it not. If he deny it, let him speak it out, and he shall not want an answer: meanwhile let him remember that himself, p. 25, saith, that Christ, as Mediator, did give that commission to the apostles, "Go, preach and baptize." If he deny it not, then let him give the like instance for magistracy and civil government, to prove it to be managed in the name of Jesus Christ as Mediator, else he must not plead that magistracy is of the same tenure from Christ as

the ministry. Again, either he admitteth a distinction between Christ as Mediator, and as Second Person in Trinity, or not. If he do not, he will infallibly wind himself into a gross heresy; as, namely, these two: He must deny that principle which, according to the word of God, all orthodox divines hold against the Arians and Antitrinitarians, that Christ, as Mediator, is subordinate unto, and lesser than the Father; but as Second Person in the Trinity, he is not subordinate unto, nor lesser than the Father, nor the Father greater than he, but as such he is equal with the Father in greatness, glory, and honour.¹ 2. As *opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*, he must also hold, that whatsoever Christ, as Mediator, doth, that also the Father and the Holy Ghost doth: but Christ, as Mediator, did humble himself to the death, offer himself in a sacrifice for sin, maketh intercession for us; therefore, he must conclude the Father doth the same. But if he do admit the distinction as Mediator, and as Second Person in Trinity, then why doth he so often quarrel it? And in this very place his argument must drive against that distinction, or against nothing. But how doth the baptizing in the name of Christ, as Mediator, agree with the commission to baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Though this belong not to my argument, yet I will, by the way, speak to it. First, I say, the question is of things or actions not of words. Mr Hussey (it seems) did apprehend my meaning, as if I had intended an expression to be made in the act of baptizing, thus,—“I baptize thee in the name of Jesus Christ.” But I speak of the action, not of the expression, even as in the other instance I gave: our assembling together is in the name of Christ, though we do not say *in terminis*, “We are now assembled in the name of Christ.” In baptism Christ doth not command us to say either these words, “I baptize thee in the name of Christ;” or these, “I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:” but we are commanded to do the thing, both in the name of Christ, as Mediator, and in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but in different respects. A minister of Christ doth both preach and baptize in the name of Christ, as Mediator; that is, *vice Christi*,

¹ Synop. pur. Theol., disp. 26, thes. 29.—Tametsi ob istam mediationem filius Dei minor sit Patre, non propterea ipso minor est quoad Deitatem.

in Christ's stead, and having authority for that effect from Christ, as Mediator; for Christ, as Mediator, gave us our commission to preach and baptize, by Mr Hussey's confession. So that to preach and baptize ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (which we find both of preaching, Luke xxiv. 47, and of baptizing, Acts ii. 38), comprehendeth a formal commission, power and authority, given and derived from Christ. I say not that it comprehendeth no more, but this it doth comprehend. But when Christ biddeth us baptize *eis* τὸ ὄνομα *unto*, or *into*, or *in the name* of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Matt. xxviii. 19, this doth relate to the end and effect of baptism, or the good of the baptized (if we understand the words properly), not the authority of the baptizer, as if a formal commission were there given him from the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So that to baptize one *in* or *unto* the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is properly meant both of sealing the parties' right and title to the enjoyment of God himself, as their God by covenant, and their interest in the love of God, the grace of Christ, and the communion of the Holy Ghost; and of dedicating the party to the knowledge, profession, faith, love, and obedience of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

I return. The next branch of my argument was, that we excommunicate in the name of Christ, 1 Cor. v. 5. Mr Hussey, p. 22, saith, I make great haste here. "Deliver to Satan (saith he) is not to excommunicate, &c. But grant that it were excommunication, &c., the decree was Paul's and not the Corinthians'." What is meant by delivering to Satan, belongs to another debate. Call it an apostolical act, or call it an ecclesiastical act, or both, yet it was done in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; the like whereof we find not in Scripture of any act of the civil magistrate. Why doth he not attend to the drift of the argument? And as to his exceptions, they are no other than prelates, Papists, and Socinians have made before him, and which are answered long ago.¹ That the Apostle commandeth to excommunicate the incestuous man is acknow-

ledged by Mr Prynne. That he who is excommunicated may be truly said to be delivered to Satan, is undeniable; for he that is cast out of the church, whose sins are retained, on whom the kingdom of heaven is shut and locked, whom neither Christ nor his church doth own, is delivered to Satan, who reigns without the church. That this censure or punishment of excommunication was a church act, and not an apostolical act only, may thus appear:—1. The Apostle blameth the Corinthians that it was not sooner done; he would not have blamed them that a miracle was not wrought. 2. He writeth to them to do it when they were gathered together; not to declare or witness what the Apostle had done, but to join with him in the authoritative doing of it, ver. 4, 5. Again he saith to them, ver. 7, "Purge out therefore the old leaven;" ver. 12, "Do not ye judge them that are within?" ver. 13, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person." 3. It was "a censure inflicted by many," 2 Cor. ii. 6; not by the Apostle alone, but *by many*. 4. The Apostle doth not absolve the man, but writeth to them to forgive him, 2 Cor. ii. 7. Lastly, The Syriac maketh for us, which runneth thus,—ver. 4, "That in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, you may all be gathered together, and I with you in the Spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ," ver. 5, "That you may deliver him to Satan," &c.

But now, at last, Mr Hussey comes home, and gives this answer to my third argument, "A thing may be said to be done in the name of Christ or of God, when men do anything in confidence that God will assist us: so Psal. xx. 5, 'In the name of our God will we set up our banners,' in confidence God will assist us. Thus, I hope, the parliament and other Christians may undertake the business in the name of Christ," &c. Secondly, "In the name of Christ a thing is said to be done, that is done in the authority, room, and place of Christ," &c. So he, p. 24, seeking a knot in the rush. In the first part of his distinction, he saith nothing to my argument, neither saith he any more of the parliament than agreeth to all Christians, the poorest and meanest; for every Christian servant, every Christian artificer, is bound to do whatsoever he doth, in the name of Christ, Col. iii. 17. But what is that to the argument? Come to the other member of his distinction. The ministers of Christ do act in the name of Christ; that is, in the

¹ Synops. pur. Theol. disp. 42, corol. 4.—An Apostolus Paulus cum hominem incestuosum Satanæ traderet, quicquam peculiare habuerit? Nos contra Socinianos Apostolum Paulum non ex jure sibi peculiari, sed sibi cum omnibus ecclesiæ presbyteris communem, incestuosum illum Satanæ tradidisse, colligimus ex 1 Cor. v. 4; Matt. xviii. 17, 18.

authority, room, and place of Christ: We are ambassadors for Christ, and we preach in Christ's stead, 2 Cor. v. 20. This he doth not nor cannot deny (which makes good my argument). Why did he not show us the like concerning magistracy? I suppose he would, if he could: this is the very point which he had to speak to, but hath not done it.

My fourth argument against the magistrate's holding of his office of, and under, and for Christ; that is, in Christ's room and stead as Mediator, shall be that which was drawn from Luke xii. 14. The Jews were of the same opinion, which Mr Coleman and Mr Hussey have followed, namely, that civil government should be put in the hands of Christ, which they collected from Jer. xxiii. 5, "He shall execute justice and judgment in the earth;" and such other prophecies, by them misunderstood. And hence it was that one said to Christ, "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me." Our Lord's answer was, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you." Whatsoever act of authority is done by a deputy or vicegerent, as representing his master and sovereign, may be done by the king himself when personally present. If, therefore, the magistrate judge civil causes, and divide inheritances, as the vicegerent of Christ, and of Christ as Mediator, then Christ himself, when present in the days of his flesh, had power, as Mediator, to judge such causes. But this Christ himself plainly denieth. Let us hear Mr Hussey's answer, p. 24 (it is the very same with that which Azorius, *Instit. Mor.*, part 2, lib. 4, cap. 19, pleading for the Pope's temporal dominion, answereth concerning the point now in hand), "It doth not follow that because Christ was not a judge *actu exercito*, therefore the original right of government was not in him. And this objection may be answered thus: Christ doth not say he was not a judge, but, Who made me a judge? How dost thou know that I am judge? And thus Christ, in the time of his humiliation, did often hide the manifestation of his power."¹ What

greater violence could be offered to the text? For the verb *κατέστησε*, *constituit*, is purposely used to deny the power or right, as well as the exercise, and proveth that he was not a judge *actu signato*, having no such power nor authority given him. It is the same phrase which is used, Acts vii. 35, *τίς σε κατέστησεν*, "Who made thee a ruler and a judge?" Moses was then beginning to do the part of a ruler and a judge *actu exercito*; but they refuse him as having no warrant, power, nor authority. Acts vi. 3, the apostles bid choose seven deacons, *οὓς καταστήσομεν*, "whom we may appoint," say they, "over this business." Tit. i. 5, *καταστήσεις κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους*, "and ordain elders in every city." Yet neither can that of the deacons, nor this of the elders, be understood otherwise than of the right, power, and authority given them. See the like, Heb. vii. 28; Luke xii. 42; Matt. xxiv. 47. The scope therefore of Christ's answer was this (as Aretius upon the place), *Non debeo aliena munia invadere*, I ought not to invade such offices as belong to others, not to me.

Some of the Jesuits (as forward as they are to defend the temporal power of the Pope as Christ's vicar on earth, yet) cannot shut their eyes against the light of this text, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" but they are forced to acknowledge that Christ denies that he had any right or authority to be a civil judge; for how can he who is authorised to be a judge say, "Who made me a judge?"¹

The fifth argument I take from John xviii. 36, "My kingdom is not of this world." The great jealousy and fear which both Herod and Pilate had of Christ was, that they understood he was a king. Christ

solum erudimur, quod sic proprium et legitimum officium Christi in hoc externo mundo, verum etiam admonemur exemplo Christi, ne quis alienam vocationem illegitime invadat. Jo. Winckelmannus in Luke xii. 14.—Negat se esse politicum judicem herciscundæ familie, sicut nec adulterum damnat, John viii. Ostendit enim esse discrimen inter politicum magistratum, et munus ecclesiasticum.

¹ Greg. de Valentia comment. Theol. tom. 4, disp. 1, quæst. 22, punct. 6, Homo, quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem inter vos?—Quasi diceret: Nemo plane, neque homo, et multo minus Deus. Si enim a Deo habuisset Dominium jurisdictionis politiciæ, multo verius fuisset constitutus judex politiciæ, quam si eam jurisdictionem habuisset ab homine. Et tamen negat omnino se fuisse talem judicem constitutum. Unde per hoc quod addit, Quis me constituit judicem? etc. Eum remisit ad alium qui haberet eam potestatem, qua ipse careret. See the like in Bellarmine de Pontif. lib. 5, cap. 4.

¹ Jo. Brentinus Hom. in Luc. tom. 1, hom. 106.—Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem super vos? hoc est, alia est civilis magistratus vocatio, alia mea vocatio. Ad illum pertinet ut dijudicet controversias de hæreditatibus, et id genus aliis rebus. Ad me autem pertinet ut doceam evangelion de remissione peccatorum, et vita æterna. Ut igitur nollem quod magistratus meum officium temere usurparet, ita et mea interest, ne temere usurpem mihi vocationem magistratus. Observanda doctrina, qua non

clears himself in this point: his kingdom was such as they needed not be afraid of; for though it be "in the world," it is not "of the world;" though it be *here*, it is not *from hence*: it is heterogeneous to temporal monarchy and civil government. Mr Hussey, p. 24, tells us, he knows not how those governments that should be executed by church officers, should savour less of the world than the civil government. For this I remit him to those many and great differences which I have shown between the civil and the ecclesiastical power. In the meanwhile, my argument stands in force; for if all civil government were put in Christ's hand, as he is Mediator, and he to depute and substitute others whom he will under him, then what is there in that answer of his to Pilate which could convincingly answer those mistakes and misapprehensions of the nature of his kingdom? That which is now taught by Mr Hussey is the very thing which Herod and Pilate were afraid of; but Christ denieth that which they were afraid of, and ver. 36 is an answer to the question asked, ver. 33, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" "My kingdom is not of this world," saith he. To the same sense (as Grotius upon the place noteth out of Eusebius) Christ's kinsmen, when they were asked concerning his kingdom, did answer to Domitian, that his kingdom was not worldly but heavenly.¹

Sixthly, I prove the point from Luke xvii. 20, 21, "And when he was demanded of the Pharisees when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them, and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." By the kingdom of God is meant, in this place, the kingdom of the Messiah, as interpreters do unanimously agree. Both John Baptist and Christ himself had preached that the kingdom of God was at hand; and the Jews themselves were in expectation of the Messiah to make them free from the Roman yoke, and to restore a temporal or earthly monarchy to Israel. Hereupon they ask when this kingdom should come. His answer is, "The kingdom of God cometh not μετὰ παραρηγήσεως, with observation," or "outward show and pomp;" but

it is within you, it is spiritual, it belongs to the inward man. But if the magistrate be Christ's vicegerent, and hold his office of and under Christ as Mediator; and if Christ, as Mediator, reign in, through, and by the magistrate, then the kingdom of the Messiah doth come with observation and pomp, with a crown, a sceptre, a sword, and μετὰ πολλῆς Φαυραίας, with princely splendour, riches, triumph, such as the Pharisees then, and the Jews now, do expect; which, saith Grotius, is the thing that Christ here denieth; for all the outward pomp, observation, splendour, majesty, power, and authority, which a vicegerent hath, doth principally redound unto his master and sovereign; so that, by our opposites' principles, the kingdom of Christ must come with observation, because the dominion of the magistrate (whom they hold to be his vicegerent) cometh with observation.

Seventhly, That government and authority which hath a foundation in the law of nature and nations (yea, might and should have had place and been of use, though man had not sinned) cannot be held of, and under, and managed for Christ, as he is Mediator. But magistracy or civil government hath a foundation in the law of nature and nations (yea, might and should have had place, and been of use, though man had not sinned); therefore, the reason of the proposition is because the law of nature and nations, and the law which was written in man's heart, in his first creation, doth not flow from Christ as Mediator, but from God as Creator. Neither can it be said that Christ, as Mediator, ruleth and governeth all nations by the law of nature and nations, or that Christ should have reigned as Mediator though man had not sinned. The assumption is proved by Gerhard, *Loc. Com.*, tom. 6, p. 459, 460, 474. In the state of innocency there had been no such use of magistracy as now there is; for there had been no evil-doers to be punished, no unruly persons to be restrained, yet, as the wife had been subject to the husband, and the son to the father, so, no doubt, there had been an union of divers families under one head, man being naturally ζῶν πολιτικόν, as Aristotle calls him. He is for society and policy, and how can it be imagined that mankind, multiplying upon the earth, should have been without headship, superiority, order, society, government? And what wonder that the law of nature teach all nations some government?

¹ Ὡς ἡ αὐτοῦ βασιλεία οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει.

Jerome observeth, that nature guideth the very reasonless creatures to a kind of magistracy.¹

Eighthly, If the Scripture hold forth the same derivation or origination of magistracy in the Christian magistrate and in the heathen magistrate, then it is not safe to us to hold that the Christian magistrate holds his office of and under Christ as Mediator; but the Scripture doth hold forth the same derivation or origination of magistracy in the Christian magistrate and in the heathen magistrate; therefore the proposition hath this reason for it, because the heathen magistrate doth not hold his office of and under Christ as Mediator. Neither doth Mr Hussey herein contradict me, only he holds the heathen magistrate and his government to be unlawful, wherein he is anabaptistical, and is confuted by my first argument. As for the assumption, it is proved from divers scriptures, and namely these, Rom. xiii. 1, "The powers that be are ordained of God," which is spoken of heathen magistrates; Dan. ii. 37, "Thou, O King, art a King of kings; for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory;" so saith Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar, an idolatrous and heathen king. See the like, Jer. xxvii. 6; Isa. xlv. 1. God sent his servant the prophet to anoint Hazael king over Syria, 1 Kings xix. 15. Read to this purpose Augustine, *de Civit. Dei*, lib. 5, cap. 21, where he saith, that the same God gave a kingdom and authority both to the Romans, Assyrians, Persians, Hebrews; and that he who gave the kingdom to the best emperors, gave it also to the worst emperors; yea, he that gave it to Constantine a Christian, did also give it, saith he, to Julian the apostate.² Tertulian, *Apol.*, cap. 30, speaking of the heathen emperors of that time, saith, that they were from God, *a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes*: that he who had made them men, did also make them emperors, and give them their power. *Ibid.*, cap. 33, *Ut merito dixerim noster est magister Cæsar, ut a nostra Deo constitutus*: So that I may justly say, Cæsar is rather

ours, as being placed by our 'God, saith he, speaking to the pagans in the behalf of Christians; wherefore, though there be huge and vast differences between the Christian magistrate and the heathen magistrate, the former excelling the latter as much as light doth darkness, yet, in this point of the derivation and tenure of magistracy, they both are equally interested, and the Scripture sheweth no difference as to that point.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE POWER AND PRIVILEGE OF THE MAGISTRATE IN THINGS AND CAUSES ECCLESIASTICAL; WHAT IT IS NOT, AND WHAT IT IS.

The new notion that the Christian magistrate is a church officer, and magistracy an ecclesiastical as well as a civil administration, calls to mind that of the wise man, "Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time, which was before us." Plato, in his *Politicus* (a little after the middle of that book), tells me, that the kings of Egypt were also priests, and that, in many cities of the Grecians, the supreme magistrate had the administration of the holy things. Notwithstanding, even in this particular there still appeareth some new thing under the sun. For Plato tells me again, epist. 8, that those supreme magistrates who were priests, might not be present, nor join in criminal nor capital judgments, lest they (being priests) should be defiled. If you look after some other precedent for the union of civil and ecclesiastical government, secular and spiritual administrations in one and the same person or persons, perhaps it were not hard to find such precedents as our opposites will be ashamed to own.

I am sure heathens themselves have known the difference between the office of priests and the office of magistrates. Aristotle, *de Repub.*, lib. 4, cap. 15, speaking of priests, saith, *τοῦτο γὰρ ἔρερον τὴν κατὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς*: For this is another thing than civil magistrates. He had said before, *πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἡ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία δεῖται*: For a civil society hath need of many rulers, but every *ἐπιστάτης* who is made by election or lot, is not a civil magistrate; and the first instance he giveth is that of the priests; and so Aristotle would

¹ Hier. Rustico Monacho.—Etiam muta animalia et ferarum greges ductores sequuntur suos. In apibus principes sunt.

² Qui Mario, ipse Caio Cæsari: qui Augusto, ipse et Neroni; qui Vespasianis vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus, ipse et Domitiano crudelissimo. Et ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano, ipse apostatæ Juliano.

have the priest to be *ἐπιστάτης* a ruler, but not a civil magistrate. So, *de Repub.*, lib. 7, cap. 8, he distinguisheth between the priests and the judges in a city.

But to the matter. I will here endeavour to make these two things appear: 1. That no administration, formally and properly ecclesiastical (and, namely, the dispensing of church censures), doth belong unto the magistrate, nor may (according to the word of God) be assumed and exercised by him. 2. That Christ hath not made the magistrate head of the church, to receive appeals (properly so called) from all ecclesiastical assemblies. Touching the first of these, it is no other than is held forth in the Irish Articles of Faith (famous among orthodox and learned men in these kingdoms), which do plainly exclude the magistrate from the administration of the word and sacraments, and from the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. It is the unhappiness of this time, that this and other truths, formerly out-of-controversy, should be so much stuck at and doubted of by some.

Now, that the corrective part of church government, or the censure of scandalous persons, in reference to the purging of the church and keeping pure of the ordinances, is no part of the magistrate's office, but is a distinct charge belonging of right to ministers and elders; as it may fully appear by the arguments brought afterwards to prove a government in the church distinct from magistracy (which arguments will necessarily carry the power of church censures, and the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, into other hands than the magistrate's); so I shall here strengthen it by these confirmations:—

First, Church censures must needs be dispensed by ministers and elders, because they are heterogeneous to magistracy: For, first, The magistrate by the power which is in his hand, ought to punish any of his subjects that do evil, and he ought to punish like sins with like punishments. But if the power of church censures be in the magistrate's hands, he cannot walk by that rule; for church censures are only for church members, not for all subjects; 1 Cor. v. 10, 12. Secondly, Church censures are to be executed in the name of Christ, Matt. xviii. 20, with ver. 17, 18; 1 Cor. v. 4; and this cannot be done in his name, by any other but such as have commission from him to bind and loose, forgive and retain sins. But where

is any such commission given to the civil magistrate, Christian more than heathen? Thirdly, Church censures are for impenitent, contumacious offenders; but the magistrate doth and must punish offenders (when the course of justice and law so requireth), whether they appear penitent or impenitent. Fourthly, The magistrate's power of punishing offenders is bounded by the law of the land. What then shall become of such scandals as are not crimes punishable by the law of the land? such as obscene rotten talking, adulterous and vile behaviour, or the most scandalous conversing and companying together (though the crime of adultery cannot be proved by witnesses), living in known malice and envy, refusing to be reconciled, and thereupon lying off (it may be for a long time) from the sacrament, and the like, which are not proper to be taken notice of by the civil judge. So that, in this case, either there must be church censures and discipline exercised by church officers, or the magistrate must go beyond his limits. Or, lastly, Scandals shall spread in the church, and no remedy against them. Far be it from the thoughts of Christian magistrates, that scandals of this kind shall be tolerated, to the dishonour of God, the laying of the stumbling-blocks of bad examples before others, and to the violation and pollution of the ordinances of Jesus Christ, who hath commanded to keep his ordinances pure.

A second argument may be this, In the Old Testament God did not command the magistrates, but the priests, to put a difference betwixt the profane and the holy, the unclean and the clean; Lev. x. 10; Ezek. xxii. 26; Ezek. xlv. 23, 24; Deut. xxi. 5; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, 19. And, in the New Testament, the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given to the ministers of the church: Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18; John xx. 23, but no where to the civil magistrate. It belongeth to church officers to censure false doctrine, Rev. ii. 2, 14, 15; to decide controversies, Acts xvi. 4; and to examine and censure scandals, Ezek. xlv. 23, 24, which is a prophecy concerning the ministry of the New Testament; and elders judge an elder, 1 Tim. v. 19, or any other church member, 1 Cor. v. 12.

Thirdly, The Scripture holdeth forth the civil and ecclesiastical power as most distinct; insomuch that it condemneth the spiritualising of the civil power, as well as the secu-

larising of the ecclesiastical power ; state papacy, as well as papal state. Church officers may not take the civil sword, nor judge civil causes, Luke xii. 13, 14; xxii. 25; Matt. xxvi. 52 ; 2 Cor. x. 4 ; 2 Tim. ii. 4. So Uzzah might not touch the ark ; nor Saul offer burnt-offerings ; nor Uzziah burn incense. I wish we may not have cause to revive the proverb which was used in Ambrose's time : "That emperors did more covet the priesthood than the priests did covet the empire." Shall it be a sin to church officers to exercise any act of civil government, and shall it be no sin to the civil magistrate to engross the whole and sole power of church government ? Are not the two powers formally and specifically distinct ? Of which before, chap. 4.

It is to be well noted, that Maccovius and Vedelius, who ascribe a sort of papal power to the civil magistrate, to the great scandal of the reformed church, do notwithstanding acknowledge that Christ hath appointed church discipline and censures, and the same to be dispensed by church officers only ; and that the magistrate, as he may not preach the word and administer the sacraments, so he may not exercise church discipline, nor inflict spiritual censures, such as excommunication. Though Erastus, p. 175, hath not spared to say, that the magistrate may, in the New Testament (though he might not in the old), exercise the ministerial function, if he can have so much leisure from his other employments.

Fourthly, The power of church discipline is intrinsic to the church ; that is, both they who censure, and they who are censured, must be of the church, 1 Cor. v. 12, 13 ; they must be of one and the same corporation ; the one must not be in the body, and the other out of the body. But if this power were in the magistrate, it were extrinsic to the church ; for the magistrate, *quatenus* a magistrate, is not so much as a church member ; far less can the magistrate, as magistrate, have jurisdiction over church members, as church members ; even as the minister, as minister, is not a member of the commonwealth or state, far less can he, as minister, exercise jurisdiction over the subjects, as subjects.

The Christian magistrate in England is not a member of the church as a magistrate, but as a Christian ; and the minister of Jesus Christ in England, is not subject to the magistrate as he is a minister of Christ,

but as he is a member of the commonwealth of England. He was both a learned man and a great royalist in Scotland, who held that all kings, infidel as well as Christian, have equal authority and jurisdiction in the church, though all be not alike qualified or able to exercise it. John Weymes, *de Reg. primat.*, p. 123. Let our opposites loose this knot among themselves ; for they are not of one opinion about it.

Fifthly, Church officers might, and did freely, and by themselves, dispense church censures, under pagan and unbelieving magistrates, as is by all confessed. Now the church ought not to be in a worse condition under the Christian magistrate than under an infidel ; for the power of the Christian magistrate is *cumulative*, not *privative* to the church ; he is a nursing-father, Isa. xlix. 23, not a step-father. He is keeper, defender and guardian of both tables, but neither judge nor interpreter of Scripture.

Sixthly, I shall shut up this argumentation with a convincing *dilemma*. The assemblies of church officers being to exercise discipline, and censure offences (which is supposed, and must be granted in regard of the ordinances of parliament), either they have power to do this *jure proprio*, and *virtute officii*, or only *jure devoluto*, and *virtute delegationis*, such authority being derived from the magistrate. If the former, I have what I would ; if the latter, then it followeth, 1. That where presbyteries and synods do exercise spiritual jurisdiction, not by any power derived from, or dependent upon, the civil magistrate, but in the name and authority of Jesus Christ, and by the power received from him, as in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, &c., there all ecclesiastical censures, such as deposition of ministers, and excommunication of scandalous and obstinate persons, have been, are, and shall be, void, null, and of no effect ; even as when the prelatical party did hold, that the power of ordination and jurisdiction pertaineth only to prelates, or such as are delegated with commission and authority from them, thereupon they were so put to it by the arguments of the anti-episcopal party, that they were forced to say, that presbyters, ordained by presbyters in other reformed churches, are no presbyters, and their excommunication was no excommunication. 2. It will follow, that the magistrate himself may excommunicate, for *nemo potest aliis delegare plus juris quam ipse*

habet: No man can give from him, by delegation or deputation to another, that right or power which he himself hath not. 3. If the power of excommunication come by delegation from the magistrate, either the magistrate must in conscience give this power to church officers only, or he is free, and may, without sin, give this power to others. If the former, what can bind up the magistrate's conscience, or astrict the thing to church officers, except it be God's ordinance that they only do it? If the latter, then, though this parliament hath taken away the old high commission court, which had *potestatem utriusque gladii*, yet they may lawfully, and without sin, erect a new high commission court, made up of those who shall be no church officers, yea, having none of the clergy in it (as the other had), with commission and power granted to them to execute spiritual jurisdiction and excommunication, and that not only in this or that church, yea, or province, but in any part of the whole kingdom. So much of the first point. Now to the second, concerning appeals to the magistrate, as to the head of the church.

It is asked, what remedy shall there be against the abuse of church discipline by church officers, except there be appeals from the ecclesiastical courts to the civil magistrate: which if it be, church officers will be the more wary and cautious to do no man wrong, knowing that they may be made to answer for it: and if it be not, there is a wide door opened, that ministers may do as they please.

Ans. 1. Look what remedy there is for abuses in the preaching of the word, and administration of the sacraments: the like remedy there is for abuses in church discipline. Mal-administration of the word and sacraments is no less sinful to the ministers, and hurtful to others, than mal-administration of discipline: and, in some respects, the former is more to the dishonour of God, and destruction of men, than the latter. Ministers have not an arbitrary power to preach what they will. Now, when the word is not truly preached, nor the sacraments duly administered by any minister or ministers, the magistrate seeketh the redress of these things (in a constituted church) by the convoking of synods, for examining, discovering, and judging of such errors and abuses as are found in particular churches. But if the synod should connive at, or comply with that same error, yet the magistrate taketh not

upon him the supreme and authoritative decision of a controversy of faith, but still endeavoureth to help all this by other ecclesiastical remedies—as another synod, and yet another, till the evil be removed. The like we say concerning abuses in church discipline: The magistrate may command a resuming and re-examination of the case in another synod; but still the synod ratifieth or reverseth the censure; in which case it is betwixt the magistrate and the synod, as betwixt the will and understanding; for *Voluntas imperat intellectui quo ad exercitium*, yet notwithstanding *determinatur per intellectum quoad specificationem actus*.

Take for instance this also: If it be a case deserving deposition or degradation; in such a case, saith learned Salmasius, *Appar. ad lib. de Primatu*, p. 298, the prince or magistrate cannot take from a minister that power which was given him in ordination, with imposition of hands, for he cannot take that which he cannot give; but if a prince would have a minister, for his offences, to be deprived of his ministerial power, he must take care that it be done by the ministers themselves, *qui iudices veri ipsius sunt, et auferre soli possunt quod per ordinationem dederunt*: who are his true judges, and they only can take away what by ordination they have given. Thus Salmasius.

2. And further, if presbyteries or synods exceed the bounds of ecclesiastical power, and go without the sphere of their own activity, interposing and judging in a civil cause which concerneth any man's life or estate, the magistrate may reverse and make null whatsoever they do in that kind, and punish themselves for such abuse of their power, as Solomon punished Abiathar, and banished him to Anathoth, he being guilty of high treason, 1 Kings ii. 26. It was not a case of scandal only, or of delinquency, or mal-administration in his sacerdotal office, otherwise it had fallen within the cognisance, and jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical sanhedrim.

3. Though the case be merely spiritual and ecclesiastical, the Christian magistrate (by himself and immediately) may not only examine by the judgment of discretion the sentence of the ecclesiastical court, but also when he seeth cause (either upon the complaint of the party, or scandal given to himself), interpose by letters, messages, exhortations, and sharp admonitions to the presbytery or synod, who, in that case, are bound

in conscience, with all respect and honour to the magistrate, to give him a reason of what they have done, and to declare the grounds of their proceedings, till, by the blessing of God upon this free and fair dealing, they either give a rational or satisfactory account to the magistrate, or be themselves convinced of their mal-administration of discipline.

4. And in extraordinary cases, when the clergy hath made defection, and all church discipline is degenerated into tyranny, as under Popery and Prelacy it was, it belongeth to the magistrate to take the protection of those who are cast out or censured unjustly; for extraordinary evils must have extraordinary helps. And in this sense we are to understand divers of our Reformers and others, groaning under the pressures of the Roman clergy, and calling in the help of the civil magistrate for their relief.

But we deny that (in a well-constituted church) it is agreeable to the will of Christ for the magistrate either to receive appeals (properly so called) from the sentence of an ecclesiastical court, or to receive complaints exhibited against that sentence by the party censured, so as by his authority, upon such complaint, to nullify or make void the ecclesiastical censure.¹ The latter of these two Vedelius pleadeth for, not the former. But Apollonius oppugneth the latter, as being upon the matter all one with the former. Now to ascribe such power to the magistrate is, 1. To change the *Pope*, but not the *poppedom*; the *head*, but not the *headship*. For is not this the Pope's chief supremacy, to judge all men, and to be judged of no man; to ratify or rescind at his pleasure the decrees of the church, councils and all? And shall this power now be transferred upon the magistrate? Good Lord, where are we, if this shall be the upshot of our reformation? Oh for it! Shall we condemn the Papists and Anabaptists who give too little to the magistrate, and then join hands with the Arminians, who give as much to the magistrate as the Pope

hath formerly usurped? 2. Appeals lie in the same line of subordination, and do not go *de genere in genus*; but the civil and ecclesiastical courts stand not in one line, neither are they of one kind and nature; they are *disparata, non subordinata*. 3. They who receive appeals have also power to execute the sentence, else the appeal is in vain; but the magistrate hath no power to execute the church censure, nor to shut out of the church, our opposites themselves being judges. It was not, therefore, without just cause that Augustine did very much blame the Donatists for their appealing from the ecclesiastical assemblies, to the emperors and civil courts, epist. 48, 162.

There are two examples alleged from Scripture for appeals from ecclesiastical to civil courts. One is the example of Jeremiah, Jer. xxvi; the other is the example of Paul, Acts xxv. But neither of the two prove the point. For, 1. Jeremiah was not censured by the priests with any spiritual or ecclesiastical censure (of which alone our controversy is) but the priests took him, and said to him, "Thou shalt surely die," Jer. xxvi. 8. 2. Would God that every Christian magistrate may protect the servants of God from such unjust sentences and persecuting decrees. When ecclesiastical courts are made up of bloody persecutors, that is an extraordinary evil which must have an extraordinary remedy. 3. Neither yet is there any syllable of Jeremiah's appealing from the priests to the princes; but the text saith, "When the princes of Judah heard these things, then they came up," &c. ver. 10; that is, the princes, so soon as they understood that the priests had taken Jeremiah, and had said to him, "Thou shalt surely die," ver. 8, and being also informed that all the people were gathered together tumultuously and disorderly against the prophet, ver. 9, they thought it their duty to rescue the prophet from the priests and people, that he might be examined and judged by the civil court, he being challenged and accused as one worthy to die.

As for Paul's appellation to Cæsar, First, It is supposed by our opposites, that he appealed from the ecclesiastical sanhedrim of the Jews, which is a great mistake, for he appealed from the judgment-seat of Festus to Cæsar; that is, from an inferior civil court to a superior civil court; which he had just cause to do: for, though Festus had not yet given forth any sentence against Paul, yet

¹ Synops. pur. Theol. disp. 48, thes. 19.—Etsi vero hanc spirituales potestatem a Christiani magistratus inspectione, tanquam utriusque tabulæ custode non eximimus, negamus tamen eam, aut ejus praxin a magistratus suprema auctoritate pendere, sicuti quidam recentiores contendunt, cum a Christo solo penderet, et ab ipso immediate ecclesiæ sit concessa ut loci antea producti demonstrant. Ac proinde nec per appellationem, aut provocationem proprie dictam, potestas hæc ad magistratus aut principum tribunal deferri potest, quum ejus executio penes ipsos non sit.

he appeals *à gravamine*, and it was a great grievance indeed, while as Festus showed himself to be a most corrupt judge, who, though the Jews could prove none of those things whereof they accused Paul, Acts xxv. 7 (which should have made Festus to acquit and dismiss him), yet, being willing to do the Jews a pleasure, he would have Paul go to Jerusalem, there to be judged before himself, ver. 9. Now this was all the favour that the Jews had desired of Festus, that he would send Paul to Jerusalem, they laying wait in the way to kill him, ver. 3. No appellation here from the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, where he had not as yet compeared to be examined; far less could he appeal from any sentence of the sanhedrim. The most which can be, with any colour, alleged from the text is, that Paul declined to be judged by the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, they not being his competent and proper judges in that cause. "I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat (saith he) where I ought to be judged;" meaning that he was accused as worthy of death, for sedition, and offending against Cæsar, whereof he ought to be judged only at Cæsar's tribunal; not by the Jews, who were no judges of such matters. A declinator of a judge is one thing, and appellation from his judgment or sentence is another thing. But put the case that Paul had indeed appealed from the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, either it was the civil sanhedrim, or the ecclesiastical. If the civil, it is no precedent for appeals from ecclesiastical courts: if the ecclesiastical, yet that serveth not for appeals from ecclesiastical courts in ecclesiastical causes; for it was a capital crime whereof Paul was accused. Nay, put the case that Paul had at that time appealed from the ecclesiastical sanhedrim in an ecclesiastical cause, yet neither could that help our opposites; for the government of the Christian church and the government of the Jewish church were at that time separate and distinct, so that the ecclesiastical court, which should have judged of any scandal given by Paul (if at all he ought to have been censured), had been a Christian synod, not a Jewish sanhedrim. And so much of appeals. Of which question Triglandius, Revius, and Cabeljavius have peculiarly and fully written. Three famous academies also, of Leyden, Groningen, and Utrecht, did give their public testimonies against appeals from ecclesiastical to civil courts; and the three professors of Utrecht, in their testimony, do obtest all Christians that love truth and

peace, to be cautious and wary of the Arminian poison lurking in the contrary tenets. See Cabeljavius, *Defensio potestatis Ecclesiasticæ*, p. 60.

It is further objected, that thus fixing a spiritual jurisdiction in church officers, we erect two collateral powers in the kingdom, the civil and the ecclesiastical, unless all ecclesiastical courts be subordinate to magistracy, as to a certain headship.

Ans. There is a subordination of persons here, but a co-ordination of powers. A subordination of persons, because as the ministers of the church are subject to the civil magistrate, they being members of the commonwealth or kingdom, so the magistrate is subject to the ministers of the church, he being a church member. The former we assert against Papists, who say that the clergy is not subject to the magistrate: the latter we hold against those who make the magistrate to be the head of the church. Again, a co-ordination of powers; because as the subjection of the person of the Christian magistrate to the pastors and elders of the church, in things pertaining to God, doth not infer the subordination of the power and office of the magistrate to the church officers, so the subjection of pastors and elders to the magistrate, in all civil things (as other members of the commonwealth are subject), may well consist with the co-ordination of the ecclesiastical power with the civil. And as it is an error in Papists to make the secular power dependent upon, and derived from, the ecclesiastical power, so it is an error in others to make the ecclesiastical power derived from, and dependent upon the civil power; for the ecclesiastical power is derived from Christ, Eph. iv. 11.

And now, while I am expressing my thoughts, I am the more confirmed in the same, by falling upon the concession of one who is of a different judgment; for he who wrote *Jus Regum* in opposition to all spiritual authority exercised under any form of ecclesiastical government, doth, notwithstanding acknowledge, p. 16, "Both of them (the magistrate and the minister), have their commission immediately from God, and each of them are subject to the other, without any subordination of offices from the one to the other; for the magistrate is no less subject to the operation of the word from the mouth of the minister than any other man whatsoever: and the minister again is as much subject to the authority of the magistrate as

any other subject whatsoever; and therefore, though there be no subordination of offices, yet is there of persons; the person of a minister remaining a subject, but not the function of the ministry." He might have said the same of the exercise of church discipline which he saith of the preaching of the word; for the same Christ who gave the keys of doctrine gave also the keys of discipline, without any tie to make the use thereof subject to the pleasure of the civil magistrate. Let him prove that the ministry of the word is not subordinate to, nor dependent upon the magistrate, and I shall prove, by the same *medium*, that the ministry of church censures hath as little of that subordination in it.

And this I must add, that least of all others can our Independent brethren charge the Presbyterians with the setting up of an ecclesiastical government co-ordinate with, and not subordinate unto, the civil government: for themselves hold as much in this point (if not more) than we do. Take, for instance, Mr Cotton's *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, published by Mr Goodwyn and Mr Nye, p. 49: "The first subject of the ministerial power of the keys, though it be independent in respect of derivation of power from the power of the sword to the performance of any spiritual administration," &c.; p. 53, "As the church is subject to the sword of the magistrate in things which concern the civil peace, so the magistrate (if Christian) is subject to the keys of the church," &c.

As for that collaterality which is objected, I answer, The civil and ecclesiastical power, if we speak properly, are not collateral. 1. They have no footing upon the same ground: there may be many subject to the magistrate, who are no church members, and so not under the spiritual power; and where the same persons are subject to both the powers, there is no more collaterality, in this case, nay, not so much, as is betwixt the power of a father in one man, and the power of a master in another man, when both powers are exercised upon the same man who is both a son and a servant. 2. Powers that are collateral, are of the same eminency and altitude, of the same kind and nature; but the civil power is a dominion and lordship; the ecclesiastical power is ministerial, not lordly. 3. Collateral powers do mutually and alike exercise authority over each other respectively. But, though

the magistrate may exercise much authority in things ecclesiastical, church officers can exercise no authority in things civil. The magistrate's authority is ecclesiastical *objective*, though not *formaliter*: but the church officer's authority is not civil so much as *objective*, not being exercised about either civil, criminal, or capital cases. 4. Collateral powers are subordinate to, and derived from the supreme and original power, like two branches growing out of the same stock, two streams flowing from the same fountain, two lines drawn from the same centre, two arms under the same head; but the power of the magistrate is subordinate unto, and dependeth upon the dominion of God the Creator of all: the power of church officers dependeth upon the dominion of Christ, the Mediator and King of the church.

I shall conclude my answers to the present objection, with the testimony of learned Salmasius, who hath so overthrown the papal and prelatical government, from Scripture and antiquity, that he hath withal preserved, yea, strengthened the distinction of civil government and church government, and holdeth that church censures and civil punishments do very well consist and sweetly agree together.¹

I have now done with the negative part of this present controversy,—what the power of the magistrate in *ecclesiasticis* is not; I proceed to the positive part,—what it is. To this I will speak first more generally, then more particularly.

For the general, I hold with the large *Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland*, art. 25: "Moreover to kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates, we affirm, that chiefly and most principally, the conservation and the purgation of the religion appertains; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but also for maintenance of the true religion, and for suppressing of idolatry and superstition whatsoever."

¹ Appar. ad lib. de Primatu, p. 282, 283.—Plebs autem ipsa quam curant pastores, quantum attinet ad animæcuram, pastoribus suis subdita est. Si corporis ratio agatur, summum in illud imperium habent principes ac supremi magistratus. Delicta igitur hominum dupliciter puniuntur, aut in anima sola, aut in corpore. Pœnæ quæ corporis necem aut noxum inferunt, aut bonorum amissionem, a magistratu civili infliguntur: Quæ vero animarum castigationem et emendationem spectant, per ministrum ecclesiæ imponuntur. Summa earum pœnarum excommunicatio est. Et *infra*. Idem peccatum in eodem homine aliter vindicat magistratus civilis, aliter punit minister ecclesiæ.

To the same purpose, Calvin, *Instit.* lib. 4, cap. 20, sect. 9 : "*Hoc nomine maxime laudantur sancti Reges, quod Dei cultum corruptum vel eversum restituerint, vel curam gesserint religionis, ut sub illis pura et incolumis floreret.*" The like see in Zanchius, præc. 4, p. 791, and in Polanus, *Syntag.* lib. 10, cap. 65. They hold that the Christian magistrate's office, as concerning religion, is, "diligently to take care that in his dominion or kingdom, religion, from the pure word of God, expounded by the word of God itself, and understood according to the principles of faith (which others call the analogy of faith), be either instituted, or (being instituted) kept pure, or being corrupted, be restored and reformed : that false doctrines, abuses, idols, and superstitions be taken away, to the glory of God, and to his own and his subjects' salvation." Unto these things I do assent as unto safe and undoubted truths.

But for the clearer understanding and enodation of our present question, I will particularise and explain what I hold, by these five following distinctions :—

1. *Distingue materiam subjectam.* There are two sorts of things belonging to the church. Some which are intrinsical, and belonging to the soul or inward man, directly and primarily. Such things are not to be dispensed and administered by the civil magistrate : I mean the word and sacraments, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the suspension or excommunication of church officers or members, the ordination or deposition of officers, the determination and resolution from Scripture of controversies concerning the faith, the worship of God, the government of the church, cases of conscience. These being in their nature, end, and use, merely spiritual, and belonging not to the outward man, but to the inward man or soul, are committed and entrusted to the pastors and other ruling officers of the church, and are not of civil and extrinsical, but of ecclesiastical and intrinsical cognisance and judgment. There are other things belonging to the church, which are extrinsical, and do properly belong to the outward man, and are common to the church with other human societies or corporations : things of this kind fall within the civil jurisdiction ; for the churches of Christ, being societies of men and women, and parts of commonwealths, are accountable unto and punishable by the civil magistrate, in their bodies, lives,

civil liberties, and temporal estates, for trespasses against the law of God or the law of the land. By the law of God I understand here *jus divinum naturale*, that is, the moral law or Decalogue, as it bindeth all nations (whether Christians or infidels), being the law of the Creator and King of nations. The magistrate, by his authority, may, and in duty ought, to keep his subjects within the bounds of external obedience to that law, and punish the external man with external punishments for external trespasses against that law. From this obligation of the law, and subjection to the corrective power of the magistrate, Christian subjects are no more exempted than heathen subjects, but rather more straitly obliged. So that if any such trespass is committed by church officers or members, the magistrate hath power and authority to summon, examine, judge, and (after just conviction and proof) to punish these, as well as other men. We do therefore abominate the disloyal papal tenet, that clergymen are not to be examined and judged by civil, but by ecclesiastical courts only, even in causes civil and criminal. Whereof see Duarenus, *de Sacr. Eccl. Minist.* lib. 1, cap. 2 ; Spelman, *Concil. Britann.* tom. 1, p. 413.

I further explain myself by that common distinction, that there are two sorts of things that belong to the church, *τὰ εἰσω* and *τὰ ἔξω*, *things inward* and *things outward* ; for church officers and church members do consist (as other men) of a soul and of a body. All things properly belonging to the soul or internal man (which here we call *things inward*), are the objects of ecclesiastical power given to church officers, pastors, and other ruling officers ; but what belongs to the outward man, to the bodies of church officers and members (which things are *outward*), the judging and managing thereof is in the hand of the magistrate, who ruleth not only *τοὺς ἔξω*, *those that are without*, whom the church judgeth not, but *τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, *the things outward of the church*. Salmasius calls the power of the magistrate in things ecclesiastical *ἐξωρετικὴ ἐπισκοπή*, *the inward episcopacy or overseeing* ; which well agreeth with that which Constantine said to the bishops, *Ἦμεῖς μὲν εἰσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἔξω*, *You are made bishops of the inward things of the church, I of the things outward*. So that he doth not assume their government, but distinguisheth his from

theirs. This external inspection and administration of the magistrate, in reference to religion, is twofold. 1. *Corrective*, by external punishments. 2. *Auxiliary*, by external benefits and adminicles. The magistrate may and ought to be both *custos et vindex utriusque tabulae*, he ought to preserve both the first and second table of the holy and good law of God, from being despised and violated, and punish by corporal or other temporal punishments, such (whether church officers or church members) as openly dishonour God by gross offences, either against the first or against the second table; and this he doth as God's deputy and vicegerent, subordinate and subservient to that universal dominion which God Almighty exerciseth over the children of men. But in doing hereof, he is also helpful and useful to the kingdom of Christ, as Mediator; magistracy being (in the respects aforesaid) serviceable and profitable (as to order the commonwealth aright, so also) to purge the church of scandals, to promote the course of the gospel, and the edification of one another. But how? not perfectly, but *pro tanto*; not every way, but *more suo*; not intrinsically, but extrinsically; not primarily, but secondarily; not directly, but *ex consequenti*; not *sub formalitate scandali*, sed *sub formalitate criminis*, not under the notion of scandal, but of crime. The magistrate, in punishing all crimes committed by any in the church (which are contrary to the law of God); in suppressing tumults, disorders; in protecting the church from danger, harm, or molestation; in putting a hook in the nostrils, and a bridle in the mouths, of unruly, obstinate, and contumacious sinners, who vex the church, and create trouble to the people of God; in so doing, he doth by consequence, and *removendo prohibens*, purge the church, and advance the kingdom of Christ, and the course of the gospel: in the meanwhile, not depriving the church of her own intrinsic power and jurisdiction, but making it rather more effectual by the aid of the secular power;—and so much of the corrective part of the magistrate's administration. The other part of his administration in reference to religion, is auxiliary, or assistant to the church; for the magistrate watcheth over the outward business of the church, not only by troubling those persons, and punishing those sins, that trouble the Israel of God; but by administering such things as are ne-

cessary for the wellbeing and comfortable subsistence of the church; and, for that end, doth convocate synods *pro re nata* (beside the ordinary and set meetings), and presideth therein (if he please) in external order, though not in the synodical debates and resolutions; he addeth his civil sanction to the synodical results, if he find nothing therein which may hurt peace or justice in the commonwealth. The magistrate ought also to take care of the maintenance of the ministry, schools, poor, and of good works for necessary uses, that religion and learning may not want their necessary adminicles. Finally, he ought to take care that all churches be provided with an able, orthodox, and godly ministry, and schools with learned and well-qualified teachers, such as shall be best approved by those to whom it belongeth to examine and judge of their qualifications and parts. And all these ways the magistrate ought to be, and the well-affected magistrate hath been, and is, a nursing-father to the church of Christ.

2. My second distinction shall be this: The magistrate may and ought not only to conserve justice, peace, and order in the commonwealth and in the church, as it is in the commonwealth; but also to take special care of the conservation of the true reformed religion, and of the reformation of it, when and wherein it needeth to be reformed, *imperative*, not *elictive*. The magistrate (saith Dr Rivet on the Decalogue, p. 262) is neither to administer word, nor sacraments, nor church discipline, &c.; but he is to take care that all these things be done by those whom God hath called thereunto. Whatever is properly spiritual, belonging to the soul and inward man (such as church censures, and the other particulars before mentioned), cannot be *actus elictus* of the magistrate. The magistrate can neither *immediatione suppositi*, nor *immediatione virtutis*, determine controversies of faith, ordain ministers, suspend from the sacraments, or excommunicate. He can neither do these things himself, nor are they done in the name and authority of the magistrate, or by any ministerial power received from him, but in the name and authority of Jesus Christ, and by the power given from Jesus Christ. Yet all these, and generally the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, are *actus imperati* of the Christian magistrate, and that both *antecedenter* and *consequenter*. *Antecedently*,

the magistrate may command church officers to suspend or excommunicate all obstinate and scandalous persons; he may command the classes to ordain able and godly ministers, and no other; he may command a synod to meet to debate and determine such or such a controversy. *Consequently*, also, when the thing is examined, judged, resolved, or done by the ecclesiastical power, the magistrate hath power and authority to add his civil sanction, confirmation, or ratification; to make the ecclesiastical sentence to be obeyed and submitted unto by all whom it concerneth;—in all which the Christian magistrate doth exceeding much for the conservation and purgation of religion; not *elicendo actus*, doing or exercising by himself, or by his own authority, acts of church government or discipline, but taking care that such and such things be done by those to whom they do belong.

3. Distinguish the *directive* part and the *coercive* part. The directive part, in the conservation or purgation of religion, doth belong to the ministers and ruling officers of the church assembled together. In administering, therefore, that which concerneth religion and people's spiritual good, the magistrate not only *juvatur*, but *dirigitur*, is not only *helped*, but *directed* by the ecclesiastical directive power, *Fest. Hon.*, disp. 30, thes. 6. Magistracy may say to ministry, as Moses said to Hobab, "Thou mayest be to us instead of eyes." *Ad sacre religionis informationem, fidelis magistratus verbi divini administris, veluti oculis, uti debet*; and for that end he is to make use of consistorial and synodical assemblies, say the Professors of Leyden, *Synops. pur. Theol.*, disp. 50, thes. 44. But the coercive part, in compelling the obstinate and unruly to submit to the presbyterial or synodical sentence, belongs to the magistrate. Not as if the magistrate had nothing to do but to be an executioner of the pleasure of church officers, or as if he were by a blind and implicit faith to constrain all men to stand to their determination. God forbid. The magistrate must have his full liberty to judge of that which he is to compel men to do, to judge of it, not only *judicio apprehensivo*, by understanding and apprehending aright what it is, but *judicio discretivo*, by the judgment of Christian prudence and discretion, examining, by the word of God, the grounds, reasons, and warrants of the thing, that he may, in faith and not doubt-

ingly, add his authority thereto, in which judging he doth *judicare*, but not *judicem agere*; that is, he is *judex suarum actionum*, he judgeth whether he ought to add his civil authority to this or that which seemeth good to church officers, and doth not concur therewith, except he be satisfied in his conscience that he may do so. Yet this makes him not supreme judge or governor in all ecclesiastical causes, which is the prerogative of Jesus Christ, revealing his will in his word; nor yet doth it invest the magistrate with the subordinate, ministerial, forensical, directive judgment in ecclesiastical things or causes, which belongeth to ecclesiastical, not to civil courts.

4. Distinguish between a *cumulative* and a *privative* authority. The magistrate hath indeed an authoritative influence into matters of religion and church government; but it is cumulative; that is, the magistrate takes care that church officers, as well as other subjects, may do those things which, *ex officio*, they are bound to do; and when they do so, he aideth, assisteth, strengtheneth, ratifieth, and, in his way, maketh effectual what they do. But that which belongs to the magistrate is not privative, in reference to the ecclesiastical government. It is understood *salvo jure ecclesiastico*: for the magistrate is a nursing-father, not a step-father to the church; and the magistrate (as well as other men) is under that tie, 2 Cor. xiii. 8, "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." This proviso, therefore, is justly made, that whatever power the magistrate hath in matters of religion, it is not to hinder the free exercise of church discipline and censure against scandalous and obstinate sinners.

As the casuists in other cases distinguish *lucrum cessans*, and *damnum emergens*, so must we distinguish between the magistrate's doing no good to the church, and his doing evil to the church; between his not assisting, and his opposing; between his not allowing or authorising, and his forbidding or restraining. It doth properly and of right belong to the magistrate to add a civil sanction and strength of a law for strengthening and aiding the exercise of church discipline, or not to add it. And himself is judge whether to add any such cumulative act of favour or not. But the magistrate hath no power nor authority to lay bands and restraints upon church officers to hinder any of Christ's ordinances, or to forbid them to do what Christ hath

given them a commission to do. And if any such restraints of prohibitions or laws should be laid on us, we ought to obey God rather than men.

5. *Distingue tempora.* Whatever belongs to the magistrate in matters of religion, more than falls under the former distinctions, is extraordinary, and doth not belong to ordinary government. In extraordinary reformations the magistrate may do much by his own immediate authority, when synods have made defection either from the truth of doctrine, or from holiness and godliness; yet in such a case he ought to consult with such orthodox godly divines as can be had, either in his own or from other dominions. *Fest. Hon. disp. 30, thes. 5.*

And so much be spoken of the magistrate's power and duty in things and causes ecclesiastical. As we do not deny to the magistrate anything which the word of God doth allow him, so we dare not approve his going beyond the bounds and limits which God hath set him. And I pray God that this be not found to be the bottom of the controversy, Whether magistracy shall be an arbitrary government, if not in civil, yet in ecclesiastical things? whether the magistrate may do, or appoint to be done, in the matter of church government, admission to, or exclusion from the ordinances of Christ, whatever shall seem good in his eyes? and whether, in purging of the church, he is obliged to follow the rules of Scripture, and to consult with learned and godly ministers? although Erastus himself (as is before observed) and Sutlivius (a great follower of him), *de Presbyt.* cap. 8, are ashamed of, and do disclaim such assertions.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT BY THE WORD OF GOD THERE OUGHT TO BE ANOTHER GOVERNMENT BESIDE MAGISTRACY OR CIVIL GOVERNMENT, NAMELY, AN ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT (PROPERLY SO CALLED) IN THE HANDS OF CHURCH OFFICERS.

This question hath arisen from Mr Coleman's third and fourth rule which he offered to the parliament, excluding all government of church officers, ministers, and elders; that is, as he expounds himself, all corrective government, leaving them no power except

what is merely doctrinal, and appropriating all government, properly so called, to the magistrate only. Mr Hussey, following him, falls in the same ditch with him. The question is not, Whether church officers ought to have any share in the civil government; nor whether church officers may have any lordly government or imperious domination over the Lord's heritage; nor whether church officers may exercise an arbitrary irregular government, and rule as themselves list. God forbid. But the question plainly is, Whether there may not, yea, ought not, to be in the church a ministerial or ecclesiastical government, properly so called, beside the civil government or magistracy. Mr Coleman did, and Mr Hussey doth hold there ought not. I hold there ought; and I shall propound for the affirmative these arguments:—

The first argument I draw from 1 Tim. v. 17, 'Οι καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, "Elders that rule well." Mr Hussey, p. 8, asks, whether the word elder be *prima* or *secunda notio*. If *prima notio*, Why must not elder women be church officers as well as elder men? If *secunda notio* for a ruling officer, parliament men, kings, and all civil governors, are such elders. I know no use which that distinction of *prima* and *secunda notio* hath in this place, except to let us know that he understands these logical terms. *Egregiam vero laudem.* He might have saved himself the labour, for who knows not Jerome's distinction? Elder is either a word of age or of office; but in ecclesiastical use it is a word of office. Mr Hussey's first notion concerning elder women is no masculine notion. His second notion is an anti-parliamentary notion; for the honourable Houses of Parliament, in the first words of their ordinance concerning ordination of ministers, have declared, that, by the word of God, a bishop and a presbyter or elder are all one; for thus beginneth the ordinance: "Whereas the word presbyter, that is to say, elder, and the word bishop, do in the Scripture intend and signify one and the same function," &c. Therefore parliament men and civil governors cannot be the elders mentioned by the apostle Paul, except Mr Hussey make them bishops, and invest them with power of ordination. Besides this, if kings and parliament men be such elders as are mentioned in this text, then the ministers of the word must have not only an equal share in government, but more honour

and maintenance than kings and parliament men. See how well Mr Hussey pleadeth for Christian magistracy: It is also an anti-scriptural notion, for some of those elders that ruled well, did labour in the word and doctrine, as Paul tells us in the very same place; these, sure, are not civil governors. Wherefore Mr Hussey must seek a third notion before he hit the Apostle's meaning. It is not *hujus loci* to debate from this text the distinction of two sorts of elders; though among all the answers which ever I heard or read, Mr Hussey's is the weakest, p. 11, that by elders that labour in the word and doctrine, are meant those ministers whose excellency lies in doctrine and instruction; and that by elders that rule, are meant those that give reproof. He contradistinguisheth a reproofing minister from a minister labouring in the word and doctrine. The very reproof given by a minister will be (it seems) at last challenged as an act of government. It is as wide from the mark, that he will have the two sorts of elders to differ thus, that the one must govern and not preach, the other must preach and not govern; not observing that the text makes ruling to be common to both. The one doth both rule and labour in the word and doctrine; the other ruleth only, and is therefore called ruling elder, *non quia solus præest, sed quia solum præest*. But to let all these things be laid aside as heterogeneous to this present argument, the point is, here are rulers in the church who are no civil rulers. Yea, this my argument from this text was clearly yielded by Mr Coleman in his *Maledicis*, p. 8: "But I will deal clearly (saith he), these officers are ministers, which are instituted not here, but elsewhere; and these are the rulers here mentioned." Therefore he yieldeth ecclesiastical rulers (and those instituted) distinct from magistracy; neither is it a lordly but a ministerial ruling of which our question is. "For my part (saith Mr Hussey) I know not how lordship and government doth differ one from another." Then every governor of a ship must be a lord; then every steward of a great house must be lord of the house. There is an economical or ministerial government, and of that we mean.

My second argument I take from 1 Thes. v. 12, "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you." *Προϊστάμενους ὑμῶν, qui præsunt*

vobis. Hence doth Calvin conclude a church government distinct from civil government;¹ for this is a spiritual government, it is *in the Lord*; that is, in the name of the Lord, or (as others) in things pertaining to God. Hence also Beza argueth against episcopal government; because the elders in the apostolic churches did govern in common. But, saith Mr Hussey, p. 18. "Pasor telleth us that *προϊστάμαι*, with a genitive case, signifieth *præcedo*, and then it signifieth no more but them that go before you, either by doctrine or example." I answer first to the matter, next to the force of the word. For the matter: certainly the *προστασία*, or ruling power of ministers, is not merely doctrinal or persuasive, as is manifest by 1 Tim. v. 17, where those who are not convinced of two sorts of elders, are yet fully convinced of two sorts of acts, the act of ruling, and the act of teaching. Whatsoever that text hath more in it, or hath not, this it hath, that those who labour in the word and doctrine, are rulers; but they are more especially to be honoured for their labouring in the word and doctrine. Next, as to the force of the word: if it be true which Mr Hussey here saith, then the English translators that read, *are over you*,—Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Gualther, and others that here follow Jerome, and read *præsent vobis*,—Arias Montanus, who reads *præsidentes vobis*, have not well understood the Greek. But if Mr Hussey would needs correct all these and many more, why did he not at least produce some instances to show us where the words *προϊστάμενος*, or *προεστῶς*, or *προστάρης*, or *προστασία*, or *προστασία*, are used for no more but a mere going before, either by doctrine or example, without any power or authority of government. Yea, if this here be no more but a going before, either by doctrine or example, then every good Christian who goeth before others by good example is *προϊστάμενος*. Neither will that of the genitive case help him; for see the like, 1 Tim. iii. 4, *τοῦ ἰδὼν ἑκὼν καλῶς προϊστάμενον*, "one that ruleth well his own house:" Mr Hussey will make it no more but this, *one that goeth before his own house*, by teaching them, or by giving them

¹ Præsent in Domino. Hoc additum videtur ad notandum spirituale regimen. Tametsi enim reges quoque et magistratus Dei ordinatione præsent, quia tamen ecclesiæ gubernationem Dominus peculiariter vult suam agnoscere, ideo nominatim præesse in Domino dicuntur, qui Christi nomine et mandato ecclesiam gubernant.

good example, though the very next words tell us there is more in it, and that is authoritative government, "having his children in subjection." So ver. 12, *ἐκείνοι καλῶς προϊστάμενοι*, ruling their children well. Pasor is not at all against my sense, but for it: for if Mr Hussey will make Pasor to say that *προϊστάμαι* with a genitive, doth never signify any more but *præcedo*, then he makes him to say both that which is manifestly false, and in so saying, to contradict himself; for Pasor tells us also, the word signifieth *præsum*; and for that he cites 1 Tim. iii. 4, where it is with a genitive. Sometime indeed with a genitive it may be turned *præcedo*, as Pasor saith, but he citeth only Tit. iii. 8, where it is not *Genitivus personæ* (as 1 Thes. v.) but *rei*; and we may also read *præstare*, as Arias Montanus, to excel or be chief in good works, or to maintain, as our books have it.

But furthermore I shall offer for answer to Mr Hussey the observation of an excellent Grecian. It is Salmasius, *de Primatu Papæ*, p. 18, 19.¹ *Προστασία*, to speak properly, is another thing than *πρωτοστασία*; the former signifieth a power of jurisdiction and government, the latter a precedence or placing of one before another; although they are sometimes used promiscuously, and although *προσάται* are also *πρωτοσάται*. Yea they have the very names of *προσάται* and *πρωτοσάται* or *προιστάμενοι* (if you look to the native etymology of the words), from their precedence or standing before, even as *antistites quasi ante stantes*, and *prætor quasi præitor*: such names being chosen (for mollifying and dalcifying of government) as might hold forth precedence, rather than high-sounding names of power and authority. I shall add but two testimonies of ancient Grecians: Plato, epis. 7, near the end: "Ἡ μεγάλης προσεσὼς πόλει, καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχούσης ἐλαττωων, τῇ αὐτοῦ πόλει τὰ τῶν μικροτέρων χρήματα διανέμη μὴ κατὰ δίκην: Or if he that ruleth some great city, and such as hath the dominion over many smaller cities, should unjustly distribute to

his own city the means and substance of those lesser cities. Dionysius Areopagita, epist. 8, speaking of Moses' supreme power of rule and government over Israel, which was envied by Korah and his faction, calls it *τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ πρωτοστασίαν*.

Well, Mr Hussey will try if his logic can help him, if his Greek cannot: "Whatsoever this person is that is to be beloved, he is supposed not instituted in this place, the subject is supposed not handled in any science." The like he saith afterward, p. 22, that we cannot prove from 1 Cor. v. that Paul did institute excommunication, but at most that he *supposed an institution*. For my part, that scripture which supposeth an institution, shall to me prove an institution; for I am sure that which any scripture supposeth, must be true. And herein, as I take it, Mr Coleman would have said as I say, for in his fourth rule he proved the institution of magistracy from Rom. xiii. yet magistracy is not instituted in that place, but supposed to be instituted.

A third argument I take from Heb. xiii. 7, "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God:" ver. 17, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account." Bullinger and Gualther refer this verse both to *magistracy* and *ministry*; and so far they are ours, in sharing the rule and government between both, and in making obedience due to both. But Calvin and many others do better expound the text of ecclesiastical rulers or governors only: wherein Salmasius followeth the Greek scholiasts, who expound the text of bishops or elders who did in common govern the church. See *Walo Messal*. p. 137, 138. That it is not spoken of civil but of ecclesiastical rulers, may thus appear: beside that it were hard to take *ηγούμενος* in the 17th verse in another sense than it hath ver. 7, or the rulers that watch for the soul, ver. 17, to be any other than the rulers that had spoken the word of God, ver. 7, it is further to be noted, that the Apostle speaks of such rulers as the believing Hebrews had at that time, as is evident by ver. 24, "Salute all them that have the rule

¹ Et hoc nomine differt *πρωτοστασία* a *προστασία*, quod hæc præsidium cum potestate, sive præposituram cum jurisdictione ac coercitione tribuat, *πρωτοστασία* vero ut in loco quis sit priore collocatus, tantum efficit. *Προστασίαν* Hesychius *κυβέρνησιν* interpretatur gubernationem vel administrationem. Et notum qui dicentur proprie *προσάται* in republica atheniensium.

¹ Aretius Comment. in Heb. xiii. 14, Primum apostolus salutem suo nomine ipsorum præpositos, hoc est *ηγούμενους*, quo nomine intelligo tum ministros, tum etiam seniores, qui reliquos auctoritate regabant, et in officio detinebant.

over you, and all the saints," and those rulers did watch for their souls. But they had no Christian or godly magistrates that watched for their souls, or whom the Apostle would thus salute with the saints. But the word is *ἡγουμένων*, saith Mr Hussey, p. 18, which is *ducum*,—them that lead you. The Apostle hath indeed chosen a word free of ambition; yet, saith Beza, *auctoritatis maximæ*, it is a word of the greatest authority. The Syriac hath the same word here, by which he rendereth *κυβερνήσεις*, 1 Cor. xii. 28; and if you consult the Septuaginta, the word *ἡγούμενος*,—except very rarely where it signifieth *ἀδηγόν*, seu *vices ducem* (and then, to speak properly, subjection and obedience is not due to the *ἡγούμενος*), as Exod. xxiii. 23, where yet it was an angel that was the guide, and so not without authority,—they do usually and in innumerable places use this word to express one invested with power and authority of government; and the same Hebrew words which they render by *ἡγούμενος* and *ἀφουγούμενος*, are likewise by them translated *ἡγεμών*, *δυναστεύς*, *βασιλεύς*, *σατράπης*, *καταράρχης*, *ἀρχων*, *ἀρχηγός*, *στρατηγός*, *ἀρχιστρατηγός*, *προστάτης* and *ἐπιστάτης*; all which are names of superiority, command, and government; *ὁ ἡγεμὼν*, the governor, is Pilate's highest title, Matt. xxvii. 2. And Erastus, lib. 5, cap. 2, p. 312, saith, the magistrates of the Gentiles were called by the names of *ἡγεμόνες* and *βασιλεῖς*. Now *ὁ ἡγούμενος* and *ὁ ἡγεμὼν* are the same in signification. Stephen, in *Thes. Linguae Gr.* citeth out of Plutarch *ἡγούμενος τῆς Γερμανίας*; and tells us that *ἡγέομαι* with a genitive, and *ἡγούμεναι* generally is used for *præsum*. 'Ο *ἡγούμενος* is Joseph's greatest title, to express his government over Egypt, Acts vii. 10, yea, Christ himself is called *ὁ ἡγούμενος*, to express his governing or ruling power over his church, Matt. ii. 6. Salmasius doth at once show us, both that the Apostle means the elders of the church under the name *ἡγουμένων*, and that the same name is used for civil magistrates, yea emperors. See *Walo Messal.* p. 219, 220. Far be it from all the ministers of Christ to arrogate or assume any such dominion as belongs to the civil magistrate, or to lord it over the Lord's inheritance. Nay, here that rule must take place, Luke xxii. 26, *ὁ ἡγούμενος ὡς ὁ διακονῶν*, "he that is chief, as he that serveth." Only the Holy Ghost gives to church officers those names of au-

thority which are given to civil magistrates, thereby to teach the people of God their duty, and that there is another government beside the civil, whereunto they ought to submit and obey in the Lord.

Mr Hussey's next answer is that where our books have it, "Obey them that have the rule over you;" the word is *πειθεσθε*, which is no more but *be persuaded*. For proof whereof he tells us out of Pasor, that *πειθω* is *verbum forense*, a word whereby the advocates persuade the judges; yet we cannot say that the judges obey the advocates. I answer, Let him make of *πειθω* what he can, the passive, *πειθόμεναι*, doth frequently signify *I obey*, or *obtemper*; for which signification H. Stephanus, in the word *πειθόμεναι*, citeth out of Xenophon *πειθεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχούσι*; out of Plutarch, *πειθεσθαι τῷ δεσπότην*; out of Plato, *πειθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ*. If we come to the Scripture phrase, I am sure, in some places, *πειθεσθαι* signifieth a thing of another nature than to be persuaded forensically, as James iii. 3, "Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths, that they may obey us," *πρὸς τὸ πειθεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν*. But here, when we speak of the obedience of church members to church officers, it is a free, rational, willing, Christian obedience; yet obedience it is which we owe to spiritual rulers, as well as that which we owe to civil magistrates. Sure Gualther and Bullinger did understand *πειθεσθε* here to be more than *be persuaded*; for they apply this text to the obedience due to magistrates. And Mr Hussey might have also observed that Pasor renders *πειθόμεναι* by *pareo*, *obedio*, for which he citeth Gal. iii. 1, *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πειθεσθαι*, "not to obey the truth." And *ἀπειθεῖς* he renders *inobediens*, *refractarius*, as Rom. i. 30, *γενεῖσιν ἀπειθεῖς*, "disobedient to parents." I know that *πειθεσθαι* is also used for *to be persuaded*; but I verily believe Mr Hussey is the first man that ever quarrelled the word *obey* in this text, and turned it to be no more but *be persuaded*. Yet if he shall well observe that which followeth in the very next words, *καὶ ὑμᾶς*, "and submit yourselves" (which, in Theophylact's opinion, noteth here intense obedience: They must not only *exceiv*, *yield*, but *ὑμᾶς*, *yield with subjection and submission*—this relateth to authority, nor can we say that the judges do *ὑμᾶς* to the advocates, nor travellers to their guides), he himself shall be persuaded to cast away this gloss, and to seek a

better; and if he will stand to it, he shall but do a disservice to magistracy, whilst he would weaken the power of the ministry; for though there be much in the New Testament concerning subjection or submission to magistrates, yet the clearest, fullest, yea (to my remembrance), the only express word for obedience to magistrates is *πειθαρχεῖν*, which is rightly translated in our books to *obey magistrates*; but Mr Hussey will make it no more but *to be persuaded by magistrates*. Yea, the very simple and uncompounded verb *πειθεσθαι*, in the fore-cited passages of Xenophon and Plutarch, is used where they speak of obedience to magistrates and masters.

If this must fail him, he hath yet another answer: Let the word stand, saith he, as it is translated *obey*; yet it is not always correlative to the command of a superior; and the Holy Ghost requireth obedience here, not by an argument from the authority of him that leadeth them, but from the benefit that cometh to themselves, "for that is unprofitable for you." He divideth what the Apostle joineth; for there are two sorts of arguments in the text by which the Apostle persuadeth them to this obedience: one is taken from the authority of the ministry, which is intimated both by that name of authority *ἡγουμένοι*, and by their subordination or submission which the Apostle calls for; another, from the benefit that cometh to themselves by their obedience, and the hurt which they shall do to themselves by their disobedience. Both these arguments are wrapt up in these words, "For they watch for your souls," which is the very same with that, Acts xx. 28, "To all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." The Apostle doth also persuade Christians to be subject to the magistrate, by an argument taken from the benefit that cometh to themselves; Rom. xiii. 4, "For he is the minister of God to thee for good;" yet that doth not weaken, but rather strengthen, the authority of the magistrate.

The fourth argument shall be taken from 1 Tim. v. 19, "Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before (or under) two or three witnesses:" which is not a temporary charge laid upon Timothy as an evangelist, and so incompetent to ordinary ministers; for it is joined with the rules of public rebuking, of laying on of hands, not partaking of other men's sins, and such like things, which are of ordinary concernment. He

is also charged to keep the commandment till the appearing of Christ, 1 Tim. v. 14, which cannot be otherwise understood than as spoken to him in reference to the ministry. Now, what is an act of government, if this be not to receive accusations, and that against elders, and that under two or three witnesses? The Apostle intendeth here the avoiding of these two evils; first, upon the one hand, because *veritas odium parit*, and elders doing their duty faithfully, will certainly be hated and slandered, and evil spoken of by some, that therefore every Diotrophes, prattling against a servant of Christ with malicious words, may not be able to blast his Christian reputation and good name. Next, upon the other part, because the offences and scandals of elders are not to be connived at, but to be aggravated and censured more than the offences of others, that therefore an accusation be received against them, if it be under two or three witnesses. Now, where accusations ought to be received, and that under two or three witnesses, and not otherwise (with special charge also to observe these things, "without partiality, or preferring one before another," ver. 21), there is certainly a forensical proceeding, and a corrective jurisdiction or government. More of this argument in *Male Audis*, p. 14.

Fifthly, What is that else but a corrective jurisdiction? Tit. iii. 10, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject," *ῥαπαροῦ*. He speaks of a rejecting of persons, not of things only; and of such a rejecting of persons as cannot be understood only of that avoiding or rejecting by which every private Christian ought to observe, and avoid, and not receive false teachers, but of a public, ministerial, or consistorial rejecting of an heretic, by cutting him off, or casting him out of the church.

It is a canon, *de Judiciis Ecclesiasticis*, saith Tossanus upon the place. This the Greek will easily admit; for Stephanus, in *Thesouro Linguae Gr.*, tells us, that *ῥαπαροῦμαι* or *ῥαπαροῦμαι* is used for *re-cuso*, *aversor*, *repudio*; and citeth out of Plutarch, *ῥαπαρεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα*: *To repudiate or put away a wife*. As here also we may read, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, repudiate or put away;" though the word *reject* doth also bear the same sense. And as the Greek will admit it, so I have these reasons to confirm it, which shall suffice for

the present. (He that pleaseth may read a large discourse concerning the censure of heretics, in *Claudius Espenceus* upon this place). First, The Apostle's scope is not to hold forth the common duties of all Christians, except *ex consequenti*; but his primary intention all along in that epistle, is to instruct Titus concerning the ordering and governing of the church, chap. i. 5. Secondly, There must be a first and second admonition before the heretic be thus rejected. This rejecting is not for his dangerous and false doctrine, simply or by itself considered, but for his contumacy and incorrigibleness. But private Christians ought to observe by the judgment of private discretion, and ought, in prudence and caution, to avoid all familiar fellowship and conversation with a man that is an heretic, though he hath not yet gotten a first and second admonition; Matt. vii. 15, 16, "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits." Thirdly, The admonition in the text is a public authoritative or ministerial admonition, "After that thou (Titus) hast once and again admonished him," saith the Syriac; therefore the rejecting must also be public and ministerial. Fourthly, This rejecting of an heretic is the last act, when he appears incorrigible.¹ We find before, chap. i. 13, "Rebuke them sharply;" and chap. ii. 15, "Rebuke with all authority." But now when the Apostle saith *παραιρῶ*, reject, this is a higher degree, and this (much more) must be "with all authority," *μετὰ πάσης ἐξουσίας*, which words compare with 1 Cor. vii. 25, where the Apostle opposeth *ἐπιταγήν* and *γνώμην*, commandment, and opinion or judgment. From all which it will appear, that this rejecting of an heretic by Titus, and others joined with him in the government of the church, was an authoritative and juridical act, and the judgment thereupon decisive, not consultative only. Fifthly, Look by what authority elders were or-

dained, by the same authority they were for heresy (maintained with contumacy) rejected; for the Apostle committeth into the same hands the ordaining of elders and the rejecting of heretics, compare Tit. iii. 10, with Tit. i. 5. Now, the ordination was by the presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14; therefore so was the rejection.

I conclude with the *Dutch Annotations* upon Tit. iii. 10, Reject, *i.e.*, have no communion with him. Let him go without disputing any further with him, and casting the holy things before such dogs, Matt. vii. 6. Let him not remain in the outward communion of the church.

The sixth argument I draw from 1 Cor. v. 12, 13, "Do not ye judge them that are within? Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person;" 2 Cor. ii. 6, "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment (or censure), which was inflicted of many." Here is an ecclesiastical judging, not by the judgment of private Christian discretion only (for so they judged those also that were without), but an authoritative corrective judgment, by which a scandalous brother, a rotten member, like to infect other members, is put away from among the people of God. And this judgment was made, sentence given, and censure inflicted, *ὑπὸ τῶν πλειονων*, by many; that is, not by all, but by the elders of that church, saith Walaëus, tom. 1, p. 468; or you may read, *by the chiefest*; so Piscator and Heinsius upon the place. The sense is all one as if the Apostle had said, *ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων*, "by them that have the rule over you." Now what will you make of judging, putting away, and censuring, being acts neither of a civil power, nor put forth upon any except church members, if you make it not a corrective church government?

As for Mr Coleman's answer, that *ἐπιτιμία* amounts to no more but an oburgation, I have fully confuted that in *Male Audis*, p. 12—14, which I will not resume. But, beside all I said there, I add somewhat which I have since observed. Zonaras, in *Conc. Antioch.*, can. 22, useth *ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι*, for to be punished or censured; and in *Conc. Carthag.*, can. 49, he calls the man who is under church censure, *ὁ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς*. Balsamon, in *Conc. Carthag.*, can. 46, calls him *ὁ ἐπιτιμωμένος*. Both of them do often use *ἐπιτίμιον* for church censure, as in the place last cited, *τὰ κανονικὰ ἐπιτίμια*. Yea, the Council of Antioch, held under

¹ Zach. Ursinus, tom. 3, p. 769, obj. 1.—Tantum præcipit ministri ut eum fugiat ergo non excommunicandus. Resp.—Negatur antecessus quia non vult de una et eadem re, vel persona, contraria judicia esse aut pugnantes sententias. Ergo dum vult ut hæreticum pro everso habeat minister, non vult ut reliqui in ecclesia habeant eum prostante. Obj. 2.—Sed non jubet excommunicari. Resp.—Jubet, quia vult illum pro everso et suapte judicio condemnato haberi. Ergo non est ecclesiæ membrum, et alibi docet judicium hoc debere fieri ordinario et legitimo consensu ecclesiæ.

Constantius, useth Paul's word, *ἐπιτίμια*, to express ecclesiastical censure, and an act of corrective government. Can. 3, it is said of him that receiveth a presbyter or deacon, being justly deposed, *κακείνον ἐπιτίμιας τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ κοινῆς συνόδου ὡς παραλύοντα τοὺς θεαμοὺς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς, ille quoque à communi synodo puniatur, ut qui ecclesiastica statuta dissolvat.* Can. 22, a bishop is prohibit to ordain within the charge of another bishop, unless that other bishop consent; but if any presume to do such a thing, let the ordination be void or null, *καὶ ἄνδρὸν ἐπιτίμιας ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου τυγχάνειν, et ipse à synodo puniatur*, and let himself be punished by the synod. "*Ὅπως καλᾶζονται*, saith Balsamon, *how they should be punished* who ordain without the bounds of their own charge, and without consent of him whose charge it is, may be learned from other canons: where you see he understands *ἐπιτίμια* to agree in signification with *κόλασις*, which is *punishment*. The sixth General Council, can. 60, useth the verb *ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι* for suffering punishment, adding also by way of explanation, *σκληραγωγίαις καὶ πόνους ὑποβάλλειν*, to be subject to afflictions and labours.

Seventhly, We have an argument from 1 Cor. xxiv. 32, 33, "And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets; for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints." The Apostle is giving such rules and directions concerning prophecy or interpretation of Scripture, that upon the one hand there may be a liberty to all the prophets to prophecy, and that the church may be edified by the gifts of all, and that for that end one ought to give place to another; upon the other hand, that a boundless liberty and confusion, and immunity from censure, may not be introduced into the church. To this latter branch belongs ver. 29, 32, 33, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge." He will have two, or at most three prophets to speak in one congregation, at one diet or time of assembling; and those prophets, saith he, must be examined, judged, and censured by the other prophets:¹ for the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets; that is, every particular prophet distributively, is subject to all the prophets

collectively, or to the college of prophets (add, and of other spiritual persons entrusted with the government of the church, together with the prophets, as from ver. 37, and Gal. vi. 1, is well observed by our countryman, Mr Dickson, upon this place). Therefore Walsæus, tom. 1, p. 468, doth rightly collect from this place an authority of church government. Protestant writers prove hence the authority of general councils above the Pope; and that the Pope is a false prophet, because he refuseth to be subject to the prophets. Junius, in divers places, applyeth this text to the authority of presbyteries and synods. Gualther upon the place applyeth it against the Pope, who will judge all men, and be judged of no man; whereas (saith he) the Apostle here will have no man, how eminent soever, to be free from censure, when he is censurable. So then we have in this text a subjection, and an authority of judging and censuring. And this judgment, which the Apostle here speaks of, is neither the judgment of the civil magistrate, nor the judgment of discretion common to the whole church, but it is the judgment or censure of prophets, and that not schoolwise, according to Mr Hussey's notion of schools; that is, by the prophets' disputing a man out of his error, and no more; no vote, no decision, no result, except he that hath taught an error do agree to the arguments of the other prophets, and so all "end in a brotherly accord," and in the "unanimous consent of the whole clergy" (for so doth he advise the Parliament), so that he shall be no more subject to all the prophets, than all the prophets to him. Yea, in Mr Hussey's sense the Pope will not refuse to be subject to a council of prophets, and then Protestant writers have been far out of their way, who have disputed against the Pope from this text, supposing it to hold forth a binding authoritative judgment of the prophets, whereunto any one prophet is bound to be subject, the judgment of his private discretion being always reserved to him, that he give not blind obedience.

Eighthly, I argue from Rev. ii. 14—20. The Lord Jesus reproveth the angel of the church in Pergamos for suffering those that taught the doctrine of Balaam, and the angel of the church in Thyatira for suffering Jezebel, which called herself a prophetess, to seduce his people. The fault here reprovèd must be the neglect of church censures and corrective government, which is so manifest,

¹ Ægid. Hunnius in 1 Cor. xiv. 32, Paulus hanc regulam præscribit, ut spiritus prophetarum prophetis subiciantur, id est, ut is qui prophetat, non dubitet, sermonem et concionem suam censuræ judicioque reliquorum concionatorum subicere.

that they who plead most for liberty of conscience from the magistrate, do acknowledge, that the angels of these churches are re-proved for not censuring ecclesiastically those that did thus seduce God's people. Neither is it said "Because thou art silent and dost not reprove nor convince;" but "Because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam;" that is, because thou dost not cast them out of the church, that they may not hurt others. So the *English Annotations* upon the place, referring us also to 1 Cor. v. The angel of the church was guilty in this, that those who had so much scandalised the church by their doctrine, were still in the church, and not yet cast out of the church. And who can imagine that the angels of those churches whom Christ himself commendeth for holding fast his name, and for their love, service, faith, and patience, were so void either of prudence, as not to observe, or of zeal, as not to gainsay and confute by sound doctrine, those foul and scandalous errors? Certainly their sin was like that of Eli, they did not together with the doctrinal and monitory part, make use of that jurisdiction and corrective power which God had put in their hands.

Ninthly, We have another argument from 1 Thes. iii. 14, "And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed." Here the Syriac helpeth us much, "And if any man obey not these words, which are contained in this epistle, let that man be separated from you, neither have company with him, that he may be ashamed." Gualther upon the place saith, the Apostle speaks *de disciplina ecclesiastica*, what discipline they ought to have in the church, and the end thereof. So Calvin, Beza, Piscator, Zanchius, Diodati, the *Dutch Annotations*, Gomarus, also Mariana, Cajetan, Salmeron, Gorranus, Esthius, in lib. 4, sent. dist. 19, sect. 7, and divers others following Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Theodoret, Aquinas, all these do apply it to ecclesiastical discipline and censure. Some controversy there is whether this text reach as far as excommunication (which doth not belong to this present argument), but certainly it reacheth to a public church censure, and is more than the withdrawing of private company and fellowship, either because of personal or private injuries, or because of profaneness: For, 1. The offence spoken of by the Apostle is not a mat-

ter of civil or personal injury, but of scandal; he speaks of idle bodies that walk disorderly, not working at all; and if these must be noted and separated, how much more, saith Theophylact, those who commit crimes and wickedness? 2. Here is contumacy added to the offence, "If any man obey not our word by this epistle," intimating that upon occasion of this epistle, those that walk disorderly were to be solemnly admonished, and required to work in quietness, and to eat their own bread; which if after admonition they would not do, then to note them. Aquinas clears it by 1 Sam. xv. 13, "For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and as idolatry." 3. Σημειώσθε, note that man: *signate* (as Menochius rendereth it) rather than either *significate* or *notate*, set a mark upon him, even as (saith Erasmus) we set a mark upon pushing oxen, that we may avoid them; which agreeth well with the Syriac, "Let that man be separated from among you." Σημειώω is somewhat more than σημαίνω; the latter usually signifieth no more but *significo, indico, signum* do; but the former is *signum et notam imprimo, obsigno, insignio*. The Septuagints make σημειώω to answer to the Hebrew נָשָׂא and נָשָׂא, *levavit, elevavit, sustulit*, so Psal. iv. 7, ἐσημειώθη ἐπ' ἡμῶν τὸ φῶς, &c., *signatum est super nos*; that is, "The light of thy countenance is lifted up upon us exemplarily, or bannerwise," so as it may be remarkable to others. The learned authors of the *Dutch Annotations* upon 2 Thes. iii. 14, tells us that "this Greek word doth not properly signify to present or represent one, but to note one and mark him out, putting some ignominy upon him, or outing him from an honourable congregation, and marking or blotting out his name, as one unworthy of that honour." By which reason, as likewise by that which follows, they confute those who construe the word *note* with the word *epistle*, as if the Apostle had said, Note or present me such a one by a letter. 4. "Have no company with him." He speaks it to the ἑταῖροι that they may have no fellowship with the ἄτακτοι; he will have those that walk orderly and by rule, to have no company with those that walk disorderly. Now this concerneth the whole church equally, and it is spoken to the church; for what reason can there be that some in the church should have no company with one because of his scandalous and disorderly walking, but the same reason will

make the whole church to have no company with him? There may be divers civil respects and considerations which may make it unfit for some to keep familiar civil fellowship, which respects and considerations do not concern others. But the avoiding of the company of those who walk scandalously and disorderly, and that because they walk in that manner, and further add obstinacy to their sin after public admonition, must needs belong to the whole church. 5. "Note that man, and have no company with him." He must first be noted, before he be avoided; and both these are public ecclesiastical acts: for it was far from the Apostle's meaning that every man should be herein left to his liberty; he that pleaseth to note him and have no company with him, well and good; he that pleaseth not, shall be free. But unless there be an ecclesiastical judgment and censure passed upon such a one, every one had been left to his liberty. 6. "That he may be ashamed." This, as it is the end of church censures, so it will be attained in a very small measure, and perhaps not at all, by one private man's avoiding the company of another, which will not make the offender ashamed, abased, and humbled, but when he is publicly noted, and when the church avoids his company, that is it which most covers a man with shame and confusion of face.

Tenthly, The Apostle mentioneth ecclesiastical rulers, Rom. xii. 8, ὁ προϊστάμενος, *præfectus*, or *qui præest*, "he that ruleth," that is, the ruling elder. He is making an enumeration of ecclesiastical offices and administrations, and no other. So Calvin, Beza, Piscator, Martyr, Tossanus, Diodati, all upon the place, and Junius, *Eccles. lib. 2, cap. 1*, do conceive, and the whole context and the allusion to the several offices of several members in the same body proveth it; and if all the rest be ecclesiastical, why not the office of ruling also, which is there mentioned? For how should civil ruling come in among the ecclesiastical administrations, especially in those days when magistrates

were not Christian? Musculus takes the rulers here to be elders. Gualther and Bullinger, though they make this text applicable to civil rulers, yet they do not exclude church officers from ruling, but expressly mention church governors distinct from civil governors, to be there comprehended under ὁ προϊστάμενος. Mr Hussey, p. 19, answering this argument, can neither deny what I said of Gualther and Bullinger, nor yet doth affirm that civil rulers are there meant, only his reply is, that my argument is drawn from the interpretation of the place, but "the disputant may not interpret (saith he), that is the answerer's part." This calls to mind the anabaptistical error, *Concionatores non retinent verba textus, sed interpretantur ea, id quod non ferendum*. For which see Petrus Hinkelmannus, *de Anabaptismo*, disp. 9, cap. 1. My argument was drawn from the text, for the text *rightly understood and interpreted* is the text. But see now what strange rules you may expect when Mr Hussey comes to school disputes: the disputant may not interpret, he must keep close to terms; if the thing be not *in terminis* in the text, it is no argument; by which rule he will at one dash overthrow not only the disputations of Protestants against Papists,—of the ancient fathers against the heretics of their times, (for how is justification by faith *only*, the number of the sacraments, the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and many other most material points proved, but by Scripture rightly opened, cleared, and interpreted?) but also the disputations of the apostles, and of Jesus Christ himself, against the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Jews; for there is nothing more ordinary with Christ and his apostles in their disputes for the truth, than to interpret Scripture, and give the sense of it.

Eleventhly, Κυβερνήσεις, the governments mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 28, are not civil but ecclesiastical governments, as I have largely proved chap. 6, and shall not need here to repeat it; only observe what Bullinger saith on the place:¹ whereunto add the testimony of Hugo Grotius (whom I suppose our opposites do not look upon an adversary) on Luke xii. 14. He acknowledgeth that in the church of Corinth, *censura morum* was

¹ Musculus upon the place.—Habet ecclesia quælibet suos præfectos et gubernatores, &c. Isti sunt seniores, &c. Calvin, *ibid.*—Temporis illius conditio non de quibuslibet præfectis Paulum loqui ostendit (quia tunc nulli erant pii magistratus), sed de senioribus qui morum erant censores. Tossanus, *ibid.*—Id omne ad regimen et ordinem ecclesiæ et potestatem illam spirituales de qua 2 Cor. x., referri debet: et tribuitur præsidium appellatio quos *πρωτοπρεσβυτερος* et *πρεσβυτερος* vocat apostolus, 1 Tim. v., omnibus in genere ministris et etiam senioribus ecclesiæ.

¹ At Gubernatores vocavit Ambrosius qui spiritibus retinaculis documento sunt hominibus, quales sunt seniores, presbyteri, et disciplinæ Christianæ præfecti, morum censores.

penes presbyterium, the censure of men's manners was in the power of the presbytery. This government the church of Corinth had, a Christian magistrate they had not.

Twelfthly, If in the Jewish church there was an ecclesiastical government, distinct from the civil, then in the Christian church also there ought to be an ecclesiastical government distinct from the civil. But in the Jewish church there was an ecclesiastical government distinct for the civil. Therefore, the proposition is proved thus: There can be no reason given for an ecclesiastical government among the Jews, distinct from the civil, which will not hold as well and as strongly for an ecclesiastical government among Christians, distinct from the civil; for we speak not now of the particulars (a high-priest, or the like) which were typical and proper to that time, but we speak of a church government distinct from the civil: look upon it under that notion, and then see if any reason can be given for it among them, which will not conclude the like among us; yea much more among us, for if the priests had a great influence and interest into the civil government of the Jews, and yet there was a church government distinct from the civil; how much more now when ministers have not, neither ought to have any share in the civil government. The assumption hath been abundantly proved before in the first book. I will not repeat, but here note these scriptures: Jer. v. 31, "The priests bear rule." It was their office to bear rule; it was their sin to support themselves in their ruling by the false prophets; 1 Chron. ix. 11, "Azariah, the ruler of the house of God;" 2 Chron. xxxi. 13, "And Azariah the ruler of the house of God;" Neh. xi. 11, "Seraiah, the ruler of the house of God." All the chief priests, or heads of the several classes or orders of priests, were called *principes sanctorum*, saith Matthias Martinus, *Lexic. Philol.* p. 3268. So 2 Chron. xxxv. 8, "Hilkiah, and Zechariah, and Jehiel, rulers of the house of God;" Acts xxiii. 5, "Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Finally, Deut. xxxi. 28, where we find *schoterim*, that is, officers, rulers, or such as were set over the charge; the LXX. read *γραμματοεισαγωγεις*,—Jerome, doctors: more plainly, 2 Kings xi. 18, "The priest appointed officers over the house of the Lord."

Thirteenthly, A corrective ecclesiastical government in the churches of Galatia seemeth to be intimated, Gal. v. 12, "I would they were even cut off (*ἀποκόψονται*) which trouble you;" which many understand of excommunication. See Esthius, in lib. 4, sent. dist. 19, sect. 6, 7. Also Salmeron, Menochius, Vasquez, Novarinus, and (of ours) Beza, Diodati, Gomarus, all upon the place, beside divers others. Musculus upon the place doth parallel this cutting off with delivering to Satan, 1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20; and explaineth *excindantur* by *abalienentur*, which best suiteth to excommunication. Certainly the words will easily admit this sense, or rather invite to it; for *ἀποκόπτω* is not properly *perdo, destruo, consumo*, but *amputo, abscindo*, also *minuo*; because that from which anything is cut off, is diminished and made less; also *repello, abjungo, separo, abstraho*. And so *ἀποκόπτομαι, abscindor, excindor, separor, abstrahor*. Hunters, and such as trace the vestiges, but cannot find them, are said *ἀποκοπῆναι*, to be cut off or abstracted. *Hesych*, *ἀποκοπῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἱχθυόντων λέγεται ὅταν μὴ εὕρωσιν*. So *ἀπόκοτος, abscissus*, is not he who is cut off by death or destruction, but he that hath his members cut off; which seems to have been the ground of Augustine's mistake of this text, conceiving the Apostle's wish to be, that those men should be made eunuchs. The Septuagints have sometimes *περιτέμνω, circumcido*, and *κατασπάω, demitto*, as synonymous with *ἀποκόπτω*. Now from the phrase, to the purpose of the text. That it is meant of excommunication, I have these reasons which confirm me: 1. Because, ver. 9, "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," are the very same words which he useth, 1 Cor. v. 6, where he presseth the excommunication of the incestuous man; as there, one unclean person in life; so here, some few seducers (especially that one who is singularly pointed at ver. 10), is meant by the *little leaven*, which was to be purged out, lest it should leaven the whole church. 2. Interpreters do generally agree, that the Apostle here alludeth to circumcision, which those Judaizing teachers pressed upon the Galatians as necessary; wishing that they who would so fain have the Galatians circumcised, were themselves cut off and cast out of the church as rotten members, or as gangrene out of the body. This allusion suiteth best with excommunication. The words so understood will more fitly answer and

be parallel unto the cutting off in the law : "that soul shall be cut off from among his people" (which I have before proved to be meant of excommunication), as likewise to that, 1 Cor. v. 14, "put away that wicked person from among you." 4. Other interpretations do not so well agree to the text. This cutting off could not be expected, nor any hopes had of it by the hand of justice, or of the magistrate, for the magistrates of that time were themselves troublers of the Christians, so far they were from cutting off those that troubled them. Those that understand the words of an imprecation of eternal cutting off from God, and being accursed from Christ, draw themselves into thorny questions, wherein they can hardly satisfy themselves or others. To understand it of cutting off by death, doth not well answer that allusion to circumcision, generally observed (as hath been said) by interpreters; which allusion doth intimate that it is not a cutting off out of the world, but a cutting off from the body of the church. I would that they themselves were cut off, as the *præputium*, from the church, that is, cut off *à consortio ecclesiæ*, saith Gualther. If it be said, Why doth he not prescribe or command to excommunicate them? Why then doth the Apostle only wish it? To this we may either answer as Beza: The apostle Paul's authority at that time was extremely blasted and weakened in the churches of Galatia; or thus, the Apostle knew that as the churches of Galatia then stood affected (being betwitched with the Judaizing zealots, and, in a manner, moved away to another gospel), both churches and ministry were unwilling to excommunicate those that he means of; for which cause he would not peremptorily command their excommunication, *renitente ecclesia*, but forbearth for that season, wishing for better times. Some think that the Apostle speaketh positively of excommunication, ver. 10: "He shall bear his judgment;" but others are of opinion the Apostle there speaks of the judgment of God,—which he certainly and positively denounces,—and that, ver. 12, he addeth this as a distinct purpose,—that he could wish them also cut off from the church by excommunication.

It will be an argument of more weight against Erastus's interpretation of that text, if we object against him thus: This cutting off which the Apostle wisheth to those that trouble the Galatians, cannot be meant of a

divine or miraculous judgment upon them such as he thinks to be meant, 1 Cor. v. (which place he parallels with Gal. v. 12, as to the punishment intended); for if so, why doth not the Apostle adjudge them positively to be cut off or destroyed, as he did constitute and decree, by his apostolical power of miracles (so thinks Erastus), the incestuous Corinthian to be delivered to Satan? To this Erastus replieth, lib. 3, cap. 9, Because the apostles had not power to work miracles *quoties vellet*, as often as they would, nor to afflict or slay any, but when it seemed good in God's eyes, *sed quando Deo visum fuit utile, necessarium, et salutare*. But I ask, Was it right and agreeable to the will of God that the Apostle should wish their cutting off? Was it not profitable and necessary for the church's good that they should be cut off? Where shall we find that the working of a miracle was profitable and necessary for the church's good, and that an apostle did desire and thirst after the working of that miracle, and yet had not power from God to work it? How had the false apostles insulted at this? Is this the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who hath not power from God to work a miracle, when himself professeth he would gladly have it wrought?

Fourteenthly, That passage, 2 Cor. x. 6, is, by some, brought (not without very considerable reasons) for the spiritual or ecclesiastical censures. "And have in readiness," saith the Apostle (or as the Syriac, *we are ready*), "to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled." Novarinus in 2 Cor. x. 6, *plerique de excommunicandi potestate hæc verba interpretantur*. In this sense was the text understood a thousand years ago by Gregory, *Epist.*, lib. 2, cap. 37. The *Dutch Annotations* upon the place, say that the Apostle's meaning is: "Of declaring the vengeance of God against the obstinate, and of exercising the ecclesiastical bann or discipline against those who, professing themselves members of the congregation, do yet teach or lead unchristian lives or doctrine." Others also (among whom is Mr David Dickson) understand church censures to be here meant. The Apostle is, in that chapter, confuting the calumny of such as said of him, His epistles were weighty and powerful, and did speak of great things, but when he himself is bodily present, he doth but little, he assumes no great authority, he is weak and almost

contemptible. In answer hereunto he tells them, "The weapons of our warfare" (speaking not only in his own name, but in the name of all the ministers of Christ), though they be not carnal, yet "they are mighty through God" to conquer and captivate souls to the obedience of Christ. And as for the stubborn and unruly, we are armed with a power of corrective government, which shall be more fully executed in due time. There is but one of two interpretations which can, with any probability, seem to agree to this text, namely, that it is meant either of the extraordinary apostolical power by which they did miraculously punish some offenders (as Peter did Ananias and Sapphira, and as Paul did Elymas), or of a corrective church government and excommunication. The reasons which induce me to believe that the Apostle meaneth here of church censures, especially excommunication, and not of that extraordinary miraculous power, are these: 1. The reason added, "When your obedience is fulfilled," cannot suit to the power of working miracles (for it had been the more seasonable to work such miracles while the obedience of the Corinthians was not yet fulfilled. Miracles are not for them that believe, but for them that believe not, saith the same apostle), but it suits very well to the power of church censures; for as Esthius and Novarinus explain the Apostle's reason, it is in vain to excommunicate all such as are worthy of excommunication, when there is a general renitency and unwillingness in the church, or to cut off a member when the same evil hath infected either the whole or the greatest part of the body, which Augustine also tells us in divers places. And this (by the way) confirms the reason which I gave, why the Apostle only wisheth those that troubled the Galatians to be cut off, but doth not command it, in regard of the present unwillingness and disaffection of those churches. 2. We may have a great deal of light to this place, by comparing it with chap. xi. 20, 21 and xiii. 2. Many among the Corinthians had sinned foul and scandalous sins, whereof they had not repented, and for which they were not censured or cast out of the church. The Apostle certifieth them, that if he come, he will not spare. What? Was it his meaning to work a miracle upon every fornicator, and each other scandalous person in the church of Corinth? No, sure. Mark his words, "Now, I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to

all other, that if I come again, I will not spare." Who can imagine his meaning to be that he would work a miracle upon them and all other? So here, when it is said, "having in readiness to revenge *all disobedience*," let it be remembered that the apostolical power of miracles was never appointed to be executed against *all* disobedience. Thirdly, That which the Apostle saith of the spiritual weapons, "Mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strongholds," &c., was not proper or peculiar to the apostles, but is rightly applied to all the ministers of the gospel; the more hardly can it be supposed, that what is immediately added, and, as it were with one breath, uttered, "And having in readiness to revenge *all* disobedience," is meant of the extraordinary apostolical power. Fourthly, Such as the weapons are for conquering and subduing souls to the obedience of Christ, such is the corrective or punitive part there spoken of. But the weapons for conquering are merely spiritual, not corporal; therefore the corrective or punitive part there spoken of is also spiritual, and so doth not concern the the inflicting of corporal punishment, such as Erastians understand by delivering to Satan.

Fifteenthly, An ecclesiastical ruling power may be proved from 2 Cor. ii. 8, "I beseech you that you would confirm your love towards him." Here is a juridical power of loosing, and consequently of binding; for it belongeth to the same power to bind and loose, to excommunicate and to absolve. An authoritative juridical loosing I prove from the word *κρῶσαι*, which properly signifieth the making a thing sure or firm by a decisive suffrage, authoritative judgment, or ratificatory and obligatory sentence passed upon it. Hen. Stephanus, in *Thes. Linguae Gr.*, in the word *κρῶω*, saith that this text, 2 Cor. ii. 8, is more rightly read, *Ut ratam faciat in illum charitatem*, than as the vulgar Latin hath it, *Ut confirmetis*. The verb *κρῶω*, he expoundeth thus: *Auctoritatem do, auctoritate mea comprobo; vel ratum habeo, ratum facio*. Pasor renders the same verb *sancio, ratum facio*, and citeth for that sense 2 Cor. ii. 6. So Erasmus likewise upon the place; so Cartwright upon the same place against the Rhemists; so Chemnitius, *Exam. Cons. Trident.*, part 4; *de Indulg.* p. 53. The force of this word, *κρῶσαι*, was urged against the opinion of Erastus in a public dispute at Heidelberg, the narration whereof is left by Ursinus in

his *Catechetical Explications*. That the word signifieth an authoritative act, and supposeth a ruling power, may be thus further confirmed: First, who did *κυρῶσαι* but *κυρία ἐκκλησία*? No doubt the Apostle borroweth the word from the language and customs of the heathen Greeks. Now *κυρία ἐκκλησία* was a fixed or set lawful assembly, which met with a judicial ruling power, and ratified a thing by decisive suffrages, *ἐκύρουν τὰ ψηφίσματα*. See Suidas in the word *ἐκκλησία*; Stephanus and Scapula in the word *κύριος*; Erasmus in 2 Cor. ii. 8. Arias Montanus, in the word *κυρία*, tells us, that to the Grecians *κυρία* was the same thing which *comitia* was to the Latins; therefore such assemblies had a judicial power, and their suffrages were *κύρια δόξα*, firm and ratified sentences. Secondly, *Κυρῶ* cometh from *κύρος*, whence also cometh *κύριος*, Lord, *κυριότες*, dominion, *κυριεύω*, to rule, or to have a dominion. It was long ago observed by Dionysius Areopagita, *de Divinis Nominibus*, cap. 12, where, after he hath put into the description of *κυριότης*, dominion, that it is *ἀληθὴς καὶ ἀμετάπτωτος βεβαίωτης, true and unshaken firmness*, he adds this reason, *διὸ καὶ κυριότης παρὰ τὸ κύρος, καὶ τὸ κύριον, καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν*, which Balthasar Corderius rendereth thus: *Quapropter dominatio Græce a κύρος derivato nomine, idem est quod firmatio, firmamentum et firmum, ac firmans seu ratificans*. Pachimeres in his Paraphrase addeth, that *κυριότης*, as it signifieth *ἐξουσία*, hath its name from *κύρος*. So, then, it is not every confirming, certifying, or making sure a thing, but when a thing is made sure or firm, with fulness of authority and power. The word *κύρος* is therefore rightly rendered by Stephanus, Scapula, and Pasor, not only *firmamentum rata fides*, but *auctoritas plena*, full authority. Thirdly, The same Apostle calls a ratified testament (which ratification is by a legal and judicial authority) *διαθήκη κεκυρωμένη*, Gal. iii. 15. Fourthly, The opposite verb *ἀκυρῶ* signifieth *auctoritate privo, omni imperio spolio irritum reddo*. As *ἀκυρῶ* noteth a privation of authority, so *κυρῶ* a giving of authority or ratification.

The sixteenth argument to prove a distinct church government is this: The visible, political, ministerial church is the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and he is the Head, King, Judge, and Lawgiver thereof, Isa. ix. 6; Isa. xxii. 21—22; Psal. ii. 6; Luke i. 33;

1 Cor. xv. 24; Eph. i. 21—23. Dare any say that the Lord Jesus shall not govern the Church of England, and reign over the same? Luke xix. 14, 27. Must he not be received both as Lord and as Christ? Acts ii. 36. Now in the administration and government of a kingdom these three things are necessarily required, 1. Laws. 2. Officers, ministers, judges, courts. 3. Censures and punishments of offences. Which three being universally necessary in every kingdom, can least of all be wanting in the church and kingdom of Jesus Christ, who hath been more faithful in the execution of his kingly office, and hath provided better for the government of his church, than ever any king or state in this world did for a civil government. I add, The laws, judicatories, and censures, in the kingdom of Christ, must be spiritual and ecclesiastical, because his kingdom is not of this world, and his servants cannot take the sword, John xviii. 36. Neither are the weapons of our warfare carnal, but yet mighty through God, and in readiness to revenge all disobedience, 2 Cor. x. 4—6. I do not see what can be answered to this argument, except any do so far deny the kingly office of Jesus Christ, as to say that the church political or ministerial is not his kingdom, but only the church mystical; that is, as he ruleth over our souls by his word and Spirit. To which purpose Mr Hussey, in his *Plea*, p. 33, denieth that the visible church can be called the body of Christ, or he their Head; and tells us that the government which Christ hath over the faithful is truly spiritual, "And of this kingdom (saith he) he hath indeed no officers but his Spirit." I reply, 1. The Scripture is plain that a visible, ministerial church is the body of Christ, Rom. xii. 4, 5; 1 Cor. x. 16, 17; 1 Cor. xii. 12—28. If we admit of a visible church and visible saints, we must also admit of a visible body, and a visible kingdom of Christ. 2. The political, ministerial church, were a body without a head. The analogy of a political head as well as of a natural head, agreeth to Christ; the *πολιτεία* as well as *ἐνέργεια*: and he hath an influence upon the church *potestative* as well as *effective*. 3. He executeth his prophetic office not only in teaching us inwardly by his Spirit, but in teaching the church outwardly by his servants, the ministers of his word. Now, if he be a Prophet to the visible ministerial church, he is also a King to the same; for his offices cannot be divided; his scholars are his subjects, and whosoever re-

ceive him as a prophet, must also receive him as a king. Yea, let us hear Mr Hussey himself, p. 17: "The kingdom of Christ is as ample as his prophecy, &c., the doctrine which they must teach commands, now commands have always power and authority annexed;" so that either he must say that Christ gives no commands to the visible church, or confess that the visible church is the visible kingdom of Christ. 4. That the kingdom of Christ comprehendeth the government and discipline of the church, I prove from Matt. xvi. 28, "There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." Where, first of all, note, Christ hath not only an invisible, but a visible kingdom. Next, this visible kingdom is not meant of his coming again in glory to judge the quick and the dead; for all that were then hearing Christ have tasted of death, and yet Christ is not come to judgment. Nor is it meant of Christ's transfiguration, Matt. xvii. for that was six days after, Matt. xvii. 1; and if he meant that, he would not have said so emphatically, "There be some here that shall not taste of death," &c., intimating what was to come to pass, not after some days, but after some years; as if he had said, This age or generation shall not pass away till these things be fulfilled. Neither is that transfiguration anywhere called the kingdom of God, nor can it be properly so called. Nor, lastly, is the kingdom of God in that place meant only of the preaching of the gospel, for so they had seen Christ coming in his kingdom, Luke x. 9, 11. Nor is it meant of Christ's working of miracles, for so likewise they had seen his kingdom, Matt. xii. 28. *Melius ergo Beda et Gregorius, quorum sententiam nostri sequuntur, per illud regnum Christi intelligunt constitutionem ecclesiarum, post Christi ascensum*, saith Tossanus upon the place. Some of these to whom he spoke at that time lived to see Christ reign in the gathering and governing of churches. Gregor. *Hom. 32, in Evang.: Et quia nonnulli ex discipulis usque adeo in corpore victuri erant ut ecclesiam Dei constructam conspicerent, et contra mundi hujus gloriam erectam, consolatoria promissione nunc dicitur: sunt quidam de hinc stantibus qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant regnum Dei.* The very same words hath Beda on Mark ix. 1, following (it seems) Gregory. Grotius, on Matt. xvi. 23, doth likewise understand the promulga-

tion of the gospel, and the sceptre of Christ; that is, his law going out of Zion, to be here meant. I conclude: as the church is not only a *mystical* but a *political* body, so Christ is not only a *mystical* but a *political* head.

But peradventure some men will be bold to give another answer, that the Lord Jesus indeed reigneth over the church, even in a political respect, but that the administration and influence of this his kingly office, is in, by, and through the magistrate, who is supreme judge, governor, and head of the church, under Christ. To this I answer, Hence it would follow, 1. That Christ's kingdom is "of this world, and cometh with observation," as the kingdoms of this world do, which himself denieth, Luke xvii. 20; John xviii. 36. Next, it would follow, that Christ doth not reign nor exercise his kingly office in the government of his church under pagan, Turkish, or persecuting princes, but only under the Christian magistrate, which no man dare say.

3. The civil magistrate is God's vicegerent, but not Christ's; that is, the magistrate's power hath its rise, origination, institution, and deputation, not from that special dominion which Christ exerciseth over the church as Mediator and Head thereof, but from that universal lordship and sovereignty which God exerciseth over all men by right of creation; in so much that there had been (for order's sake) magistrates or superior powers though man had not fallen, but continued in his innocency: and now by the law of nature and nations, there are magistrates among those who know nothing of Christ, and among whom Christ reigneth not as Mediator, though God reigneth over them by the kingdom of power.

4. If the magistrate be supreme head and governor of the church under Christ, then the ministers of the church are the magistrate's ministers as well as Christ's, and must act in the magistrate's name, and as subordinate to him; and the magistrate shall be Christ's minister, and act in Christ's name.

The seventeenth argument I draw from the institution of excommunication by Christ, Matt. xviii. 17, "Tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." In which text, 1. All is restricted to a brother, or a church member, and agreeth not to him who is no church member. 2. His trespass is here looked upon under the notion of scandal, and of that which is also like

to destroy his own soul. 3. The scope is not civil, but spiritual—to gain or save his soul. 4. The proceedings are not without witnesses. 5. There is a public complaint made to the church. 6. And that because he appears impenitent, after admonitions given privately, and before two or three. 7. The church speaks and gives a judgment concerning him, which he is bound to obey. 8. If he obey not, then he is to be esteemed and held as a heathen man and a publican. 9. And that for his not hearing the church, which is a public scandal concerning the whole church. 10. Being as an heathen and publican, he is kept back from some ordinances. 11. He is bound on earth by church officers, “Whatsoever ye bind,” &c. 12. He is also bound in heaven. More of this place elsewhere. These hints will now serve. The Erastians deny that either the case, or the court, or the censure there mentioned, is ecclesiastical or spiritual. But I prove all the three.

1. Christ speaketh of the case of scandals, not of personal or civil injuries, whereof he would be no judge, Luke xii. 14, and for which he would not permit Christians to go to law before the Roman emperor or his deputies, 1 Cor. vi. 1, 6, 7. But if their interpretation stand, they must grant that Christ giveth laws concerning civil injuries, and that he permitteth one of his disciples to accuse another for a civil injury before an unbelieving judge. Beside, Christ saith not, If he shall hear thee, thou hast from him a voluntary reparation of the wrong, or satisfaction for it (which is the end why we deal with one who hath done us a civil injury); but he saith, “If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother;” intimating that the offending brother is told and admonished of his fault, only for a spiritual end, for the good of his soul, and for gaining him to repentance. All which proveth that our Saviour meaneth not there of private or civil injuries, as the Erastians suppose, but of scandals, of which also he hath spoken much before, as appeareth by the preceding part of that chapter. A civil injury done by one brother to another is a scandal, but every scandal is not a civil injury. The Jews (to whose custom Christ doth here allude) did excommunicate for divers scandals which were not civil injuries. And Paul saith of a scandal which was not a civil injury, “When ye sin so against the brethren,” &c. 1 Cor. viii. 12.

2. The court is ecclesiastical, not civil; for

when it is said, “Tell it unto the church,” must we not expound scripture by scripture, and not understand the word church to be meant of a civil court? for though the word *ἐκκλησία* is used, Acts xix. *recitative*, of a heathenish civil assembly, called by that name among those heathens, yet the penmen of the Holy Ghost have not made choice of it in any place of the New Testament, to express a civil court either of Jews or Christians. So that we cannot suppose that the Holy Ghost, speaking so as men may understand him, would have put the word *ἐκκλησία* in this place to signify such a thing as no where else in the New Testament it is found to signify. Nay, this very place expoundeth itself, for Christ directeth his speech to the apostles, and in them to their successors in the government of the church: “Whatsoever ye shall bind,” &c., and “if two of you shall agree,” &c. So that the church which here bindeth or judgeth, is an assembly of the apostles, ministers, or elders of the church.

3. The censure is spiritual, as appeareth by these words, “Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican;” which relate to the excommunication from the church of the Jews, and comprehendeth not only an exclusion from private fellowship and company (which was the condition of the publicans, with whom the Jews would not eat), but also an exclusion from the temple, sacrifices, and communion in the holy things, which was the condition of heathens, yea, of profane publicans too; of which elsewhere. And further it appeareth by these words, “Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth,” &c. The apostles had no power to inflict any civil punishment, but they had power to bind the soul, and to retain the sin, John xx. 23. And this power of binding is not in all the Scripture ascribed to the civil magistrate.

The eighteenth argument shall be drawn from the example of excommunication, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. The Apostle writeth to the church of Corinth to deliver to Satan (for the delivery to Satan was an act of the church of Corinth, as the Syriac explaineth it) the incestuous man, which is called a censure “inflicted by many,” 2 Cor. ii. 6; that is, by the whole presbytery of the church of Corinth. And whereas some understand by delivering to Satan, the putting forth of the extraordinary apostolical power to the working of a miracle upon the offender, by giving him over into the hands of Sa-

tan, so as to be bodily tormented by him, or to be killed or destroyed (as Erastus takes it), I answer, 1. It cannot be meant of death, for it is said that Hymeneus and Alexander were delivered to Satan, and to what end? That they might learn not to blaspheme, 1 Tim. i. 20, which had been too late to learn after death. 2. Nor is it at all meant of any miraculous tormenting of the body by the devil; for beside that it is not likely this miracle could have been wrought, Paul himself not being present to work it, it is utterly incredible that the Apostle would have so sharply rebuked the church of Corinth, for that a miracle was not wrought upon the incestuous man (it not being in their power to do), or that he would seek the consent of that church to the working of a miracle, and as a joint act proceeding from him and the church by common council and deliberation, for where read we of any miracle wrought that way? Therefore, it is much more safe to understand by delivering to Satan (as Gualther himself doth), excommunication, which is a shutting out of a church member from the church, whereby Satan cometh to get dominion and power over him, for he is the god of this world, who reigneth at his pleasure in and over those who are not the church and people of God, 2 Cor. iv. 4; Eph. ii. 2. And if any shall be so far unsatisfied as not to admit this sense which we put upon that phrase of delivering to Satan, yet your argument for excommunication drawn from 1 Cor. v., standeth strong, the weight of it not being laid upon *tradere Satanae* only, but upon ver. 6, 7, 11, 12, compared with 2 Cor. ii. 6, which undeniably prove excommunication from church fellowship.

The nineteenth argument shall be drawn from Acts xx. 28, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers," *ἐπορεύουσιν*, compared with 1 Peter v. 2, 3, "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof," *ἐπισκοποῦντες*. Which texts, as they hold forth a bishop and a presbyter to be one and the same, *jure divino*, so they hold forth the ruling power of presbyters or elders.

First, Because otherwise the simile (so much made use of in these scriptures) of overseeing the flock (mentioned and joined together with the feeding thereof), will fall short in a main and most material point; for the overseers of flocks do not only make

them to lie down in green pastures, and lead them beside the still waters, but they have also rods and staves for ruling the flocks, and for correcting and reducing the wandering sheep, which will not be brought home by the voice of the shepherd, Psal. xxiii. 2, 4. The pastoral rod there mentioned by David is corrective; as Clemens Alexandrinus, *Pædag.*, lib. 1, cap. 7, who doth also parallel it with that text, 1 Cor. iv., "Shall I come unto you with a rod?"

Secondly, Paul requireth the elders of the church of Ephesus to take heed unto, and to oversee the whole flock, which did consist of more than did, or could, then meet together ordinarily in one place for the worship of God, as appeareth by the church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla (which was one, but not the only one church assembly at Ephesus), by the great and wonderful increase of the gospel at Ephesus, and such other arguments which I do but point at, the full debate of them not being my present work. Peter also, writing to the churches of the strangers in several provinces, calls them the *flock*, not *flocks*, and commends unto the elders the feeding and oversight of that flock. Now, what is it that can denominate many particular visible churches or congregations to be one visible ministerial flock or church, unless it be their union and association under one ecclesiastical government? No doubt they had the administration of the word and sacraments partitive or severally; nor do I deny but they had a partitive several government; but there was also an union or association of them under one common government, which did denominate them to be one visible ecclesiastical flock.

Thirdly, The very name given to the elders of the church, *ἐπίσκοποι*, is a name of authority, rule, and government, especially in the Christian and ecclesiastical use of the word. H. Stephanus, in *Thes. Ling. Gr.*, in the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, saith that the elders of the church were called *ἐπίσκοποι, seu ἐπιστάται καὶ ἐπόπται τοῦ ποιμνίου*, to wit, saith he, those *qui verbo et gubernationi præerant*. Where he tells us, also, that the magistrate or prætor, who was sent with a juridical power into those towns which were under the power of the Athenians, was called by the name of *ἐπίσκοπος*. The Septuagints use the word, Nehem. xi. 9, "Joel, the son of Zichri, was their overseer (*ἐπίσκοπος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*); and Judah, the son of

Zenuah, was second over the city." He that had but the second place was a ruler, how much more he that was in the first place? Lo, here, the head and chief ruler of the Benjamites called by the name of *ἐπισκοπος*. So Num. xxxi. 14; 2 Kings xi. 15, the chief officers of the host, the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, are called by the Septuagints *ἐπισκοποι τῶν δυνάμεων*. The same Hebrew words which they render by *ἐπισκοπος*, they render in other places by *ἐπιστάτης*, *præfectus*, *προσ-τάτης*, *antistes*, *ροπάρχης*, *præpositus*, *ἀρχων*, *princeps*. Yea, the name of God יהוה they render by this word, Job xx. 29, "This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and the heritage appointed unto him by God." Παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, saith the Greek, *by the overseer* (even as the same name of bishop is given to Christ, 1 Pet. ii. 25). Conradus Kircherus, in the word *pakad*, tells us also that, Gen. xlv. 34, "Let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint officers over the land," where the LXX. read *ροπάρχας*, the Greek *Scholia*, which he useth to cite, hath *ἐπισκότους*.

Fourthly, Peter addeth, "not as being lords," or over-ruling, *κατακυριεύοντες*, that we might understand he condemneth the ruling power of the lord bishop, not of the Lord's bishop; of *episcopus dominus*, not of *episcopus Domini*. Just as, Ezek. xxxiv. 4, the shepherds of Israel are reproved for lording it over the flock, "With force and with cruelty have ye ruled them." It was their duty to rule them, but it was their sin to rule them with force and with cruelty.

The twentieth argument I take from 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Moreover, it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful." And Tit. i. 7, a bishop is "the steward of God," *θεοῦ οἰκονόμος*. This name doth exclude lordship and dominion, but withal it noteth a ministerial rule or government, as in the proper, so in the metaphorical signification: *οἰκονόμος* is a name divers times given by Aristotle, in his *Politics*, to the civil magistrate. The Septuagints have *οἰκονόμοι* as synonymous with *στρατηγοί*, *σαρπάται*, *ροπάρχαι*: Esth. viii. 9, "To the lieutenants and the deputies." The LXX. thus, *τοῖς οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς*. The Holy Ghost, by the same word, expresseth government, Gal. iv. 2, *ὅπο ἑπιτρόπου ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκονόμος*, "is under

tutors and governors." Rom. xvi. 23, Erasmus is called *ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως*. Theophylact thinks he was governor of the city; Erasmus, that he was *præfectus ærario*, town-treasurer. The English translators call him "the chamberlain of the city." Yea, setting aside the metaphorical signification of this name, often used for a name of rule, the very literal and native signification of the word will serve to strengthen this argument in hand. Ministers are *οἰκονόμοι*, that is, house-stewards, or over the house. But what house? Aristotle, at the beginning of the second book of his *Æconomics*, distinguisheth a fourfold economy, *βασιλική*, *σατραπικὴ*, *πολιτικὴ*, *ιδιωτικὴ*: kingly, noble, civil, private. The ministers of Christ are *οἰκονόμοι* of the first sort. They are stewards in the house of the Great King. He that is steward in a king's house, must needs have a ruling power in the house; 1 Kings iv. 6, Abishar was over Solomon's household; 1 Kings xviii. 3, "And Ahab called Obadiah, which was the governor of his house;" 2 Kings xviii. 18, "Eliakim, which was over the household;" in all which places the LXX. have *οἰκονόμος*. I hold, therefore, with Peter Martyr upon 1 Cor. iv. 1, that ministers being, by their calling and office, stewards in the house of God, ought to cast out profane impure persons out of the house, and receive them again upon their repentance.¹ And why are they called "stewards of the mysteries of God?" Surely the sacraments are part (and a chief part) of those mysteries, and Christ hath made his ministers (not the civil magistrates) stewards of these mysteries, to receive unto, or to exclude from the sacraments; and as they may not keep back any of the children of the house, so they may not suffer dogs to eat at the children's table.

The one-and-twentieth argument, which shall *claudere agmen*, shall be drawn from Acts xv., where we find an ecclesiastical assembly or synod of the apostles, elders, and other choice brethren, such as Judas and Silas. These did so assemble themselves, and proceed with authority in a business highly concerning the truth of the gospel, Christian liberty, the healing of scandal, and the preserving of peace in the church, as that it is manifest they had and executed a power of government distinct from magis-

¹ Curabit demque (æconomus) ut impuros et perditæ viventis a familia excludat, eosdemque si penitentiam egerint, rursus in eam recipiat.

tracy. Mr Selden, *de Jure Natur. et Gent.*, lib. 7, cap. 12, hath sufficiently expressed that which is the ground of my present argument, and I rather choose to speak it in his words than in my own: "Now, a dispute being had of this thing at Antioch, Paul and Barnabas (who having used many arguments against that Pharisaical opinion, yet could not end the controversy) are sent to Jerusalem, that there the thing might be determined by the apostles and elders. It is agitated in a synod. In it it is determined by the apostles and elders, that the Gentiles who had given their names to Christ, are not indeed bound by the law of Moses or of the Hebrews, as it is Mosaical and prescribed to the church or commonwealth of the Jews, but that they ought to enjoy their Christian liberty." And so much for that which the synod loosed them from. But what doth the synod bind upon them? The synod doth also impose certain things, namely, abstinence from fornication, and from things offered to idols, and from blood, and things strangled, "*UT QUÆ NECESSARIO OBSERVANDA, EX AUTORITATE SYNODI*, saith Mr Selden, *being such as were necessarily to be observed, in regard of the authority of the synod*, by those who, giving their names to the Christian religion, should live with the Jews (they also giving their names to the Christian religion), and so enter into religious fellowship with them." I shall add two other testimonies of Mr Prynne's. The first I shall take out of his *Twelve Considerable Serious Questions concerning Church Government*, p. 5, where, arguing against the independency of particular congregations, he asks, "Whether the synodal assembly of the apostles, elders, and brethren at Jerusalem, Acts xv., who *made and sent binding decrees* to the churches of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, and other churches," be not an apparent subversion of Independency? So that, by Mr Prynne's confession, the Scripture holds forth other governors or rulers in the church beside magistrates, and the authority of these other governors to be such, as to make and send to the churches *binding decrees* in things and causes ecclesiastical. Another testimony I take from his *Independency Examined*, p. 10, 11, where he argueth against the Independents, and proveth from Acts xv., the authority of ordinary ecclesiastical synods; bringing also six arguments to prove that the apostles did not there act

in their extraordinary apostolical capacity, or as acted by a spirit of infallibility, but in their ordinary capacity. Thereafter he concludeth thus: "Therefore their assembling in this council, not in their extraordinary capacity as apostles only, but as elders, ministers, and the elders', brethren's, sitting together in council with them upon this controversy and occasion, is an undeniable Scripture authority for the lawfulness, use of parliaments, councils, synods, under the gospel, upon all like necessary occasions; and *for their power to determine controversies of religion, to make canons in things necessary for the church's peace and government.*"

Lo, here Mr Prynne gives us an undeniable Scripture authority for a diatactic governing power in the church, distinct from magistracy. How he will draw from Acts xv. the use of parliaments or their authority, I do not imagine; it is enough for my argument that he acknowledgeth this scripture to warrant synods of ministers and elders, and the power of these synods to be not only *consultive*, but *conclusive*, *decisive*, and *obligatory*; for this (I suppose) he means by the power to determine controversies, and to make canons for the church's peace and government; else he had concluded nothing against the Independents, who yield a consultive synodical power.

If any shall yet desire to be more particularly satisfied concerning the strength of my present argument from Acts xv., I will make it out from these particulars following.

First, Here is a power and authority to assemble synodically, and it is an intrinsic power within the church itself, not adventitious or extrinsic from the magistrate. Whence the soundest Protestant writers prove, that though the civil magistrate hath a power of convoking synods, and he ought to do it when the church's necessity or danger doth call for such a remedy; yet this power of his is *positive*, not *privative*, *cumulative*, not *destructive*. And that "if the magistrate be an enemy and persecutor of the church and of true religion, or cease to do his duty, that is, to wit, in a manifest danger of the church, the church notwithstanding ought not to be wanting to herself, but ought to use the right and authority of convocation, which first and foremost remaineth with the rulers of the church; as may be seen, Acts xv." So say the Professors of Leyden, in *Synops. purior. Theol.*

disp. 49, thes. 24, beside divers others whom I might here cite, but that is not now my business.

Secondly, Beside the public debate and deliberation, the synod did also choose and send certain delegates or commissioners to Antioch, and wrote by them a synodical epistle to the churches in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia. I believe such synodical acts of sending commissioners and letters to the churches in other nations or provinces, should now be looked upon as acts of government, if done without the leave of the magistrate, as then Judas and Silas were sent.

Thirdly, That synod did exercise and make use of a threefold ecclesiastical power, for remedy of a threefold ecclesiastical disease. 1. They purge out the leaven of false doctrine and heresy, by deciding and determining that great controversy, whether circumcision and the keeping of the ceremonial law of Moses were necessary to salvation: they hold forth and declare to the churches the negative; and this they do by the *dogmatic* power. 2. There was a great scandal taken by the believing Jews (then not fully instructed and persuaded concerning the abrogation of the ceremonial law by the death of Christ), who were so far stumbled and offended at the believing Gentiles, for their eating of things sacrificed to idols, and of blood, and things strangled, that they could not freely nor contentedly converse, company, and eat together with the Gentiles. For remedy whereof, the synod doth require (in regard of the law of love, edification, peace, and avoiding of scandal) that the Gentiles should abstain from those things, as also from fornication (which for what cause it is added, I do not now dispute); and this they do by the *diatactic* power. 3. There was a *strasis*, a schism, dissention, and rent made in the church by the Judaizing teachers, ver. 2, who clothed themselves with a pretended authority and warrant from the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and thereupon got the more following, and drew away the more disciples after them. For remedy hereof, the synod stigmatise and brandeth those men, by declaring them to be liars, troublers of the church, and subverters of souls, ver. 24; and this they do by the *critic* power, or authority of censures.

Fourthly, The decree and canon of the synod, which is made, imposed, emitted and promulgate, is authoritative, decisive, and

binding; Acts xv. 28, "For it seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and (here the Arabic repeateth it *seemeth good*) to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain, &c." If it be said that this was but a doctrinal advice, "It seemed good," &c., I answer, Josephus *Antiq. Jud.* lib. 4, cap. 8, speaking of the decree of the supreme sanhedrim (which he that disobeyed was to be put to death), calls it *τὸ δοκῶν*, that which seemeth good: so likewise in this place, the word *ἐδοξε*, is not meant of an opinion only, for an opinion (as schoolmen define it) is properly such a judgment of or assent to a thing, as is evident and firm, but not certain; so that opinion cannot be ascribed to the Holy Ghost; it is therefore here a word of authority and decree, as Mr Leigh, in his *Critica Sacra* at the word *δοκέω*, noteth out of Chemnitius: in which sense the Grecians frequently use it. So Stephanus, out of Demosthenes, *δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ*, it is decreed by the senate: and Budæus out of Plato, *δεδωραὶ μοι καθαιρεῖν*, it is certainly appointed to die. Observe also the word *ἐπιτίθεσθαι*, and *βάρος*, imposing and burden. They do impose some burden, only they are careful to impose no burden except in necessary things: Acts xvi. 4, "And as they went through the cities they delivered them *τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα*, the decrees that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem." And here I cannot pass the observation of that gentleman who hath taken so good pains in the original tongues, Mr Leigh, in his *Critica Sacra* of the New Testament, on the word *δόγμα*: "Wheresoever *δόγμα* is found in the New Testament, it is put for decrees or laws, as Luke ii. 1; Acts xvii. 7, it is put for the decrees of Cæsar; and Eph. ii. 15; Col. ii. 14, for the ceremonial laws of Moses, and so frequently by the LXX. in the Old Testament for decrees; as Dan. ii. 13; iii. 10, 29; iv. 6; for laws, Dan. vi. 8." *Cæterum*, saith Erasmus upon Acts xvi. 4, *dogmata Græca vox est, significans et ipsa decreta sive placita, non doctrinam ut vulgus existimat*. And whereas some have objected, that *δογμαρίζω* and *δογμαρίζομαι* are used only in reference to a doctrinal power, as Col. ii. 20, *δογμαρίζεσθαι*, I answer, Budæus expounds *δογμαρίζω* to be *decerno*, and Col. ii. 20, *δογμαρίζεσθαι*, the Syriac makes it *judicamini*; Erasmus and Bullinger, *decretis tenemini*; Stephanus,

Beza, and Gualther, *ritibus oneramini*; the English translators, "Are ye subject to ordinances?" This subjection was not only to *doctrines*, but to *commandments*, ver. 22, "after the commandments and doctrines of men;" and these commandments (though in deed and truth the commandments of men only at that time) were imposed as the commandments of God, and as ceremonial laws by Moses. The vulgar Latin hath *decernitis*, and Tertullian readeth *Sententiam fertis*; both of them (it seemeth) having read *δουναρίζε*: however they understand the power related unto to be more than doctrinal.

I conclude, that *δόγματα*, Acts xvi. 4, must be more than doctrinal declarations, and that it is meant of binding decrees (that I may use Mr Prynne's phrase), especially when joined with *κοκρυμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, there was a judgment passed and given upon the making and sending of those *δόγματα*, not the judgment of one or two, but the judgment of the apostles and elders synodically assembled. So Acts xxi. 25, James and the elders, speaking of that synodical judgment, say, "We have written and concluded that they observe no such thing," &c.

These four considerations being laid together, concerning an intrinsical ecclesiastical power of assembling together synodically; of choosing and sending commissioners with a synodical epistle to the churches in other parts; of providing effectual and necessary remedies both for heresies, scandals and schisms, arising in the church; of making and imposing binding decrees on the churches, will infallibly prove from Scripture authority another government in the church beside magistracy.

I might here add other arguments, but so much for this time.

CHAPTER X.

SOME OBJECTIONS AGAINST ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE ANSWERED.

Obj. 1. Mr Hussey, in his epistle to myself, objecteth thus,—“What will your censure do? it will shame a few whores and knaves; a great matter to shame them the law of nature shameth.”

All this *in terminis* might have been as justly objected against the Apostle Paul,

when he wrote to the Corinthians to put away from among themselves the incestuous man. What will your censure do, Paul? a great matter to shame one whom the law of nature shameth. The Lord save me from that religion which will not shame whores and thieves, and all other whom the law of nature shameth, and that in a church way (as well as civilly) if any such member fall into such impiety: yet this is not all. All orthodox writers that write of church censures, will tell him, that scandals, either of doctrine or life, either against the first or second table, fall under ecclesiastical cognisance and censure.

Obj. 2. He argueth thus, *ibid.* “Sure in the day of our Lord there will be as good a return of the word preached, as of the censure.” And in his *Plea*, p. 1, “If the word be able to make the man of God perfect, then nothing is wanting to him, *perfectum cui nihil deest*; and it is a wonder how that conscience should be wrought upon by human authority, with whom divine cannot prevail.”

Ans. 1. This also he might as well have objected against the Apostle Paul, who did require the Corinthians to put away from among them the incestuous man, and Titus to reject an heretic after once or twice admonishing of him. 2. He might object the same thing against magistracy. Shall there not be a better account of the word preached than of magistracy? and if the word be able to make the man of God perfect, there is no need of magistracy; *perfectum est cui nihil deest*. Surely many Erastian arguments do wound civil as well as ecclesiastical government. 3. Church censures are not acts of human authority, for they are dispensed in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and (if *clavis non errante*) are ratified in heaven. 4. Discipline is no addition to that word which is able to make the man of God perfect, for it is one of the directions of the word. 5. The comparison which some make between the efficacy of the word preached, and the efficacy of church discipline, as to the point of converting and winning souls, is a mere fallacy *ab ignoracione elenchis*; for church discipline is not intended as a converting, light-giving, or life-giving ordinance. “Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God;” and the word is “the power of God for salvation to every one that believeth;” but ecclesiastical discipline hath a necessary use, though it hath not that use.

Discipline and censures in the church are intended, 1. For the glory of God, that his name may not be blasphemed, nor the doctrine of the gospel reproached, by occasion of uncensured scandals in the church. 2. For keeping the ordinances of Christ from profanation and pollution, that *signa gratiæ diviniæ*, the signs of God's favour and grace, and the seals of his covenant, may be denied to unworthy scandalous persons. 3. For preserving the church from the infection of bad and scandalous examples, it is fit to put a black mark upon them, and to put away the wicked person, as the Apostle saith; for a rotten member if it be not cut off, and a scabbed sheep, if not separated from the flock, may infect the rest. 4. For the good also of the offender himself, "that he may be ashamed," and humbled, 2 Thes. iii. 14; 2 Cor. ii. 7. This afflicting of the sinner with shame and sorrow, may, and shall, by the blessing of God, be a means to the destruction of the flesh, 1 Cor. v. 5; that is, to tame and mortify his lusts, and so far *removere prohibens*, that he may be the better wrought upon by the word. I conclude: Church government being instituted by Christ, and having a necessary use in the church, the Erastians gain nothing by comparing it with the word; because it is not so necessary as the word; therefore it is not necessary at all. Or, because it is not efficacious in the same manner as the word is, therefore it is not efficacious at all. The Apostle saith, "Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the gospel," 1 Cor. i. 17. What if he had said, "Christ sent me not to rule but to preach the gospel?" Then had the Erastians triumphed. Yet this expression could not have proved that church government is not an ordinance of Christ, more than that can prove that baptism is not an ordinance of Christ. A negative in the comparative, will not infer a negative in the positive.

Obj. 3. "I could never yet see (said Mr Coleman) how two co-ordinate governments, exempt from superiority and inferiority, can be in one state."

Against this I instanced in the co-ordinate governments of a general and an admiral, of a master and a father, of a captain and a master in one ship. Mr Hussey, finding he cannot make good Mr Coleman's word, tells me, p. 7, that he meaneth two supreme co-ordinate governments. Where first he loseth ground, and tacitly yieldeth that church government and civil govern-

ment, distinct from each other, do well consist, as long as they are not supreme, but as two armies under one head. No inconsistency, therefore, of congregational and classical elderships, and of provincial assemblies, with the subordinate magistrates and civil courts in cities and counties. Next, we shall find also in Scripture two co-ordinate supreme governments, for the civil and ecclesiastical sanhedrim of the Jews were both supreme and co-ordinate, and there was no appeal from the sentence of either; as is evident by that disjunctive law, Deut. xvii. 12, "And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest (that is to the priests, ver. 9), or unto the judge (that is, the assembly or court of judges, as I have cleared elsewhere), even that man shall die." But I have also answered more fully this objection concerning co-ordination, chap. 8.

Obj. 4. Ministers have other work to do, and such as will take up the whole man. "To this argument (saith Mr Hussey, p. 8) Mr Gillespie maketh no answer at all, though St Paul useth the very same argument to discharge the preachers from the oversight of the poor, Acts vi. 2, God forbid we should leave the care of the word of God, and serve at tables." It will not be unseasonable to mind both him and Mr Prynn, that the canonized names, by them used *stylo Romano*, St Paul, St Matthew, St Mark, &c., ought to be laid aside, except they will use it of all saints. And why not as well St Moses, and St Aaron (whom the Psalmist calls the "Saints of the Lord")? Or why not St Aquila, St Apollos, St Epaphras? &c. Methinks men professing reformation ought not to satisfy themselves in using this form of speech only of such as have been canonized at Rome, and enrolled saints in the Pope's calender. And as strange it is that Mr Hussey makes Paul to act in the business, Acts vi., before he was either saint or apostle. Now to the argument. I did answer at first (though Mr Hussey is pleased not to take notice of it), p. 36, that where Mr Coleman objected, ministers have other work to do, he might as well have added, that when ministers have done that other work, and all that ever they can, yet without the power of church government, they shall not keep themselves nor the ordinances from pollution; that is, church government is a part of their work, and a necessary part, which hath been proved. I thought it enough to touch

an answer where an objection was but touched; another objection in that very place being more insisted on (and with more colour of reason) concerning the fear of an ambitious enactment.

And for the objection now in hand, Mr Hussey hath made it no whit stronger by his instance from Acts vi. For, 1. The apostles did not wholly lay aside the care of the poor. Sure Paul (afterward an apostle) took great care of the poor at divers times, and in divers places, as himself recordeth; but such taking care of the poor as did distract and hinder them from the main work of preaching the gospel, this was it which they declined; and in that respect the work of baptizing also did give place to the work of preaching, 1 Cor. i. 17. Likewise the work of discipline must be so ordered, as may not hinder the principal work of preaching the gospel; which is very possible, yea *probatum est*; for where church government is exercised, there are as painful preachers as any in the world, and such as neglect none of their other work. 2. To take special and particular care of the poor, did belong, by Christ's institution (whose mind was no doubt known to the apostles), to the office of deacons, and for that reason the ministers of the word ought in like manner to be relieved of that burden by deacons: but church government doth belong to the elders of the church, of whom some labour both in doctrine and government, others in government only.

But neither must the argument go so, I have another thing to ask: What is that other work which will take up the whole man? Mr Hussey, p. 12, expounds Mr Coleman's meaning, "That the preaching of the gospel would take up the whole man, especially in our time: our knowledge of the Scriptures is to be acquired by ordinary means," &c. And in his Epistle to the Parliament he saith, "I found the minister charged only with preaching and baptizing, which being performed with such zeal and diligence as is needful, is abundantly a sufficient employment." And so he takes off the minister not only from government, but from visiting particular families, especially the sick; from catechising and examining those who are to be admitted to the Lord's supper, from the celebration of the Lord's supper itself, to say nothing of the solemnisation of marriage, yea, from disputations in schools concerning the controversies of the time, which yet him-

self so much calls for. And why? The minister hath other work to do, and such as will take up the whole man, which is to preach and baptize.

5. *Obj.* If acts of government be put in the hands of church officers, there is fear of an ambitious ensnarement, which Mr Coleman proved by an arguing from his own heart to the hearts of other men. "Mr Gillespie's answer to the matter of ambition (saith Mr Hussey, p. 10), is only by involving the civil magistrate in the same danger of ambition." And here he falleth out into a concertation, professedly with my answer, but really with Mr Coleman's answer; for the foundation of his argument was universal. "Might I measure others by myself, and I know not why I may not (God fashioneth men's hearts alike, and as in water face answers to face, so the heart of man to man)," &c. Hereupon I replied, "Is this corruption only in the hearts of ministers, or is it in the hearts of all other men? I suppose he will say in all men's hearts; and then his argument will conclude against all civil government."

And now *per omnes musas* I beseech him, which of us involveth the magistrate in ambition? Must I be charged with involving the magistrate because I discovered that Mr Coleman's argument involveth the magistrate? He might as truly say he is not the traitor that commits treason, but he is the traitor that reveals treason. And why saith he that my answer was *only* concerning that involving of the magistrate? Did I not first show that the two scriptures on which Mr Coleman's argument was grounded, did not prove it; though now Mr Hussey tells us, Mr Coleman did but allude to those scriptures (I am sure it was all the scriptural proof which was brought for that argument upon which so much weight was laid), "which I will not trouble my reader withal," saith he. A pretty shift, when a man cannot defend the argument, then, forsooth, he will not trouble the reader. Next, did I not deny that which Mr Coleman did take for granted, that we may reason from this or that particular corruption in one man's heart, to prove the same particular corruption in all other men's hearts, and that Paul taught us not so, Phil. ii. 3? Did I not also answer in his own words, that his brethren's "wisdom and humility may safely be trusted with as large a share of government as themselves desire?" Did I not lastly answer,

that if his whole argument were granted, it cannot prove that there ought to be no church government, for where the thing is necessary, abuses must be corrected and amended, but must not take away the thing itself? Unto which exceptions nothing hath been replied nor offered to vindicate or make good that argument which was publicly offered to the parliament. If such men were fit to put the reverend Assembly and all the ministry of England to school again, to learn to dispute, let every pious and wise man judge. And so I am led on to another objection.

Obj. 6. Schools of divinity will advance learning and religion, and get us an able ministry more than ecclesiastical government can do; so Mr Coleman in his Sermon, p. 26. Yea, Mr Hussey calleth for schools, that there may be unity found among the preachers of the gospel, together with more learning and knowledge, p. 12—15 (where, by the way, the Jesuits are much beholden to him, and Protestant writers very little). In his Epistle to the Parliament he desireth that ministers would unbend their thought of government, and think on ways to get knowledge. I should have thought *multum scientiæ, parum conscientiæ*, might be as seasonable a complaint. Knowledge and learning are indeed most necessary, and, I am confident, shall flourish more under presbyterial government than either under Popery or Prelacy. School disputes need not hinder ecclesiastical government: that ought to be done, and this not to be left undone. There is a practical part which belongs to presbyteries and synods, as well as a contemplative part belonging to schools: which made the divines of Zealand to offer this among other articles, to be advised upon by the synod of Dort, that they who are preparing for the ministry, may (after their education at schools, before their settling in the ministry) be, for some space, present in presbyteries, to learn church government.¹ That which a minister must do, is work; and that work is labouring in the word and doctrine, in ruling and watching over the flock, in dispensing the ordinances to them as a faithful steward. But Mr Hussey, p.

15, tells us, the minister must not be called from his study to examine notorious offences, which, indeed, suiteth his notion of schools. The Grecians did not intend schools for any such work; for to them σχολή was rest from work, and σχολάζειν to be idle, to take a vacation; that is, from other affairs, and from a practical life, to attend reading and studies. If schools be made to serve for all those necessary uses which church government will serve for, then there is much said, but otherwise nothing against us.

Obj. 7. But *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*? If the power of government and censures be in the hands of church officers, how shall they be censurable and punishable for their own offences? How shall the censurers themselves be censured? This objection I find in the eighth epistle of Dionysius Areopagita (or whoever he was that wrote under that name). It was made by one Demophilus. What then say you? Must not the profane priests, or such as are convicted to have done somewhat amiss, be corrected; and shall it be lawful to them alone, while they glory in the law, to dishonour God by breaking of the law?" A little after this, direct answer is made to the objection: "But if, perhaps, any among these err from that which it becometh him to do, *παρὰ τῶν ὁμοτρογῶν ἀγίων ἐκαστορῶθῆσεται*, let him be corrected by the saints of his own order; and so order shall not be intermixed with order, but each one shall be exercised in his own order and administration." As the faults of church officers deserve the greatest censures, so, in all the reformed churches, where the free exercise and administration of church discipline is received, there is greatest severity of church discipline against church officers, and especially against ministers of the word, when any such are, upon just proof, convicted of scandal. It is too much diffidence (and groundless, I dare say) to apprehend that ministers who have taken upon them the bond of such a covenant, and joined in such a reformation, will yet be ready to connive at any scandalous person of their own coat. And if a classis should happen to commit such an error, yet there can be no such fear in this particular from a provincial or national assembly, which, in a well-reformed church (as they are constituted of choice, able and godly, both ministers and others assembled from divers quarters, so) use to correct (not to confirm) the maladministration in inferior ecclesiastical courts. I speak

¹ Synod. Dord. sess. 18. Et quia vocati ad ministerium regimini ecclesiæ aliquando sunt præficiendi: ecclesiarum vero regimen in scholis exacte non addiscitur, non abs re foret si aliquot ante vocationem mensibus, in urbibus celebrioribus potestas illis fiat ut intersint presbyteriis, &c.

here of the ecclesiastical offences of church officers; their other offences belonging wholly to the civil cognizance and jurisdiction.

Obj. 8. But "let the Scripture speak expressly, and institutions appear institutions, and all must bow." It is asked, Why we must not prove a *must be*, as well as a *may be*; and whether do our proofs amount to an institution and a *jus divinum*? For satisfaction in this point also, I answer, The question which for the present I speak to, is not whether Christ hath, in his word, limited and determined us to any one particular form of church government, so as no other form can be admitted as lawful or agreeable to the word; much less do I now inquire what is that particular form or kind of government which Christ hath instituted; but the present controversy with the Erastians is, Whether Christ have not appointed and instituted a government in his church, in the hands of church officers, distinct from civil government? As it is one thing to inquire whether it be the will of God, that there be a civil government or magistracy; that is, that there be not an anarchy in a nation, but some rule and government; another thing to inquire whether God hath, in his word, limited a nation to any one particular kind of civil government, and if any, what it is: so it is one thing to inquire whether it be the will of God that there be an ecclesiastical government, or an intrinsical power of ruling in the hands of church officers, distinct from the civil government; another thing to ask, whether the word determineth any one kind of church government as necessary, and which it is. The former, not the latter, is our present controversy. Yea, in very truth, the Erastians do oppose not only the institution, but the lawfulness and agreeableness to the word of God, of a church government distinct from the civil; for their principles and arguments tend to the investing of the civil magistrate with the whole and sole power of church government, as that which belongeth to him only, and that *jure divino*; so that, if their principles hold good, it shall be unlawful and contrary to the word of God for church officers to claim, or assume, or exercise, any government or power of censures. Though (I say) the clearing and vindicating of the lawfulness of a distinct church government doth overthrow the Erastian principles, yet, that I may deal the more clearly and fully for the satisfaction of all such as may be satisfied, this I

avouch and aver, It is *jure divino*: it is the will of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, the King and Head of his church, that there be a church government in the hands of church officers distinct from the civil government; it is *de necessitate præcepti*, of the necessity of precept that it be so; it is sin and a violation of Christ's institution if it be not so. I am confident the arguments which I have brought, chap. 9, will reach this point, and fully conclude it, especially if the strength of them be put together. Yet, now, to drive the nail to the head, I add these following arguments directly inferring and proving an institution:—

First, The Scripture speaks of church government in the same manner, and with the same height, fulness and preemtoriness of expression, as it speaketh of other things which are without any controversy acknowledged, even by the Erastians themselves, to be institutions of Christ. For instance, let the Erastians prove against the Socinians, the necessity and perpetuity of the ordinance of baptism; that it ought to continue always in the church, and that by virtue of an institution and precept of Christ: I will undertake, by the like medium, to infer the like conclusion concerning church government. Again, let them prove the necessity, perpetuity, and institution (I say not now of the word itself, or of preaching, but) of the ministry, or of the pastoral office: church government. I do not now compare or parallel the government with the ministry of the word *quo ad necessitatem mediæ vel finis*, as being equally necessary to salvation, nor yet as being equally excellent; but this I say, the one is, by the Scripture language, an institution and ordinance of Christ, as well as the other. One ordinance may differ much from another, and still both be ordinances.

Secondly, Church government is reckoned among such things as had an institution, and which God did set in the church, 1 Cor. xii. 28. It is a good argument for the institution of pastors and teachers, that God set them in the church, as we read in that place, and Christ gave them to the church, Ephes. iv. 11. Will not this, then, hold as well for the institution of a government in the church? That the governments mentioned, 1 Cor. xii. 28, are ecclesiastical and distinct from civil, is already proved, chap. 6.

Thirdly, If it be the will and command-

ment of God that we be subject and obedient to church governors, as those who are over us in the Lord, as well as to civil governors, then it is the will of God that there be a rule and government in the church distinct from the civil. For *relata se mutuo ponunt vel tollunt*, if we be obliged, by the fifth commandment, to honour magistrates as fathers, then it is the will of God that there be such fathers; so, when we are commanded to know them which are over us in the Lord, and to esteem them highly, 1 Thes. v. 12; to honour doubly elders that rule well, 1 Tim. v. 17; to be subject and obedient unto ecclesiastical rulers, Heb. xiii. 17, with ver. 7, 24, doth not this intimate the will of God, that pastors and elders be over us in the Lord, and rule us ecclesiastically?

Fourthly, That which, being administered, is a praise and commendation to a church, and, being omitted, is a ground of controversy to Christ against a church, can be no other than an ordinance and necessary duty. But church government and discipline is such a thing as, being administered, is a praise and commendation to a church, 2 Cor. ii. 9; Rev. ii. 2; and, being omitted, is a ground of controversy to Christ against a church, 1 Cor. v. 1, 2, 6; Rev. ii. 14, 20; therefore,

Fifthly, The rules and directions concerning an ecclesiastical government and discipline are delivered precept-wise in Scripture; 1 Cor. v. 13, "Put away that wicked person from among you;" 2 Thes. iii. 14, "Note that man;" Tit. iii. 10, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." Augustine, *Lib. contra Donatistas post Collationem*, cap. 4, saith, that church censures and discipline are exercised in the church *secundum præceptum apostolicum*, according to the apostolic precept, for which he citeth 2 Thes. iii. 14.

Sixthly, There is an institution and command, Matt. xviii. 17, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." In which place there are three acts of the church, that is, of the assembly of church officers: 1. They must be met together to receive complaints and accusations: "Tell the church. 2. They give sentence concerning the case: "If he neglect to hear the the church," &c. Where hearing is required, and obedience, there must needs be an authoritative speaking or judging; so that they who would prove the church here hath only

power to admonish doctrinally, because it is said, "If he hear not the church," they may as well prove that the judges of Israel had no more power but to admonish doctrinally, because it is appointed, Deut. xvii. 12, that the man who will not hearken to the judge shall die; and is it not there expressed that the judge shall put him to death, more than it is expressed here that the church shall declare the offender to be as an heathen and a publican. 3. They must bind such a one by excommunication: "Whatsoever ye bind on earth," &c.

Neither could it ever enter in the thoughts of Jesus Christ to command one church member, or private brother, to esteem another brother as an heathen and a publican, whom he would not have so esteemed by the whole church; and least of all can it be the will of Christ that one and the same person should be esteemed by one of the church to be as an heathen and a publican, and, withal, be esteemed by the whole church as a brother, a good Christian, a church member, and, accordingly, to be freely admitted to the ordinances.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NECESSITY OF A DISTINCT CHURCH GOVERNMENT UNDER CHRISTIAN AS WELL AS UNDER HEATHEN MAGISTRATES.

Some, when they could not deny but there was a church government in the primitive and apostolic churches distinct from all civil government, and church censures distinct from all civil punishments, yet they have alleged (though no such thing was alleged of old, neither by Constantine and other Christian emperors, nor by others in their behalf) that this was for want of Christian magistrates, and that there is not the same reason for such a church government or censures where there is a Christian magistracy. See Mr Hussey's *Plea*, p. 24; as likewise Mr Prynne in his *Diotrephes Catechised*. Mr Coleman's *Re-examination*, p. 16, calls for an instance where the state was Christian. For taking off this exception I shall observe, First of all, Grotius¹ (otherwise no good

¹ Annot. in Luke vi. 22.—*Reperti sunt et qui iudicia ista ecclesiis putarent inhibenda, quoties Christianas potestates Deus concederet seculo, &c. At Christi leges multo plus exigunt quam in commune*

friend to church government, being poisoned with the Arminian principles, who have endeavoured to weaken extremely the authority of classical and synodical assemblies, and to give a kind of papal power to the magistrate), yet, in this particular, he argueth strongly for us, and not against us.

Secondly, Where is that Christian magistracy which hath suppressed or punished all such offences as did fall under ecclesiastical cognizance and censure in the primitive and apostolic churches? Or where is that Christian magistrate that will yet undertake to punish all those offences and scandals which were censured in the apostolic churches? Till some such instance be given, this exception against church discipline and censures under a Christian magistrate hath not so much as colour enough. *Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi: aliud Papinianus, aliud Paulus noster præcipit*, saith Jerome in *Epitaph. Fabiolæ*: Cæsar's laws and Christ's laws are not the same but different: Papinianus commands one thing, Paul another thing. Chrysostom, *Homil. 12*, in 1 *Epist. ad Cor.*, tells us, that the best and wisest lawgivers had appointed no punishment for fornication, for consuming and trifling away of time with playing at dice, for gluttony and drunkenness, for stage-plays and lascivious whorish gestures therein. Is there not some cause to apply all this (and much more of this kind) even to Christian lawgivers and magistrates? Put the case, that he who is called a brother (as the Apostle speaks), that is, a member of the visible church, be found grossly ignorant of the principles of religion, and so far from growing in knowledge, that he loseth the knowledge of the Scriptures, and of the truth of God which he had (for this hath been divers times observed), through neglect of the means; or if he be known to neglect, ordinarily, prayer in and with his family, and to continue in that offence after admonition; or if he live in known or scandalous malice and envy, and refuse to be reconciled with his neighbour; or if he be a known liar and

dissembler; or if, by his words and actions, he do scandalously and manifestly show himself covetous, drowned in sensuality, ambitious, proud; or if he give a foul scandal, by filthy and obscene speeches, by lascivious, obscene, whorish-like gestures or actions, where the act itself of adultery or fornication cannot be proved. I suppose that, for these and such like scandals (which are causes deserving not only the eldership's inquiry and admonition, but suspension from the Lord's table), the Christian magistrate neither doth, nor by the civil or municipal laws is bound to arraign and punish all such as are guilty thereof.

Thirdly, Whereas Archbishop Whitgift's *Answer to the Admon.*, p. 114, did allege that the church "may not be governed under a Christian magistrate, as it may under a tyrant," which he brings, as an exception, against ruling elders and elderships, while he could not deny but such there were in the primitive church. Mr Cartwright in his *Reply*, p. 140, answereth, that if these elders, under a tyrant, had meddled with any office of a magistrate, then there had been some cause why a godly magistrate, being in the church, that office should cease; but since they did only assist the pastor in matters ecclesiastical, there is no distinction between times of persecution, and times of peace, as touching the office of elders; the like say I of church censures and discipline. If the government of the church by presbyteries and synods, if suspension and excommunication in the apostles' times had been an usurping of anything belonging to the magistrate, then there had been some reason to lay aside all church censures and ecclesiastical government when the magistrate turned Christian, and willing to do his duty; but if not, then the civil and church government may still remain distinct, even where the state is Christian.

Fourthly, Every institution or ordinance of Christ must continue as a perpetual obligation, unless we can find in the word that Christ hath given us a dispensation or taken off the obligation, and set a period to the ordinance, that it shall continue so long and no longer. I mean every ordinance of Christ must be perpetual, which we cannot prove from the word to be but temporal or extraordinary. Now, in the word Christ hath not appointed the governing the church, and correcting scandals, to be only under a tyrant, and to cease under a Christian magistrate;

civibus imperii alicujus præscribi solet, aut etiam potest, semper enim magna pars hominum *Φρονεῖν* τὰ τῆς *σαρκὸς*. Quam civiles quidem leges suo funguntur officio, si graviora et societati maxime nocentia delicta coerceant at quæ contra dilectionis, contra mansuetudinis, contra patientiæ leges peccantur, extra communes leges sunt posita: non etiam extra eas leges quas se sectantibus Christus præscribit, et secundum qua judicare debet ille selectus ex mundo cætus.

neither is there any such thing held forth in Scripture (which yet our opposites must show, if they will make good what they say). But contrariwise, what Christ delivered to the apostles, and they to the churches, is to be kept and continued till our Lord come again, 1 Cor. xi. 23, 26; 1 Tim. vi. 14; and he himself saith, Rev. ii. 24, 25, "That which ye have already, hold fast till I come." These things were not spoken to the apostles, to Timothy, to the churches of that time, personally (for they were not to live till Christ's coming again), but the charge was given unto them in name of and with respect unto all the ministry and churches of Christ.

Fifthly, This exception made against church censures under a Christian magistrate, supposeth that such censures will make an interfering and clashing between the civil and ecclesiastical power. But there is no cause for that fear, these powers being so hugely differenced in their efficient causes, matters, forms, ends, effects, objects, adjuncts, correlations, and ultimate terminations, as I have made it to appear in the particulars, chap. 4.

Sixthly, The church's liberty and power is not to be infringed, diminished, nor taken away, but preserved, maintained, enlarged, and augmented, under a Christian magistrate. Were it not a sad case, if there should be cause to say that the churches of Christ have not so much liberty under a Christian magistrate to keep themselves and the ordinances from pollution, as they had under pagan and infidel magistrates?

Seventhly, Why may not Christian church government consist with Christian magistracy, as well as the Jewish church government did consist with the Jewish magistracy, being of the same religion? Or if we please to look to later precedents, who can be ignorant that civil government and church discipline have rather strengthened than destroyed each other, not only in France, where the magistracy is not Protestant, but in Scotland, in the Low Countries, in Geneva, and elsewhere?

Eighthly, We have covenanted to endeavour a reformation of church government and discipline, "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." Now both the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches, leadeth us to a church government distinct from civil government; and

the example of the best reformed churches doth undeniably lead us to a church discipline, even where the magistrate is Christian; neither doth the word make any exception of Christian states, but contrariwise chargeth us to keep the commandment and ordinances till Christ come again.

Ninthly, The magistrate hath other work to do, and such as will take up the whole man; and if he should take upon him the whole burden of church government, the inquiring into, examining and correcting of all scandals in the church, surely it is more than he can discharge, or give a good account to God of. It will be hard enough to church officers to do it, though they are set apart to that service, and *ex officio* do watch over people's souls, as they that must give an account. But for the Christian magistrate to discharge the whole corrective part of church government, and to watch over the souls of all the people, so as to take care of the purging of the church from scandals, and for that end to observe, examine, and judge all offences in the church, and to determine that this man ought to be admitted to the sacrament, and that man ought not to be admitted (for that there must be a suspension of scandalous and unworthy persons, I now take it for granted, because of the ordinance of parliament), as it is impossible for the magistrate to do all this, so I believe it will be to him *durus sermo*, a hard saying, to hear that he must give account to God of all these things; and that ministers have no more to answer for but preaching, ministering the sacraments to those to whom they are appointed to give them, catechising, visiting the sick, exhorting, admonishing, reproving, comforting. It was a good argument against the Prelate: he assumed the ecclesiastical government of a whole diocese, and could not give account to God for so many thousands, and sometime hundreds of thousand souls. Yet Mr Coleman would have had the parliament to be church officers to the whole kingdom in point of corrective government, and the ministry to have no part of that government. But then I ask, How shall they answer for that ecclesiastical government and administration of theirs, more than the Prelate could answer for the ecclesiastical government of a whole diocese? If it be said that the parliament is only to settle a rule, and to give order what is to be done, and to commit the execution and the managing of

particular cases to subordinate courts and inferior officers, then no more is said than the prelates did plead for themselves, that they did *per alium* what they could not do *per se*. So that such principles do tend directly to involve the parliament in the prelatial guiltiness, which our principles do avoid. Was it not another argument used against the prelates, that they could not manage both civil and church government, and that an ecclesiastical administration could not consist with civil power and places in the parliament or with offices of state, any one of these administrations (either the civil or the ecclesiastical) requiring the whole man.

Do not the Erastians endeavour to draw the parliament into the very same absurdity with which the prelates were pressed? For if any of these two administrations require the whole man, how can the civil magistrate (though Christian) take upon him the burden of church government, more than church officers can take upon them the burden of civil government? Philo the Jew gives this reason why Moses did make a partition of the charge between Joshua and Aaron, committing to the one the civil, to the other the ecclesiastical administration: "He considered that it was impossible rightly to take care both of the supreme civil power, and of the priesthood, since the one professeth to care for things pertaining to God, the other for men," Philo *de Charitate*.

Tenthly, *Ratio immutabilis facit præceptum immutabile*. If the Apostle had required the Corinthians to excommunicate the incestuous man, upon such grounds and reasons as were proper to that time, and are not applicable to after times, so as to prove the necessity of excommunication for the like offence, then there were some reason why excommunication should not be esteemed a perpetual ordinance in the church, but it is manifest that the reasons given by the Apostle were not proper to that time, but do concern this time as well as that. The reasons are taken: 1. From the glory of God; 1 Cor. v. 1, 2, he that had done such wickedness as was not so much as named among the Gentiles, was not to be suffered among God's people, but to be taken away from among them. If evil be not put away from Israel, it is a great dishonour to the God of Israel. This first argument used by the Apostle, is like that Ezek. xxxvi. 22,

23; they had profaned the holy name of God among the heathen, therefore God would sanctify his great name, and make the heathen to know that he is the Lord, when he should be sanctified in his people before their eyes. 2. From the commission, power, and authority which the church of Corinth, that is, their presbytery (compare 2 Cor. ii. 6), had to excommunicate such a one; ver. 4, 5, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together," &c. 3. From the good and benefit of the sinner himself, that he might be ashamed, humbled, reclaimed, mortified and saved; ver. 5, "For the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." 4. From the church's good, that the church might be preserved from the contagion of such sinful examples; ver. 6, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?" 5. From that which was signified and typified by the purging out of leaven from Israel in the time of the passover; ver. 7, "Purge out therefore the old leaven," &c. 6. From the end of Christ's death, which was to purify and sanctify, as well as to reconcile and justify his people, ver. 7, 8, "For Christ our passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast," &c. 7. From the difference which ought to be made between the the foul sins of church members, and others that are not church members; a blacker mark is to be put upon the former than upon the latter; and more withdrawing there must be from a scandalous brother or professor of Christian religion, than from a profane heathen, ver. 9, 10, 11.

From all which it doth appear, that it is not without good reason that Martyr and Pareus upon 1 Cor. v., do maintain the necessity of excommunication under a Christian and pious magistrate, as well as under an infidel and profane magistrate.

Eleventhly, The end and use for which church censures are necessary, is not intended and endeavoured, much less attained, by the government of the Christian magistrate. For though the Christian magistrate punisheth many (I cannot say all) gross and scandalous sins with corporal or civil punishments, yet to punish sin is one thing, to seek the salvation of the sinner is another thing: so the offender's suffering of punishment and satisfying the law of the land is one thing, his declaring of his repentance, and public confession of his sin, for taking away the

scandal which he hath given to the church, is another thing. Suppose a delinquent (whose fault is not capital by the law of the land, for instance a fornicator, a drunkard, a common swearer, a Sabbath-breaker, or the like) to have suffered, in his person or estate, all the punishment he ought to suffer, so that he hath now made a civil atonement (as I may call it) for his offence, and the Christian magistrate hath no further to charge him with. Suppose also that he is by such corporal or civil punishments, as by a bit and bridle, overawed and restrained from committing again the like external acts: notwithstanding he hath not the least sign of true repentance and godly sorrow for his former foul and scandalous sins, and he is known to be not an accuser, but an excuser of himself for those faults and scandals. Such a one comes and desires to receive the sacrament; must his penal satisfaction to the Christian magistrate be a sufficient penitential satisfaction to the church? Here is a rock which the Erastians dash upon, unless they admit of a distinct ecclesiastical judgment concerning the signs of repentance in a scandalous sinner, according to which, as these signs shall appear or not appear, he is to be admitted or not admitted to the sacrament.

Twelfthly, The power of binding and loosing is not a temporary but a perpetual one; that is, appointed by Christ to continue in his church always unto the end. Now this power is given only to church officers, and Christ hath not given the keys of discipline and the power of binding and loosing (of which elsewhere) to the magistrate, nay, not to the Christian magistrate more than to the infidel magistrate. Let the least hint be found in Scripture, where Christ hath given any such power to the Christian magistrate, and I yield the cause.

Thirteenthly, The New Testament holdeth out as little of the ministry of the word and sacraments under a Christian magistrate, as it doth of a church government under a Christian magistrate. Shall this, therefore, strengthen the Socinian tenet, that baptism is not a perpetual ordinance in the church, and that we are not obliged by that commission which the Apostles had to baptize? God forbid.

Fourteenthly, The German Anabaptists required an express warrant or example in the New Testament of a Christian magistrate, or of the sword and wars in a Chris-

tian state, yet this hath been thought no good argument against magistracy and wars among Christians.

I cannot pretermitt a passage of Gualther, who may seem to be opposite to me in this present question. Even he, in his Homily upon John ix. 22, after he hath spoken of excommunication in the Jewish church, and in the apostolic churches, he addeth, "And this day also there is need of ecclesiastical discipline, which being instituted in the reformed churches, ought to be diligently kept, lest the indulgence of magistrates, which reigns almost everywhere, should render the doctrine of the gospel suspected among those that are without, and that themselves also may be contained in their office, and may not think that anything they will is lawful to them in the church."¹

But after all this, let me put Mr Hussey and other Erastians in mind, that if they do acknowledge Jesus Christ hath instituted or commanded that there be a church government and power of censures distinct from the civil government, when the magistrate is heathenish or idolatrous, let them speak it out, and let us agree so far. Otherwise if they do not agree in this, it is but a blind for them to make use of this distinction, that where the magistrate is Christian, there is no necessity of a distinct church government.

I conclude with a passage of Mr Prynne in his *Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government*. The ninth of those questions runs thus:—"Whether the Independents' challenge of the Presbyterians to show them any national church professing Christ in our Saviour's or the apostles' days, before any one nation totally converted to the Christian faith, or any general open profession made of it by the princes, magistrates, and major part of any nation, kingdom, republic, who were then all generally pagans and persecutors of the gospel, not then universally embraced, be not a most irrational unjust demand?" Sure if this hold against the Independents, it will hold as strongly, yea more strongly against the Erastians, to prove their demand to be most irrational and unjust, while they chal-

¹ Et hodie etiam disciplina ecclesiastica opus est, quæ in reformatis ecclesiis instituta diligenter servari debet, ne magistratum indulgentia quæ ubique fere regnat, evangelii doctrinam exterius suspectam reddat, et ut ipsi quoque in officio contineantur, nec sibi quidvis in ecclesia licere putent.

lence us to show them in the New Testament a distinct church government under a Christian magistrate, or where the state was Christian, though themselves know magis-

trates and states were then generally pagan, not Christian. Yea, there was in those days much more of a national church than of a Christian magistrate.

AN APPENDIX TO THE SECOND BOOK,

CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF SOME TESTIMONIES NOT CITED BEFORE.

A Testimony of King James, in a Declaration of his, penned with his own hand, signed, and delivered to the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland at Linlithgow, December 7, 1585.—"I, for my part, shall never, neither my posterity ought ever, cite, summon, or apprehend any pastor or preacher for matters of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of the Scripture; but, according to my first act, which confirmeth the liberty of preaching the Word, ministration of the sacraments, I avouch the same to be a matter mere ecclesiastical, and altogether impertinent to my calling. Therefore never shall I, nor ever ought they, I mean my posterity, acclaim any power or jurisdiction in the foresaids." (His Majesty's meaning was, that he ought not to do this in *prima instantia*; that is, before the person be accused, convicted, or judged in any ecclesiastical court—which was the question at that time, occasioned by Mr Andrew Melville's case.) Afterward, in the same declaration, it followeth thus:—"Christ saying, *Dic ecclesiæ*, and one only man stealing that dint in a quiet hole, the act of parliament reduceth the sentence for informality and nullity of process,—not as judges whether the excommunication was grounded on good and just causes or not, but as witnesses that it was uniformly proceeded, against the warrant of God's word, example of all reformed kirks, and your own particular custom in this country." A little after:—"I mind not to cut off any liberty granted by God to his kirk. I acclaim not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of Scripture."

And after:—"My intention is not to meddle with excommunication, neither acclaim I, to myself or my heirs, power in anything that is mere ecclesiastical, and not ἀδιάφορον, nor with anything that God's word hath simply devolved in the hands of his kirk. And, to conclude, I confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be Head and Lawgiver to the same. And whatsoever persons do attribute to themselves, as head of the kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter anything that the word of God hath only remitted to them, that man, I say, committeth manifest idolatry, and sinneth against the Father in not trusting the words of his Son,—against the Son in not obeying him, and taking his place,—against the Holy Ghost, the said Holy Spirit bearing the contrary record to his conscience."

Testimonies taken out of the Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Reformed Churches. Reprinted at London, 1643.

Out of the Confession of Helvetia, p. 238.—"Furthermore, there is another power of duty, or ministerial power, limited out by Him who hath full and absolute power and authority. And this is more like a ministry than dominion; for we see that some master doth give unto the steward of his house authority and power over his house, and, for that cause, delivereth him his keys, that he may admit or exclude such as his master will have admitted or excluded. According to this power doth the minister, by his office, that which the Lord hath commanded him to do; and the

Lord doth ratify and confirm that which he doth, and will have the deeds of his ministers to be acknowledged and esteemed as his own deeds. Unto which end are those speeches in the gospel : I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest or loosest in earth shall be bound and loosed in heaven. (Matt. xvi.) Again : Whose sins soever ye remit, they shall be remitted ; and whose sins soever ye retain, they shall be retained. (John xx.) But if the minister deal not in all things as his Lord hath commanded him, but pass the limits and bounds of faith, then the Lord doth make void that which he doth. Wherefore the ecclesiastical power of the ministers of the church, is that function whereby they do indeed govern the church of God, but yet so as they do all things in the church as he hath prescribed in his Word ; which thing being so done, the faithful do esteem them as done of the Lord himself."

Out of the Confession of Bohemia, p. 250.—"The fourteenth chapter of ecclesiastical doctrine is of the Lord's keys, of which he saith to Peter, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xvi.), and these keys are the peculiar function or ministry and administration of Christ's power and his Holy Spirit ; which power is committed to the church of Christ and to the ministers thereof, unto the end of the world ; that they should not only by preaching publish the holy gospel, although they should do this especially ; that is, should show forth that word of true comfort, and the joyful message of peace, and new tidings of that favour which God offereth, but also that to the believing and unbelieving, they should publicly or privately denounce and make known, to wit,—to them his favour, to these his wrath, and that to all in general, or to every one in particular, that they may wisely receive some into the house of God, to the communion of saints, and drive some out from thence, and may so, through the performance of their ministry, hold in their hand the sceptre of Christ's kingdom, and use the same to the government of Christ's sheep." And after :—"Moreover, a manifest example of using the power of the keys is laid out in that sinner of Corinth (1 Cor. v.) and others, whom St Paul, together with the church in that place, by the power and authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Spirit, threw out from

thence and delivered to Satan ; and, contrariwise, after that God had given him grace to repent, he absolved him from his sins, he took him again into the church, to the communion of saints and sacraments (2 Cor. ii.), and so opened to him the kingdom of heaven again. By this we may understand, that these keys, or this divine function of the Lord's, is committed and granted to those that have charge of souls, and to each several ecclesiastical societies, whether they be small or great. Of which thing the Lord saith to the churches, ' Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' And straight after, ' For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' Matt. xviii."

Out of the French Confession, p. 253.—"We believe that this true church ought to be governed by that regiment or discipline which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established, to wit, so that there be pastors, elders, and deacons, that the purity of doctrine may be retained, vices repressed," &c.

Out of the Confession of Belgia, p. 257.—"We believe that this church ought to be ruled and governed by that spiritual regiment which God himself hath delivered in his word, so that there be placed in it pastors and ministers purely to preach, and rightly to administer the holy sacraments : that there be also in it seniors and deacons, of whom the senate of the church might consist, that by these means true religion might be preserved, and sincere doctrine in every place retained and spread abroad : that vicious and wicked men might after a spiritual manner be rebuked, amended, and, as it were, by the bridle of discipline, kept within their compass."

Out of the Confession of Auspurge, p. 260.—"Again, by the gospel, or, as they term it, by God's law, bishops, as they be bishops, that is, such as have the administration of the word and sacraments committed to them, have no jurisdiction at all, but only to forgive sin ; also to know what is true doctrine, and to reject such doctrine as will not stand with the gospel, and to debar from the communion of the church such as are notoriously wicked,—not by human force and violence, but by the word of God. And herein of necessity the churches ought, by the law of God, to perform obedience unto them, according to the saying of Christ, ' He that heareth you heareth me.' Upon which

place the observation saith thus: 'To debar the wicked, &c.; to wit, by the judgment and verdict of the presbytery, lawfully gathered together,' &c.

A Testimony out of the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France, cap. 5, art. 9.—"The knowledge of scandals, and the censure or judgment thereof, belongeth to the company of pastors and elders." Art. 15:—"If it befalleth, that besides the admonitions usually made by the consistories to such as have done amiss, there be some other punishment or more rigorous censure to be used, it shall then be done either by suspension, or privation of the holy communion for a time, or by excommunication, or cutting off from the church. In which cases the consistories are to be advised to use all prudence, and to make distinction betwixt the one and the other; as likewise to ponder and carefully to examine the faults and scandals that are brought before them, with all their circumstances, to judge warily of the censure which may be required."

Harmonia Synodorum Belgicarum, cap. 14, art. 7 to 9.—"*Peccata sua natura publica, aut per admonitionis privatæ contentum publicata, ex consistorii totius arbitrio, modo et forma ad ædificationem maxime accomodatis sunt corrigenda.*"

"Qui pertinaciter consistorii admonitiones rejecerit, a S. Cænæ communione suspendetur."

"Si suspensus post iter atas admonitiones nullum pœnitentiæ signum dederit, ad excommunicationem procedet ecclesia."

Melchior Adamus de vitis Germanorum Theologorum, p. 342.—"Cumque sub id tempus (anno 1545) *Fredericus Elector Palatinus*, qui *Ludovico* successerat, de ecclesiarum agigaret reformatione: composuit *Melanchthon*, cum evocato venire integrum non esset, scriptum de reformationis ecclesiæ: cujus synopsis aliquot regulis comprehendit: quas addimus."¹

*Vera et salutaris gubernatio ecclesiæ Christi præcipue in his Sex Membris consistit.*²—"Primum, In vera et pura doctrina, quam *Deus ecclesiæ suæ* patefecit, tradidit, et doceri mandavit.

"Secundo, In legitimo usu sacramentorum."

"Tertio, In conservatione ministerii evangelici et obedientiæ ergo pastores ecclesiarum, sicut *Deus vult et postulat conservari ministerium evangelii, et servat ipse sua potentia et presentia.*"

"Quarto, In conservatione honestæ et piæ disciplinæ retinendæ per judicia ecclesiastica, seu jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam."

"Quinto, In conservandis studiis necessariæ doctrinæ et scholis."

"Sexto, Ad hæc opus est defensione corporali et facultatibus, ad personas, quæ sunt in officiis necessariis, alendas."

The Irish Articles of Religion, art. 58.—"Neither do we give unto him (the supreme magistrate) hereby the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys." And art. 69.—"But particular and visible churches (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and live under the outward means of salvation) be many in number, wherein the more or less sincerely, according to Christ's institution, the word of God is taught, the sacraments are administered, and the authority of the keys is used, the more or less pure are such churches to be accounted."

Laurentius Humfredus de Religionis conservatione et Reformatione vera. Ad Nobilitatem, Clerum, et Populum Anglicanum, p. 23, 25.—"Nec satis mirari possum nec satis dolere, cum intelligam in his locis repudiari disciplinam ecclesiasticam, et vel nullam esse vel nimis laxam, vel non satis vigilanter administratam, in quibus tamen alioqui religionis sincera effigies cernitur: quasi evangelium esse possit ubi non vivitur evangelice: aut quasi *Christus læco, carnali, voluptuario delectetur evangelio, &c.*¹ At in ecclesia manere debet censura et jurisdictio, non minus quam gladius in repub." "Sit ergo hæc prima reformationis perfectæ ratio, nostri ac peccatorum recognitio et emendatio. Deinde severior adit in ecclesia castigatio et animadversio: ut illa laxitas et remissio frænetur, quo minus et levius deinceps peccetur."

¹ Cons. Theol. p. 586.

² Gubernatio Ecclesiæ in quibus consistat.

¹ He wrote from Basil.

THE THIRD BOOK.

OF EXCOMMUNICATION FROM THE CHURCH, AND OF SUSPENSION FROM THE LORD'S TABLE.

CHAPTER I.

AN OPENING OF THE TRUE STATE OF THE QUESTION, AND OF MR PRYNNE'S MANY MISTAKES AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF OUR PRINCIPLES.

Having now, by the light of Scripture and other helps, asserted a church government distinct from civil magistracy, both in the Old and New Testament, the last part of my present undertaking shall be to vindicate the particular ordinances of excommunication and suspension, called by the schoolmen *excommunicatio major et minor*, of which also I have before spoken divers things occasionally, for I have asserted an excommunication and suspension in the Jewish church, book i. cap. 4—12; the nature, grounds, reasons, uses, and ends whereof were not proper to the Old Testament, but such as concern the Christian church. I have also brought arguments, book ii. cap. 9, 10, which conclude not only church government, but excommunication. And so much of my work is done: nevertheless there is more to do. Mr Prynne, first in his *Four Grand Queries*, and thereafter in his *Vindication* of the same, hath argued much both against the suspension from the sacrament of a person not excommunicated and wholly cast out of the church, and against some of the most pregnant scriptural proofs for excommunication itself. In his *Vindication* he hath branched forth the controversy into ten points of difference. Two of these, viz., the fifth, concerning suspension from the sacrament of the passover, and the ninth, concerning casting out of the synagogue, I have

discussed before in the first book; where I have also examined other assertions of his concerning the Jewish sanhedrim, temple, confession of sin. The other points of difference not handled before, I am (as the Lord will help me) now to speak to.

The first point of difference is, Whether in those *Four Queries* of his he stated the controversy aright. He is offended that I (in a sermon of mine before the Honourable House of Commons) charged the questionist with mistakes, and that I did not take notice of the question concerning suspension from the sacrament, as he stated it, *Vindic.* p. 3. I had reason, because he had mistated it; and since it pleased him to interpose in a matter depending between the Honourable Houses of Parliament, and the reverend Assembly of Divines, and to publish a paper plainly reflecting upon a petition of the Assembly, I hope he cannot think either the Assembly, or me, tied to his stating of the question. If he will meddle with the business of the Assembly, he must speak to it as it is. And that it may now appear how just cause I had to charge his *Queries* with mistakes of the state of the question (which he still mistaketh), I shall endeavour a more particular and full discovery of these his mistakes. And first, that which was desired by the Assembly was, that such a rule may be established by authority of Parliament, as may keep off all scandalous and notorious sinners. The question was not what texts of Scripture do warrant this thing. It did not concern me to debate whether the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, quoted by him, prove suspension from the Lord's table. The controversy was of the practical

conclusion, and of establishing such a rule as may keep off scandalous persons from the sacrament. If the thing be done, if the conclusion be consented to, there is the greater liberty for men to abound in their own sense concerning the *mediums* to prove it.

Secondly, And if he would needs debate what texts of Scripture do prove the thing, and what precept or precedent in Scripture doth warrant it, methinks he had done better to have informed himself on what scriptural proofs the reverend Assembly had granted the suspension of scandalous sinners from the sacrament, though not yet cast out of the church. The proofs from Scripture voted were these,—because the ordinance itself must not be profaned; and because we are charged to withdraw from those who walk disorderly; and because of the great sin and danger both to him that comes unworthily, and also to the whole church. The Scriptures from which the Assembly did prove all this, were Matt. vii. 6; 2 Thes. iii. 6, 14, 15; 1 Cor. xi. 27, to the end of the chapter, compared with Jude, ver. 23; 1 Tim. v. 22. Another proof added by the Assembly was this: There was power and authority under the Old Testament to keep unclean persons from holy things, Lev. xiii. 5; Num. ix. 7; 2 Chron. xxiii. 19; and the like power and authority by way of analogy continues under the New Testament, for the authoritative suspension from the Lord's table, of a person not yet cast out of the church. Now that which was the strength of the Assembly's proofs of the proposition, Mr Prynne hath almost never touched, but run out upon other particulars.

Thirdly, Observe that he disputes all along whether any minister can suspend one from the sacrament. But this nobody that I know asserts. The power is given not *uni*, but *unitati*, to the eldership, not to one, either minister or elder.

Fourthly, That which, in the preface of his *Queries*, he undertakes to prove, is, that excommunication and suspension from the sacrament, being a matter of great moment and much difficulty, is to be handled and established with great wisdom, caution, and moderation. And his result in the close is concerning a limited jurisdiction in presbyteries. As these things are not denied by any that I know, so himself manifestly acknowledgeth by these expressions, the thing itself for the substance (which yet the current of his debate runneth against), and only

questioneth concerning the bounds, cautions, and limitations. God forbid that church officers should ever claim an unlimited power: their power is given them to edification, and not to destruction; and we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth, 2 Cor. xiii. 8, 10. The power of censures must not be in the power of any one man, nor in the power of any who are themselves scandalous and worthy of censure. There must be no sentence of excommunication or suspension upon reports, surmises, suspicions, but either upon the confession of the offence or proof thereof by two witnesses at least.¹ None must be excommunicated nor suspended for money matters, debts, and such like civil causes which are not of ecclesiastical cognisance, but are to be judged by the civil judge. It must not be for those *peccata quotidianæ incurisionis*, such sinful infirmities as all the godly in this life are guilty of; though, on the other side, the scandalous sinners meant of in this controversy, must not be restricted to such sins only as cannot stand with the state of grace. These, and such like limitations we do not only admit of, but desire to be put.

Fifthly, He goeth about to clear the state of the question out of Aretius, and citeth him for what himself now undertaketh to prove. Whereas Aretius holds excommunication to be an ordinance of God both in the Old and New Testament, and that it was wanting through the injury and corruption of the times, the abuse of it in Popery having made the thing itself hateful; and the most part, in those places where he lived, loving carnal liberty so well, and taking upon them the protection and defence of profane ones, and being so unwilling to be brought under the yoke of Christ. For these and the like reasons he thought it not expedient to have that discipline of excommunication erected, at that time, in those parts, as himself gives the reasons; and he professeth,² withal, that he doth not despair of better times, when men shall be more willing to submit to that discipline. So that this is the question, if it shall be stated out of Are-

¹ Aug., tom. 10, hom. 50.—Nos vero a communione prohibere quonquam non possumus, quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum sit mortalis, sed medicinalis, nisi aut sponte confessum, aut in aliquo sive seculari sive ecclesiastico iudicio nominatum atque convictum.

² Theol. Probl., loc. 132.—Interæa non desperandum esse libenter fateor, dabit posterior ætas tractabiliores forte animas, mitiora pectora, quam nostra habent sæcula.

tius, Whether excommunication, being an ordinance of God, ought to be settled where profaneness and licentiousness abounds, and where the better party is like to be oppressed by the greater party; or whether we should wait till God send better times for the settling of it.

Sixthly, The author of those questions maketh a parallel between that power of censures now desired to be settled in presbyteries, and the prelatical tyranny, as if this were the very power which heretofore was disclaimed against in, denied to, and quite taken away from, the prelates. Yea, in the close, he makes this power now desired to be settled in the presbyteries, to be such as our very lordly prelates never durst to claim, yet *ecclesie Anglicane politeia in tabulas digesta auctore Richardo Cousin*, tab. 5, tells me, that the episcopal jurisdiction did exercise itself in those censures which were common both to laymen and clergymen (as they were called).

1. *Interdictio divinatorum*. 2. *Monitio*. 3. *Suspensio vel ab ingressu ecclesie, vel a perceptione sacramentorum*. 4. *Excommunicatio*. 5. *Anathematismus*, &c. Nevertheless there is a truth, too, in that which Mr Prynne saith: I confess the prelates never durst desire that which this learned and pious Assembly hath desired in this particular. He hath said it. The prelates never durst, indeed, take upon them to suspend all scandalous persons from the sacrament; for if they had, it had been said unto most of them, "Physician, cure thyself," besides the losing of many of their party. And, moreover, the very lordly prelates never durst make themselves to be but members of presbyteries, nor to be subject to the admonitions and censures of their brethren, which every minister now must do. The lordly prelate did (contrary to the institution of Jesus Christ) make himself pastor of many congregations, even of his whole diocese, and did assume sole and whole power of government and church censures to himself, and his underling officers, which were to execute the same in his name. And, as the appropriating of jurisdiction to the lordly prelate, so the manner and kind of his government, and his proceedings in ecclesiastical censures, came neither from Christ, nor from the purest antiquity, but from the Pope's canon law. What then hath presbytery to do with prelacy? As much as light with darkness, or righte-

ousness with unrighteousness. He that would see more of the differences between presbyterial and prelatical government, let him read a book printed in the prelates' times, entitled *The Pastor and the Prelate*; and *The Clear Antithesis between Presbytery and Prelacy*, printed at London, anno. 1644. See also what I have said before, book ii., chap. 3.

Seventhly, It is evident, by his fourth question, that he states the case as if ministers meant to know the secrets of all men's hearts, and to be so censorious and peremptory in their judging, as to quench the smoking flax, or to break the bruised reed. Thereupon he asks, Whether the sacraments may be denied to a man, "if he desires to receive it, in case he profess his sincere repentance for his sins past, and promise newness of life for the time to come?" God forbid we be censorious, peremptory, and rigid in our judging of men's spiritual estate; where there is any thing of Christ, it is to be cherished, not quenched. But again, God forbid that we shut our eyes to call darkness light, or black white. In that very place where our Saviour condemneth uncharitable judgment, immediately he addeth, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye pearls before swine," Matt. vii. 6. Impenitency under a scandalous sin, is discernible either by not confessing it, or by not forsaking it. All our present controversy is concerning a visible church, visible saints, visible holiness, visible repentance, visible fitness or qualification for the sacrament; that is, of such external signs and evidences as the word of God holds out for judging of the spiritual estate of other men, not of such internal gracious marks whereby a man must judge of his own spiritual estate;¹ and so he that professeth his sincere repentance for his sins past, and promiseth newness of life for the time to come, if there be nothing which (visibly and to the eye of man) giveth the lie to his profession and promise (for instance, if it can be proved that, im-

¹ Concil. Nicæn., can. 11.—Ab omnibus vero illud præcipue observetur, ut animus eorum et fructus penitentiae attendatur. Quicunque enim eum omni timore et lachrymis perseverantibus, et operibus bonis conversationem suam, non verbis solis, sed opere et veritatē demonstrant, cum tempus statutum etiam ab his fuerit impletum, et orationibus jam cœperint communicare, licet etiam episcopo humanus circa eos aliquid cogitare. Qui vero indifferenter habuerint lapsum, et sufficere sibi quod ecclesiam introierint, arbitrantur, ipsi omnimodo tempora statuta complebunt.

mediately before or immediately after, he hath professed or promised the contrary to his companions in his wickedness, or that he still continueth in the practice of that sin), is not to be excluded as an impenitent sinner from the sacrament.

Eighthly, The third query, as also the conclusion of all, runneth upon a great mistake, by reason of the confounding of things which are of a different nature. There is great weight laid upon this, that there is as much sin and danger to a man's soul in his unworthy and unprofitable hearing of the word, as in his unworthy receiving of the sacrament; and, therefore, ministers may as well refuse to preach unto people, whom they deem unprofitable hearers, as refuse to give them the sacrament, because they judge them unmeet to receive it. Whether the sin of unworthy hearing be as great as the sin of unworthy receiving the sacrament, I will not now debate. The *Reply* which was made to his *Queries*, by another, hath said enough to that point.¹ But that which I intend in this place, is (for clearing a main principle which we go upon) to distinguish these two things. There are some ordinances appointed for the *conversion of sinners*; there are other ordinances appointed for the *communion of saints*. The preaching of the word, and the hearing thereof, though it hath no small influence into the communion of saints, yet it is also appointed for converting and bringing in sinners who have no part in the communion of saints. The sacrament was not appointed for the conversion of sinners, but as peculiar to the communion of saints. The apostles preached to the unbelieving Jews in the temple and synagogues, Acts ii. 46; iii. 11, 12; v. 12, 42; ix. 20, 22, 23. But it is only said of those that gladly received the word, "They continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayer," Acts ii. 42. The apostles preached also to many heathens and idolaters, but they admitted none to the sacraments till they saw such evidences as might persuade them, in the judgment of charity, that they were such as might be admitted. They that are suspended from the sacrament, yea, they that are excommunicated, are admitted to the hearing of the word for their conversion, as the unbelieving

Jews and heathens were. Can any allege the like reason for admitting them to the sacrament? Erastus himself observeth¹ that the unclean, under the law, who might not eat of the passover, yet were not forbidden, but commanded, to observe the Sabbath and the feast of expiation. I mention it only as an argument *ad hominem*. If a sinner be known for an unprofitable hearer of the word, that cannot make it a sin to me to preach any more to him; but if he be known to be a dog or a swine in reference to the sacrament, that will make it a sin to me if I minister the sacrament to him. The reason is, because I am still bound to endeavour his conversion (not knowing that he hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost), but I am not bound to give him the seal of remission of sins and salvation by Jesus Christ; yea, it were sin to give that seal to him who is visibly and apparently incapable of such sweet and comfortable application of Christ. I conclude, that the suspending of scandalous persons from the sacrament, is neither only nor principally grounded upon the sin and guilt of eating and drinking unworthily, which will cleave to the unworthy communicant, but rather (not excluding the other) upon the nature of the ordinance, which is such as cannot admit of the notoriously scandalous to receive, but that holy ordinance shall thereby be profaned and made common; for what can be more contrary to the nature of that ordinance, and to the institution of Jesus Christ, than to turn the communion of saints into the communion of scandalous sinners, and to make that which was instituted for the comfort of those that repent and believe, to be a comfort and seal of salvation to those who are known by their fruits to have neither repentance nor faith, and so to send them away with a good conceit of their spiritual estate, and thereby to strengthen their hearts and hands in wickedness?

Ninthly, The question is not whether all scandalous persons are to be excommunicated and wholly cast out off the church. The Assembly's petition was not concerning excommunicating, but concerning suspending, from the sacrament, all scandalous persons. Yet the current of Mr Prynne's argumen-

¹ A full Answer to a printed paper entitled "Four Serious Questions concerning Excommunication and Suspension," &c.

¹ Confirm. Thes., lib. 2, p. 134.—Non tamen pro non Judæo, vel non circumciso, aut pro improbo damnatu habebatur cogeatur nihil omnino secundum ritus patrios vivere, Sabbatum custo dire, aliaque talia facere. Quin etiam a sacramento expiationis generalis, quæ die 10, mensis Septembris per agebatur, Lev. xvii. 23, immundi nulli excluderentur.

tation, both in his *Queries* and in his *Vindication* thereof, for the most part, runneth along against excommunication and suspension from the sacrament, as the titles likewise do promise, which is a fallacy *a conjunctis ad divisa*. And when he debateth so much concerning *excommunication and suspension*, his *and* is either copulative or exegetical. If copulative, he opposeth nobody, that I know, so much as himself; for I know none that would have all scandalous sinners suspended, to be excommunicated also, except himself. If exegetical, even so he is contrary to himself, who confesseth that one may be suspended from the sacrament before he be excommunicated, *Vindic.* p. 50, 51. And whereas, in the latter part of his first *Query*, he would drive us to this hard choice, that either a scandalous person must be excommunicated, or not suspended from the sacrament. He saith it is evident, by Tertullian's *Apology*, cap. 39, *et Lib. de Pœnit.*, that scandalous persons were ever excommunicate and wholly cast out of the church, not barely sequestered from the sacrament. Whence (saith he) all the canonists and schoolmen determine that an excommunicate person is excluded from the church and all public ordinances. Let the prudent reader observe, that instead of proving that scandalous persons were wholly cast out of the church, he tells us out of the canonists and schoolmen, that excommunicate persons were wholly cast out of the church; that is, that those who were cast out of the church, were cast out of the church. And, for his antiquity, he hath given here no small wound to the reputation of his skill in antiquities, which will more fully appear, chap. 17. Meanwhile, how can any that hath read Tertullian or Cyprian, not know that some failings and falls in time of persecution, and other smaller offences, were not punished by excommunication, but by suspension from the sacrament, till, after public declaration of repentance and confession of the offence, the offender was admitted to the sacrament? And for the places he citeth, I find in Tertullian's book, *de Pœnitentia*, much of that *exomologesis* and public declaration of repentance, but that all scandalous persons brought under church censures were wholly cast out of the church, I find not. In the thirty-ninth chapter of his *Apologetic*, there is no such thing as is alleged, but the contrary plainly intimated concerning several degrees of ecclesiastical discipline;

and that if any man's offence was so great as to deserve excommunication, then he was excommunicate and wholly cast out of the church.¹ And as, in the ancient churches, there were, and, in the reformed churches, there now are, different degrees of censures, according to the different degrees of offences, so, in the Jewish church, the like may be observed, both concerning ceremonial uncleanness and moral offences. Touching the former, that law, Num. v. 2, "Command the children of Israel that they put out of the camp every leper, and every one that hath an issue, and whosoever is defiled by the dead," hath been understood by the Jewish doctors *respective*; that is, that the leper was put out of all the three camps, the camp of Israel, the camp of the Levites, and the camp of divine majesty, which was the tabernacle: he that an issue might be in the camp of Israel, but was put out of the other two. He that was defiled by the dead, was only restrained from the camp of divine majesty, for which also see before, book i. chap. 10. And touching moral offences, there were several steps and degrees in the Jewish excommunication, as Mr Selden hath observed from the Talmudists; for, first, a man was separate from the congregation for thirty days, and if thereafter he was found obstinate, he was separate for other thirty days, and if after sixty days he did not repent, then they passed from the lesser excommunication to the greater; that is, from *niddui* and *shammatta* (as he thinketh) to *cherem* or *anathema*. The author of the *Queries*, while he argueth in that first query, against the suspending, from the sacrament, of a person not excommunicated, nor wholly cast out of the church, closeth in this particular, with them of the separation (which I believe he did it not intended to do); for they, in one of their letters in answer to the second letter of Fr. Junius, written to them, where they bring eleven exceptions against the Dutch churches, one of these exceptions was that "they use a new censure of suspension, which Christ hath not appointed." They do hold excommunication to be an ordinance of Christ, but do reject the distinction of suspension and excommunication, as Mr Prynne doth.

¹ Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere ut apud certos de Dei conspectu: summumque futuri iudicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegendur.

Tenthly, The true state of the present question is not, Whether the parliament should establish the power of suspending scandalous persons from the sacrament, as *jure divino* (nay, let divines assert that, and satisfy people's consciences in it; but let the parliament speak in an authoritative and legislative way, in adding their civil sanction). Nor, whether there ought to be any suspension from the sacrament of scandalous persons, not yet excommunicated and cast out of the church; and that the eldership should do it; for the ordinance of parliament hath so far satisfied the desires of the reverend Assembly, and of the generality of godly people, that there is to be a suspension of scandalous persons (not excommunicated) from the sacrament, and power is granted to the eldership to suspend from the sacrament for such scandals as are enumerate in the ordinances of Oct. 20, 1645, and March 14, 1645. Which ordinances do appoint, that *all persons, or any person*, that shall commit such or such an offence, shall be by the eldership suspended from the sacrament, upon confession of the party, or upon the testimony of two credible witnesses. So that in truth the stream of Mr Prynne's exceptions runneth against that which is agreed and resolved upon in parliament; and his arguments (if they prove anything) must necessarily conclude against that power already granted by parliament to elderships. And now if he will speak to that point which is in present public agitation, he must lay aside his *Queries* and his *Vindication* thereof, and write another book to prove that the Assembly, and other godly ministers and people, ought to rest satisfied (in point of conscience) with the power granted to elderships to suspend from the sacrament in the enumerate cases, and that there is not the like reason to keep off scandalous persons from the sacrament for other scandals beside these enumerate in the ordinance of parliament. Nay, and he must confine himself within a narrower circle than so; for the parliament hath been pleased to think of some course for new emergent cases, that the door may not be shut for the future upon the remonstrances of elderships concerning cases not expressed. I know the gentleman is free to choose his own theme to treat of, and he may handle what cases of conscience he shall think fit for the church's edification. But since he professeth in the conclusion of his *Four Ques-*

tions and in the preface before his *Vindication*, and in divers other passages, that his scope is to expedite a regular settlement of church discipline, without such a power of suspending the scandalous as now is desired to be settled in the new elderships, and manifestly reflecteth upon one of the Assembly's petitions concerning that business, as hath been said; yea, the first words of his *Queries* tell us, he spoke to the point in present public agitation, the case standing thus: I must put him in mind (under favour) that he hath not been a little out of the way, nor a little wide from the mark.

And if the question were, Which of these tenets (Mr Prynne's or ours) concerning suspension, doth best agree with the mind of the parliament? let us hear their own ordinance, dated March 14, 1645,—the words are these: "Yet were the fundamentals and substantial parts of that government long since settled in persons by and over whom it was to be exercised, and the nature, extent, and respective subordination of their power was limited and defined; only concerning the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper—how all such persons as were guilty of notorious and scandalous offences might be suspended from it—some difficulty arising, not so much in the matter itself, as in the manner,—how it should be done, and who should be the judges of the offence; the lords and commons having it always in their purpose and intention, and it being accordingly declared and resolved by them that *all sorts of notorious scandalous offenders should be suspended from the sacrament*:" which is the very point so much opposed by Mr Prynne; for the controversy moved by him is not so much concerning the manner, or who should be the judges, as concerning the matter itself; he contending that all sorts of notorious scandalous offenders should not be suspended from the sacrament, but only such as are excommunicated and excluded from the hearing of the word, prayer, and all other public ordinances.

Having now removed so many mistakes of the true state of the question, that which is in controversy is plainly this: Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be in the elderships of churches a spiritual power and authority, by which they that are called brethren, that is, church members, or officers, for the public scandal of a profane life, or of pernicious doctrine, or for a private offence obstinately continued in after ad-

monitions, and so growing to a public scandal, are, upon proof of such scandal, to be suspended from the Lord's table until signs of repentance appear in them; and if they continue contumacious, are in the name of Jesus Christ to be excommunicate and cut off from all membership and communion with the church, and their sins pronounced to be bound on earth, and by consequence in heaven, until by true and sincere repentance they turn to God, and by the declaration of such repentance be reconciled unto the church. The affirmative is the received doctrine of the reformed churches, whereunto I adhere. The first part of it, concerning suspension, is utterly denied by Mr Prynne, which breaketh the concatenation and order of church discipline held forth in the question now stated. Whether he denieth also excommunication by elderships to be an ordinance and institution of Christ, and only holdeth it to be lawful and warrantable by the word of God, I am not certain. If he do, then he holds the total negative of this present question. However, I am sure he hath gone about to take away some of the principal scriptural foundations and pillars upon which excommunication is built. As touching the gradation and order in the question as now stated,¹ it is meant *positively* and *exclusively*, that such a gradation not only may, but ought to be observed ordinarily (which Mr Prynne denieth), although I deny not that for some public, enormous, heinous abominations, there may be (without such degrees of proceeding) a present cutting off by excommunication. But this belongs not to the present controversy.

CHAPTER II.

WHETHER MATT. XVIII. 15—17, PROVE EXCOMMUNICATION.

The second point of difference is concerning Matt. xviii. Mr Prynne, in the first of his *Four Questions*, told us that the words, Matt. xviii. 17, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican," are meant only of personal private trespasses between man and man, not public scandalous sins

against the congregation; and that it is not said, "Let him be to the whole church, but let him be to thee," &c. This I did in my Sermon retort; for if to *thee*, for a personal private trespass, much more to *the whole church*, for a public scandalous sin, whereby he trespasseth against the whole congregation. Yea, it followeth upon his interpretation, that he may account the whole church as heathens and publicans, if all the members of the church do him a personal injury; whereupon I left this to be considered by every man of understanding, Whether, if a private man may account the whole church as heathens and publicans for a personal injury done to himself alone, it will not follow, that much more the whole church may account a man as an heathen and publican for a public scandalous sin against the whole church. Mr Prynne, in his *Vindication*, p. 3, glanceth at this objection; but he takes notice only of the half of it; and he is so far from turning off my retortion, that he confirmeth it; for p. 4, he confesseth that every Christian hath free power, by God's word, to esteem not only a particular brother, but all the members of a congregation, as heathens and publicans, if he or they continue impenitent in the case of private injuries, after admonition. Now my exception against his *Query* remains unanswered. If I may esteem the whole church as heathens and publicans, when they do me an injury and continue impenitent therein, may not the whole church esteem me as an heathen man and a publican, when I commit a public and scandalous trespass against the whole church, and continue impenitent therein? Shall a private man have power to cast off the whole church as heathens and publicans, and shall not the whole church have power to cast off one man as an heathen and publican? I know he understands those words, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican," in another sense than either the reformed churches do or the ancient churches did, and takes the meaning to be of avoiding fellowship and familiarity with him, before any sentence of excommunication passed against the offender. But, however, my argument from proportion will hold: if civil fellowship must be refused, because of obstinacy in a civil injury, why shall not spiritual or church fellowship be refused to him that hath committed a spiritual injury or trespass against the church? If private fellowship ought to be denied unto him that

¹ Yea, now also, it appeareth by his *Diotrephes Catechised*, that he denieth and opposeth excommunication itself, at least under a Christian magistrate.

will not repent of a private injury, why shall not public fellowship, in eating and drinking with the church at the Lord's table, be denied unto him that will not repent of a public scandal given to the congregation? Are the rules of church fellowship looser and wider than the rules of civil fellowship, or are they straiter? Is the way of communion of saints broader than the way of civil communion, or is it narrower? Peradventure he will say, that the whole church, that is, all the members of the church, have power to withdraw from an obstinate scandalous brother; that is, to have no fraternal converse or private Christian fellowship with him. Well then, if thus far he be as an heathen and a publican to the whole church distributively, how shall he be as a Christian brother to the whole church collectively? If all the members of the church severally withdraw fellowship from him, even before he be excommunicated, how shall the whole church together be bound to keep fellowship with him till he be excommunicated? Instead of loosing such knots, Mr Prynne undertakes to prove another thing,—that this text of Matthew is not meant of excommunication or church censures, and that the church in this text was not any ecclesiastical consistory (here he citeth Josephus, as if he had spoken of that text), but only the sanhedrim or court of civil justice. But though all this were true which he saith, yet there may be a good argument drawn by necessary consequence from this text, to prove excommunication; which Grotius did well perceive; for in his annotations upon the place, after he hath told his opinion that excommunication is not meant in this text, he addeth, that he hath elsewhere spoken of the antiquity and necessity of excommunication: *Quoniam ad eam ex hoc etiam loco non absurde argumentum duci posse, non negaverim*: though I will not deny, saith he, that even from this place, the argument may be drawn to excommunication without any absurdity. My argument afore-mentioned will hold good even from Mr Prynne's own exposition. Thus far I have gone upon a concession; now to the confutation. Before I come to his reasons, I observe in his margin, a double mistake of the testimony of Scapula. First, he sends us to Scapula to learn that ἐκκλησία signifieth any civil assembly or council, as well as an ecclesiastical presbytery. Yes: Scapula tells us it hath, in heathen writers, a general sig-

nification, to express any assembly called forth; but he added immediately, that in the writings of Christians, it signifieth the assembly of such as are called to eternal life, and do profess Christian religion. Since, therefore, it hath not the same signification in heathen writings, and in the New Testament, he should have showed us where the word ἐκκλησία in the New Testament doth signify a civil court of justice. I hope the Holy Ghost did speak so in this place as he might be understood, and to take the word *church* here, in that sense which it hath nowhere else in the New Testament, doth not agree with that received maxim,—that Scripture is to be expounded by Scripture. I find, indeed, the word ἐκκλησία used for a civil assembly, Acts xix. 39, 41; but as that is an heathen assembly, so it is not the evangelist Luke's expression otherwise than *recitative*; that is, he mentioneth an heathen assembly under that name by which heathens themselves called it. His other mistake of Scapula is, the citing of him for that assertion, that the church in this text is not an ecclesiastical consistory; whereas Scapula doth expound the church, Matt. xviii., to be meant of the presbytery or college of elders (as Stephani Thesaurus doth also);¹ and having told that the word signifieth the whole Christian church, also particular congregations, he addeth two more restricted significations: sometimes it signifieth a Christian family, sometimes the presbytery; for this last he citeth Matt. xviii. Now I proceed to Mr Prynne's reasons:—

First, saith he, This text “speaks not at all of public scandalous sin against the church or congregation, the proper object of church censures, but only of private civil trespasses between man and man, as is evident by the words, ‘If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee,’” &c. *Ans.* We have ever understood that place of such trespasses which grow public afterwards by the offender's obstinacy after admonition. Yet the trespass here meant, may be often such as even at first is scandalous to more than one. Such a case falleth under Christ's rule here, and is not excluded. Wherein observe Durand upon the fourth book of the *Master of Sen-*

¹ Steph. Restrigitur et alio modo ἐκκλησία ad synedrium seu presbyterium, id est seniorum collegium, ut Matt. xviii. So Marlorat in Thesauro saith, that the word *ecclesia* is taken pro senatu ecclesiastico, Matt. xviii. 17.

tences, dist. 19, quest. 4, "But if (saith he) the sin be not altogether secret, nor altogether known; that is, such as is known to many by whom he may be convicted, or he is ill reported of among grave persons, though the public fame be not against him, so the procedure which Christ hath set us in the gospel, seemeth to have place, to wit, that first he may be secretly admonished concerning his amendment; which if it profit not, that he may be admonished concerning his amendment before those who know the fact; but if that also do not profit, that then he may be declared to the church." But if we should grant that no other trespass is meant here but a private trespass, yet I ask, is there no trespass but that which is civil? The schoolmen writing *de scandalo* will tell him that one brother trespasseth against another when he scandaliseth him by any sinful example, though without any civil injury. Nay, it is the greatest trespass which is committed against the soul of our neighbour: scandal is soul-murder. It is a breach of the law of love, not only by omission, but by commission. He that is commanded to edify his brother, and then giveth scandal to him, doth he not trespass against his brother? The like answer I return to that which he addeth, that "Luke, relating the same thing without any *dic ecclesiæ*, Luke xviii. 3, 4, puts it out of question, if compared with Gen. lii. 31 (there is no such scripture) 1 Sam. xxv. 28." What: out of question? Doth he not find scandalous sins in the two verses immediately preceding in Luke, and thereupon it is immediately added, "Take heed to yourselves, if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive him." Cannot a Christian rebuke his brother who scandaliseth him, and if he repent, forgive him? Luke needed not add *dic ecclesiæ*, because he speaks of a repenting brother, not of an impenitent brother, after private admonition. And that scandalous trespasses are understood, Matt. xviii. 19 (as Augustine, Tostatus, and many others have observed), may thus appear: 1. Scandals are the greatest and worst trespasses, as hath been said, and "Woe unto the world because of offences." Surely Jesus Christ did intend to provide a remedy against the greatest evils rather than against the lesser. 2. Christ would not be judge of civil injuries, Luke xii. 14, how can it be then supposed that he giveth here laws concerning civil rather

than spiritual injuries? 3. Christ saith, "If he shall hear (not repair) thee, thou hast gained (not thy goods, or thy good name, or the like, but) thy brother." Intimating, that it is not a man's own interest, but the rescuing of his brother's soul from sin and scandal, which is here sought. Mr Prynne himself confirmeth it not a little; for he takes the meaning to be of avoiding a brother's company, in the case of a civil or private injury, if he "continue impenitent after admonition." Now, what if he that hath done the injury make full reparation, and all real satisfaction to the brother injured, and yet continue impenitent, showing no symptom at all of repentance, must he not, by Mr Prynne's exposition, be esteemed as an heathen man and a publican, because of his visible and scandalous impenitency? How often hath it been seen, that a man was compelled by law, or persuaded by friends to make a real restitution and full satisfaction for a civil or personal injury, and yet hath given very great scandal by his impenitency, not so much as confessing, but still defending and justifying his sinful act, in his discourses? 4. The dependency upon the preceding parts of that chapter confirmeth it. From the beginning of the chapter to this very text, ver. 15, Christ hath been upon the doctrine of scandals, warning us not to offend so much as one of his little ones, which he presseth by divers arguments. 5. The Erastians and we do both agree in this, that Christ here hath a respect to the Jewish government. Now, the trespasses for which men were excommunicated by the Jewish sanhedrim were scandalous trespasses, such as the despising of any of the precepts of the law of Moses, or statutes of the scribes; the doing of servile work upon Easter eve; the mentioning of the name of God rashly, or by a vain oath; the inducing of others to profane the name of God, or to eat holy things without the holy place, and the like. More of this elsewhere, in the twenty-four causes of the Jewish excommunication. 6. Mr Prynne expoundeth this text in Matthew by 1 Cor. v. 9—12, but there the Apostle intends the purging of the church from scandals, whether those scandals have any private injury in them or not. Instance in idolatry and drunkenness there mentioned. 7. I can also (without yielding the least advantage to the Erastian cause) admit and suppose that which is so much pressed both by Erastus, Mr Prynne, and others, viz., that these words, "If thy

brother trespass against thee," are spoken of a personal injury between man and man. Though I do not grant the thing, yet I am content, even upon their own supposition, to argue from this text. And first, it may be answered with Aegidius de Coninck, *de Actib. Supernat.* disp. 28, dub. 8, that Christ doth not speak of the case of personal injuries, as if he meant to restrict unto such cases the order of proceeding for gaining of the offender's soul from sin, "but only for example's sake he brought such kind of sin, of which it might have been most doubted, whether in the reproof thereof this order be to be kept, and in which it can be most hardly observed, in respect of the innate desire of revenge in many."¹ 2. Let our opposites themselves say, whether we ought not, in conscience and duty, endeavour the gaining of an offending brother's soul, when we see him commit a trespass against God, which is no personal injury to ourselves, as well as when the trespass is a personal injury? 3. As this order of proceeding here prescribed by Christ, is (in the case of a personal injury) the greatest trial of Christian love in the person offended, so it may (by God's blessing) be the stronger and more efficacious upon the person offending, to conquer and overcome his spirit, while he that might prosecute him in a legal and criminal way, cometh in meekness and love to admonish him, and to endeavour the gaining of him from sin by repentance: which is the observation of Chrysostom upon the place,—“For if he that might demand punishment upon him, even that man be seen to be taking care of his salvation, this, most of all other things, is able to make him ashamed, and to yield.” 4. If it be a civil and personal injury materially, yet it comes not in here under that formal consideration, but partly as a scandal to him that hath received the injury (so that Chrysostom doth rightly make this text to hang together with that which was said before in the same chapter concerning scandals) partly as a soul-destroying sin upon him that doth the wrong, which doth endanger his salvation. And if under such a notion private injuries be here spoken of, then what have our opposites gained? 5. The scope also is not civil but wholly spiritual;

which Chrysostom doth very well explain, *Hom.* 60 in Matt. “What is it? ‘If he shall hear thee,’ if he shall be persuaded to condemn himself of sin, ‘thou hast gained thy brother.’ He saith not *thou hast a sufficient punishment or satisfaction*, but ‘thou hast gained thy brother.’ (And after), He saith not accuse, nor censure, nor demand punishments, but convince, saith he.” The context confirmeth it; for these words are immediately added after the parable of bringing home the lost sheep. Which parable we have also Luke xv. (where it is not applied to the reducing of such as have done private injuries, but of publicans and sinners who were publicly scandalous; this I thought good to note by the way). Ammonius Alexandrinus, *de Quatuor Evang. Consonantia*, cap. 96, 97, doth together with the parable of the lost sheep add also the other two, of the lost penny and the lost son, immediately before these words, “If thy brother trespass against thee,” &c. 6. And suppose that the business hath its rise and beginning from a personal injury, ver. 15, yet the trespass for which the man is to be held as a heathen and a publican, is a public scandalous sin against the church or congregation, namely, his neglecting to hear the church, ver. 17; for it is not his first trespass, but his contumacy against the church, which, by this text, is to make him esteemed as an heathen and a publican.

Before I leave this point, I will answer the chief argument by which Erastus would prove that this text is meant only of private civil injuries; because, saith he, the trespass here spoken of is no other than what one brother may forgive to another. I answer, both he and Mr Prynne do suppose this text, Matt. xv. 16, 17, to be parallel to that in Luke xvii. 3, 4, which they take for granted, without proof or reason. Certainly there is a great difference between the purpose and scope of the one place and of the other. It will be replied, that even in this very chapter, Matt. xviii., the next thing which follows, ver. 21, is concerning personal injuries which one brother can and ought to forgive to another. “Then came Peter to him and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him,” &c. To that I answer, 1. We cannot gather from the text that Peter did propound this question immediately after, or upon occasion of, that which went before, ver. 15—17, &c., where nothing is spoken of one brother's

¹ Sed solum exempli causa attulit tale genus peccati, de quo maxime poterat dubitari, an in ejus correptione hic ordo servandus sit, et in quo difficillime servetur, ob innatam multis cupiditatem vindictæ.

forgiving another. We read, Luke viii. 19, "Then came to him his mother and his brethren," &c.; yet the meaning is not that his mother and his brethren came to him immediately after his speaking of the words before mentioned by Luke in that place; for that it was not after these, but after other words, is plain from the harmony of the other evangelists, Matthew and Mark. So here these words, "Then came Peter," may very well relate to a new business and to another time. 2. Or if it was the same time, it might be said, "Then came Peter;" that is, Peter being absent, and not having heard that which Christ had been before speaking, he came immediately after, and did propound a new question. 3. Suppose, also, that Peter was present and heard all which had been before spoken, yet it is much doubted among interpreters whence Peter had the rise and occasion of that question. Some think it was upon his calling to mind those words in the rule of prayer, "Even as we forgive those who trespass against us." Others conceive the occasion of his question was that which was said, ver. 19, "Again, I say unto you, if two of you shall agree on earth," supposing that agreement (and consequently forgiving of injuries) is necessary to make our prayers the more effectual. For my part, I think it not improbable that whatever the occasion of the question was, ver. 21 beginneth a new and distinct purpose, which I take to be the reason why the Arabic here makes an intercision, and beginneth the fifty-eighth section of Matthew at those words, "Then came Peter and said, Lord, how oft," &c. 4. And if ver. 21 have a dependence upon that which went before, it may be conceived thus: Christ had said, "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone," which supposeth a continuance of the former Christian fellowship and fraternal familiarity, and that we must not cast off a scandalous brother as lost, or as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother. This might give occasion to Peter to ask, "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me," that is, scandalise me by his sin against God (for even in Luke xvii. 3, 4, that of forgiving one that trespasseth against us, is added immediately after a doctrine of scandals), "and I forgive him," that is, as Grotius expounds it, restore him to the former degree of friendship and intimate familiarity, to deal with him thus as with a brother; which he well dis-

tinguisheth from that other forgiving which is not a revenging. And so much of Mr Prynne's first reason.

His second reason is, because the mention of two or three witnesses, ver. 16, relateth "only to the manner of trying civil capital crimes (as murders and the like) before the civil magistrates of the Jews, &c., not to any proceeding in ecclesiastical causes, in their ecclesiastical consistories, of which we find no precedent."

Ans. 1. If this hold, then the text must not be expounded indefinitely of civil injuries (as he did before) but of civil capital injuries; whereas Erastus takes the meaning to be of smaller offences only, and not of capital crimes. 2. The law concerning two or three witnesses is neither restricted to capital crimes nor to civil judicatories. I appeal to the ordinance of parliament, dated October 20, 1645, "The eldership of every congregation shall judge the matter of scandal aforesaid, being not capital, upon the testimony of two credible witnesses, at the least." That law, therefore, of witnesses is alike applicable to all causes and courts, ecclesiastical and civil, Deut. xix. 30, "One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or for any sin, in any sin that he sinneth; at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established." And the same law is in the New Testament clearly applied to proceedings in ecclesiastical causes, 2 Cor. xiii. 1; again, 1 Tim. v. 19, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses," which is not spoken to any civil magistrate, but to Timothy, and others joined with him in church government.

His third reason doth only beg what is in question, that by the church is not meant any ecclesiastical but a civil court of the Jews. He needed not to cite so many places to prove that the Jews had civil courts; if he could but cite one place to prove that they had no ecclesiastical courts, this were to the purpose. Not that I grant that at this time the Jews had any civil jurisdiction or Jewish court of justice; for after that Herod the Great did kill Hircanus and the sanhedrim (in the opinion of many learned men), the Jews had no more any civil jurisdiction. Now Herod the Great was dead before the time of Christ's ministry. Others think they had some civil jurisdiction a while after Hircanus's death. However he cannot prove that at this time, when Christ

said, "Tell the church," the Jews had any civil court of justice, which did exercise either criminal or capital judgments. I have in the first book showed out of Buxtorff, L'Empereur, Casaubon, and J. Coch (who prove what they say from the Talmudical writers), that forty years before the destruction of the temple (and so before Christ said, "Tell the church.") the court of civil justice at Jerusalem did cease. If Mr Prynne make anything of this gloss of his, he must prove: 1. That there was no ecclesiastical court among the Jews (I have before proved that that council of the Jews in Christ's time was an ecclesiastical court, though he conceives it was merely civil). 2. That a private civil injury might not then, nor may not now, be brought before a civil court, except after several previous admonitions despised. 3. That Christ's rule, "Tell the church," was antiquated, and ceased when a civil court of justice among the Jews ceased. If he say that the same rule continueth for telling the civil magistrate in case the offender prove obstinate after admonition, then I ask, 1. How will he reconcile himself? for p. 4, he saith, the church in this text is "only the sanhedrim or court of civil justice among the Jews." 2. If this text, Matt. xviii., was applicable to the primitive church after the destruction of Jerusalem, and when there was no Jewish sanhedrim to go to, then the pagan magistracy must pass under the name of the church, for they had no other civil court of justice to go to.

One thing I must needs take notice of, that whereas he would prove here that "Tell the church" is nothing but, Tell the civil court of justice among the Jews, commonly called the council, saith he, or sanhedrim, he doth hereby overthrow all that he hath been building; for the Jewish sanhedrim at that time had not power to judge civil nor criminal, and, least of all, capital offences, but only causes ecclesiastical, the Romans having taken from them their civil government, and left them no government nor jurisdiction, except in matters of religion. I hope Mr Prynne will not in this contradict Erastus;¹ and if so, how shall his

gloss stand, that this text is to be understood of civil injuries, yea, and of these only, for remedy whereof he conceives that Christ sends his disciples to the Jewish sanhedrim? How sweetly do his tenets agree together.

His fourth reason is, that those words, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican," cannot signify excommunication, "because heathen men, being never members of the church, could never be excommunicated or cast out of it, being incapable of such a censure. As for publicans, those of them who were members of the Jewish church, though they were execrable to the Jews by reason of their tax-gatherings and oppressions, yet we never read in Scripture that they were excommunicated or cast out of their synagogues, but contrarily, that they went up into the temple to pray, as well as the Pharisees, and were more acceptable to Christ himself," &c. So likewise Sutilivius (against Beza), *de Presbyt.* cap. 9, p. 57. I answer, 1. By a retortion. Mr Prynne, p. 4, expounds these words, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," to be meant of avoiding familiar fellowship with the brother that hath committed a civil trespass, and keeping no more civil company with him. Now I argue thus *ad hominem*: This cannot be the meaning which he gives, because heathens, being never admitted into familiar fellowship and company with the Jews (who might not marry nor familiarly converse with them, as himself proveth, p. 4), could never be cast out of their fellowship and company, being incapable of any such thing. If our exposition of excommunication must drive us to acknowledge that heathens were formerly members of the Jewish church, his exposition of avoiding familiar fellowship, must drive him to acknowledge that formerly the heathens were admitted into familiar fellowship with the Jews.

2. Those words, *ἐρρωσθαι*, "let him be unto thee," &c., do not look backward, but forward; neither is the matching and comparing of the scandalous impenitent brother with an heathen, *à priori*, but *à posteriori*; so that no comparison is to be made between the preterite estate of an offending brother, and the preterite estate of an heathen man, but between the future estate of an offend-

¹ Confirm. Thesium, lib. 2, cap. 2.—Quis nescit illo tempore judeos sub Romanis vixisse, ac præsidem eorum potentibus omnibus jus dicere solitum fuisse? Civilem potentiam ad se omnem fore per raxerant, relicta potestate ipsius de rebus sacris iudicandi, et secundum legis ceremonias vivendi. *Idem*,

lib. 3, cap. 1.—Interim tamen parebant Romanis: neque in aliis rebus potestatem servaverant integram, quam in rebus ad religionem moresque patrios pertinentibus.

ing obstinate brother, and the present estate of an heathen man.

3. "Let him be unto thee as an heathen," is as much as, Have no communion nor fellowship with him in the holy assemblies nor in the temple; for heathens were not permitted to come into the temple, Ezek. xlv. 7, 9; Acts xxi. 28; whereupon Paul is accused for bringing Greeks into the temple, and so polluting that holy place, Acts xxi. 28; heathens were excluded from *atrium Israelis*, the court of Israel, which was without the court of the priests. There was without the court of Israel, *atrium Gentium*, the court of the heathen, otherwise called *intermurale*, because it lay between the temple and the outer wall mentioned Ezek. xlii. 20. Into this utmost court, or *intermurale*, heathen men were admitted to come and worship there, according to that, 1 Kings viii. 41; 2 Chron. vi. 32. They might not only come into the Holy Land, but to the Holy City, and not only to the Holy City, but to the mountain of the house of the Lord; yea, not only to the mountain of the temple, but within the outer wall; yet into the court of Israel, which was properly the first or outer court of the temple, they were forbidden to enter. He that would be further satisfied that these things were so, let him read Josephus, *Antiq.* lib. 15, cap. 14; Tostatus in 1 Kings viii. quest. 21; Arias Montanus, *de sacr. Fabric.* p. 15; Azorius *Instit. Moral.* tom. 1, lib. 6, chap. 53; L'Empereur *Annot. in Cod. Middoth*, cap. 2, sect. 3. Peradventure you will say, if it was thus, then an excommunicate person, being esteemed as an heathen, must not get leave to hear the word, nor at all to enter into the places of public assemblies where the word was preached. *Ans.* I will not now debate that point; others have debated it with the Anabaptists, who hold that excommunicate persons ought not to be admitted to the hearing of the word: Luc. Osiand, *Enchirid. contra Anab.* cap. 6, quest. 2. But, however, it doth not follow upon what I have said, that excommunicate persons must be wholly excluded from hearing the word; First, Because the places of our public worship have no sacramental significancy or holiness, as the temple and tabernacle had of old; therefore, say the professors of Leyden, there is not the like reason to exclude excommunicate persons wholly from our temples, as there was excluding them from the temple of Jerusalem. Second,

Because both Christ, John x. 23, and the apostles, Acts v. 12, did use to preach in Solomon's porch. This porch so called was the great east porch in the *intermurale*, whither heathens were admitted, and so they did hear the word, though they had no leave to come into the court of Israel, there to have fellowship with, or to be esteemed and reputed among the people of God.¹ Yea, as Mr Selden tells us, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 3, cap. 6, some understand by Solomon's porch, Acts iii. 11; v. 12, the very court of the Gentiles, into which they came to worship, which Gentiles were notwithstanding forbidden by a superscription, under pain of death, to enter into the court of Israel, or into that which Josephus calls the second temple. Josephus doth also make mention of four porches of the temple; into the utmost of which (and this is certainly meant of Solomon's porch) it was lawful for heathens to come, *contra Appron.* lib. 2.

4. For the other part, "Let him be unto thee as a publican," if the meaning were no more but this, Avoid all fellowship and familiarity with him, it doth not hurt our exposition; exclusion from the temple being clearly signified by his being "as an heathen;" and avoiding of fellowship with him being in the most emphatical manner further expressed by his being as a publican; both these put together do the more fully hold forth excommunication: and in this sense some resolve the words.

5. Yet let us see how Mr Prynne proves that the publicans were admitted into the temple or synagogues. He tells us that Christ received them or conversed with them, as if the meaning had been to compare an impenitent brother with penitent publicans, Luke xviii. 13, who drew near to Christ to hear him, Luke xv. 1; who left all and followed Christ, to be among his disciples, Matt. x. 3; Luke v. 27, 21; Mark ii. 15; who justified God, Luke vii. 29; who knew themselves to be sick of soul-diseases, Matt. ix. 12, 13. These very places cited by himself make against him. However the question is, How publicans were esteemed of in the Jewish church (for that is the thing pointed at in those words, "Let him be unto thee as a publican") for that.

¹ Josephus *Antiq.* lib. 20, cap. 8.—*Suasit (populus) regi ut orientalem instauraret porticum. Ea templi extima clauderat, profundus valli et angustæ imminens, &c. Opus Solomonis regis, qui primus integrum templum condidit.*

He objecteth that publicans went up into the temple to pray. If he mean that publicans who were neither devout Jews nor proselytes, went up into the temple to pray, had access to and fellowship in the sacrifices and temple worship, as well as the Jews themselves, it is more than he can prove: if he mean that publicans who were Jews or proselytes, went up into the temple to pray, it helpeth him not, except he can prove that, when Christ saith, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," the meaning is of such a publican as was a devout Jew or proselyte. And if so, then he had to prove that the Jews did not keep civil company or fellowship, so much as with the religious publicans with whom they went together to the temple to pray and worship. This also he hath to prove, not that religious publicans (of whom Christ means not), but that impious infamous publicans, came to the temple.

6. That passage, Luke xviii. 10, concerning the publican's going up to the temple to pray: First, It is expressly declared to be a parable, ver. 9, and therefore cannot prove the reality of the thing according to the letter, no more than an audible conference between Abraham and the rich man in hell can be proved from Luke xvi. 24 to the end of the chapter (though I believe that be a history related parabolically, as Vossius proveth in his *Theses*); far less can a parable, properly so called, prove an historical narration. The meaning may be no other but this,—that if such a publican and such a Pharisee should go up to the temple to pray, then the one should depart justified, and the other not.

7. I can also grant, without any prejudice to the business of excommunication, that the publican, yea, an execrable publican, did go up to the temple to pray; for an excommunicate person among the Jews (as many think), so long as there was hope of his repentance, had leave to come into the outer court of the temple, yet so that they came in at the gate of the mourners; and excommunicate persons were known by all that saw them to be excommunicate persons. More of this, book i. chap. 4.

8. This very text, Luke xviii., helps us; for it is said, ver. 13, "The publican stood afar off;" that is (in the opinion of Diodati), "in some remote part of the first court of the temple," 1 Kings viii. 41. It is very probable (whereof see book i. chap. 9) that

the *intermurale*, or *atrium Gentium*, is meant, which sometime hath the name of the temple. To the publican's standing afar off is opposed the Pharisee's standing by himself, ver. 11, where I construct *πρὸς ἑαυτὸν* with *σραβείς* as Camero doth: so Camerarius and Beza, following the Syriac, and some old Greek copies: he stood apart by himself,—the very custom making it so, that the publican should not come near him, but stand in *atrio Gentium*.

9. The reason why publicans are named as hateful and execrable persons, was not for civil respects, nor because publicans (for the Jews themselves did not refuse to keep company with good and just publicans, as I shall prove afterwards) particularly; it was not for their tax-gathering (a particular mentioned by Mr Prynne, it seems to strengthen his exposition of civil injuries), but for divers scandalous sins and abominable profaneness; therefore *publicans* and *sinner*s, *publicans* and *harlots*, *publicans* and *gluttons*, and *wine-bibbers*, are almost synonymous in the gospel, Matt. ix. 11; xi. 19; xxi. 32; Mark ii. 16; Luke v. 30; and publicans are named as the worst of men, Matt. v. 46, 47, the most of them being so reputed. From all this which hath been said in answer to his fourth reason, it appeareth, that "Let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican," is more than he would make it: keep not any familiar company, or have no civil fellowship with him. And whereas, p. 4, he saith that Paul expressly interprets it so, 1 Cor. v. 10—12; 2 Thes. iii. 4; Eph. v. 11; Rom. xvi. 17, I answer out of himself, in that same place, and p. 5, "Let him be to thee as an heathen," &c., is a phrase never used elsewhere in Scripture. How then saith he that Paul doth expressly interpret it? Paul commandeth to withdraw fellowship (and that for any scandalous sin in a church member, although it be no private injury to us, as the places quoted by himself make it manifest), therefore Paul doth expressly interpret that phrase, Matt. xviii., to be meant of withdrawing civil fellowship only. What consequence is there here?

I come to his fifth and last reason, "The words run only, 'Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican,' not to the whole church."

Ans. 1. This is the very thing he said in his first query, which is answered before. I shall only add here another answer out of Erastus, who argueth thus: One brother

should forgive another seventy times in a day, if the offending brother do so oft turn again and crave pardon; therefore so should the church do to a sinner that craveth pardon, even as often as he doth crave pardon.¹ For, saith he, there can be no just reason given wherefore the whole church ought not to do herein what church members ought to do severally. If this be a good argument when Christ saith, "If thy brother repent, forgive him," Luke xvii. 3, 4 (by which place Mr Prynne expoundeth Matt. xviii. 15), will it not be as good an argument, "Let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican," therefore let him be such to the whole church, when the whole church is offended by his obstinacy and impenitence?

2. Those words, "Let him be to thee," cannot be restrictive. It must be at least extended to all such as are commanded to rebuke their brother, and if, he continue obstinate, to tell the church. Now, the commandment for rebuking our brother that falls into a scandalous sin, is not restricted to him that is personally or particularly wronged, but it is a common law of spiritual love, Lev. xix. 17. Yea, saith Mr Hildersham, lect. 36 on Psal. li., "Every man hath received a commandment from Christ, to inform the governors of the church of such a brother as cannot otherwise be reformed;" Matt. xviii. 17, "Tell the church." If it belong to every church member to reprove a scandalous sin, which his brother committeth in his sight or hearing, or to his knowledge, and, if he repent not, to tell the church, then it also belongs to every church member to esteem him as an heathen man and a publican if he hear not the church.

3. The next words, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," being spoken to the apostles, and in them to other ministers of Jesus Christ, do expound the former words, "Let him be unto thee," &c., to be meant not of private withdrawing of fellowship, but of a public church censure.

4. The reason why Christ will have such an offender to be esteemed as an heathen man and a publican, is not the offence and fault first committed, but his obstinacy and

contumacy in that offence, and his neglecting to hear the church. So that, suppose the offence had been a private or personal injury, yet that for which the offender is to be esteemed as an heathen and a publican toucheth the whole church, and is a general scandal to them all, namely, his contumacy and not hearing the church. How can it then be imagined, that Christ would only have one church member to esteem a man as an heathen and a publican, for that which is a common general scandal to the whole church? Munsterus, in his *Annotations* upon Matt. xviii.,¹ doth better hit the meaning, that the offender is to be esteemed as an heathen man and a publican by those who did before admonish him, but were despised; that is, by the church, whose admonitions being despised, they ought to cast out him who had despised them.

5. And how can it be supposed that Christ would have one and the same person to be as an heathen man and a publican to one member of the church, and yet not to be as an heathen man and a publican, but as a brother received in fellowship, with the whole church? Sure this were a repugnancy between the judgment of the whole church, and the judgment of one member of the church; and two things which are repugnant cannot be both of them agreeable to the will of Christ.

CHAPTER III.

A FARTHER DEMONSTRATION THAT THESE WORDS, "LET HIM BE TO THEE AS AN HEATHEN MAN AND A PUBLICAN," ARE NOT MEANT OF AVOIDING CIVIL, BUT RELIGIOUS, OR CHURCH-FELLOWSHIP.

I hope I have already made it to appear that, to draw excommunication from Matt. xviii., is not to extract water out of flint, as Mr Prynne supposeth, but that it cometh as *liquide* from the text, as water out of the fountain; wherein I am the more confirmed, because Mr Prynne's exposition of these words, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican," cannot stand; for he

¹ Erast. Confirm. Theol., lib. 2, p. 158.—Quod uni dictum est, dictum toti est ecclesiae. At uni dictum est ut septuaginta in die culpam deprecanti remittat. Ergo tota ecclesia deprecanti ignoscere debet, quotiescunque in die sibi ignosci petet. Nulla enim justa causa proferri poterit, cur tota ecclesia non debeat facere in hac causa, quod singulis ejus membris praecceptum est.

¹ Quod si hos contemnat, indicetur ecclesiae ejus pervercatia. Et si ne ecclesiam audierit, monitus scilicet a multis, habeatur ab eis veluti ethnicus et publicanus. Et quaecunque illi sic ligaverint, ligata habebuntur in caelis, hoc est, quos ita monitos ejecerint e suo consortio, si etiam apud patrem ejecti habebantur.

takes the sense to be no more but this, Keep not any civil fellowship or company with such a one. Now, that this cannot be our Saviour's meaning, I prove thus:

1. If a private man shall thus, at his own hand, withdraw and separate from an offending brother, as from an heathen man and a publican, what order, peace, or good government, can there be either in church or state? And all the *odium* cast upon excommunication (as contrary to the spiritual privileges of Christians) will fall more heavy upon his own way, which brings any man (be he prince, parliament man, pastor, or whoever he be) under so much slavery to the lust of any private person, that he may be, by that person (and by ten thousand persons more, in case of so many civil injuries, not amended after complaint to the magistrate) esteemed, avoided, and abhorred, as an heathen man and a publican. So that, in the issue, it may fall out that any man, how eminent or deserving soever he be in church or state, may be looked upon as an heathen man and a publican, by ten thousand of the people, before ever he be so judged by any judicature. For instance, put the case, that a minister be judicially convicted to have wronged his parishioners in the matter of small tithes, and they conceive him to persevere in the same injury, must, or may, each of them fly from him, as from an heathen and a publican? Put the case: A whole company think themselves wronged in pay or otherwise by their captain, or a whole regiment by their colonel, and, after complaint, find themselves not repaired, are they therefore free to avoid all civil company with the captain or colonel, and to fly from them as from heathens and publicans? And what if both the Lord Mayor of London, and many godly ministers who have eaten at his table, should accuse Mr Prynne of a calumny, because of that passage in his book, p. 12, where he saith of Anabaptists, Separatists, Independents, Presbyterians or Divines, "Neither of which make any conscience of not repairing to the Lord Mayor's, or any other public city feast, where they are sure of good fare, because they were certain there to meet and eat with some covetous or other scandalous

persons, with whom St Paul prohibits them, 'no, not to eat?'" If, I say, the Lord Mayor should accuse Mr Prynne for slandering him and his house, with the company of scandalous persons; and if many godly conscientious ministers should accuse him for aspersing them, as having more love to good fare than conscience of avoiding to eat with scandalous persons; and if, after sentence passed against Mr Prynne, he should still continue impenitent, and not confess his fault in this particular, will he allow the Lord Mayor, and all the godly ministers who have eaten at the Lord Mayor's table, to avoid Mr Prynne as an heathen and a publican? Let him take heed whither his principles will lead him.

2. Mr Prynne saith, p. 4, that, "Let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican," is interpreted by 1 Cor. v. 10—12; 2 Thes. iii. 14; and elsewhere, by Paul. Now, that place of the Corinthians which he citeth is meant of excommunication, as shall be proved in due time. And ver. 12 (cited by himself) makes it plain, that a judicial act, not a private man's withdrawing only, is meant; for that verse speaks twice of judging,—an apostolical judging, and an ecclesiastical judging. And the best interpreters expound 2 Thes. iii. 14, of church censures. It is not the case of private civil injuries which the Apostle there speaks of, but the case of public scandal: "If any man be disobedient," to the apostolical epistle, "note that man," *σημειώσθε*, put a mark upon him; that is, let him be publicly censured, "Let him be separated from you," saith the Syriac, and then, "have no company with him," and all this, "that he may be ashamed," which must needs be by some public censure or black mark put upon him.

3. "Let him be to thee as an heathen," if it be meant of keeping no civil company, he must show us that the Jews of old were, and Christians under the New Testament are, forbidden to keep civil company with heathens and those that are without the church. He goeth about to prove that the phrase is taken from the practice of the Jews in that age, p. 4. But how doth he prove it? He citeth some places to prove that the Israelites might not marry with the Canaanites, but he doth not prove that they might not keep civil company with any of the heathens. There was no such favour nor fellowship permitted between the Israelites and the Canaanites, as between Israelites and other Gentiles who came among them from

¹ Martyr in 1 Cor. v., ult. loc. de excom.—Verum si hoc pro suo arbitrio cuique permittatur, ut facultatem habeat discedendi et separandi se a quibus voluerit, similitates, contentiones, et discordias, longe graviores orientur, quam si publica excommunicatione uteremur.

other lands, as Tostatus noteth in Matt. xxvi. quest. 43. The reason was, because God had destined the Canaanites to utter destruction, and that the whole land of Canaan should be given to the children of Israel. Only some few, by special dispensation, were spared, as the Gibeonites, because Joshua and the princes had sworn unto them, and Rahab with her kindred, because she saved the spies. But, such extraordinary cases excepted, the Israelites ought not to permit any of the Canaanites to live, nor receive them, though they had been willing to be circumcised, as Tostatus there thinketh. However, that great distance and alienation in point of fellowship between the Israelites and the Canaanites, was not *qua* heathens, but *qua* Canaanites, otherwise the children of Israel had been obliged to root out other nations as well as the Canaanites. Yea, the law puts an express difference between the nations, insomuch that some of them were not to be abominate, though others were; Deut. xxiii. 7, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land." The very Canaanites themselves were, by the law, Deut. xx. 10, 11, to have so much favour as an offer of peace, which, if any of their cities had accepted, that city was not to be cut off, but the people thereof were to be tributaries, and to serve Israel, and so permitted to live among them.

The last of his citations maketh very much against him, namely, Acts xxi. 28, 29, where the Jews of Asia do accuse Paul for bringing Greeks into the temple: "For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus, an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple." Mark here, Paul is not challenged for conversing familiarly with a Greek, but only for bringing him into the temple; and, without all doubt, the malice of his adversaries did catch at every advantage which they could have against him. I cannot but admire how Mr Prynne could cite this place to prove that the Jews might not converse nor keep civil company with the heathens, since it proveth the very contrary,—that the Jews might have civil, but no religious fellowship with heathens. And whereas he addeth, that the Jews had no dealing or conversation with the Samaritans, John iv. 9; Luke ix. 52, 53; I answer, The reason was, because the Jewish church had excommunicated and anathematized for ever the Samaritans, who, being

once circumcised, and having received the book of the law, did afterward hinder the building of the house of the Lord. This excommunication of the Cuthites or Samaritans, most solemnly performed, you may find in Pirke R. *Ecclesiae*, cap. 38. More of this elsewhere. Here I only touch it, to show that this also of the Samaritans makes against him.

4. It is certain that the Jews had civil company and conversation with heathens; for Solomon's servants and Hiram's servants were both together, 1 Kings v. 18; 2 Chron. ii. 8, yea, 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. Solomon numbered of strangers or heathens in the land of Israel, a hundred fifty and three thousand and six hundred. Could there be so many of them, and employed also in the building of the temple, and yet no civil company kept with them? Nehemiah in the court of Artaxerxes, and Daniel, with his companions, in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, had civil company with heathens, but religious company with them they would have none. We find the king of Edom in fellowship with Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, 2 Kings iii.; and the merchants of Tyre were permitted to come into Jerusalem, and there to sell all manner of ware unto the children of Judah, only they were forbidden to do it upon the Sabbath-day, Neh. xiii. 16, 20, 21. L'Empereur, *de Legibus Ebraeorum Forensibus*, p. 180, 181, putteth it out of controversy that, in Christ's time, there were many heathens in the land of Canaan with whom the Jews did converse and dwell together; and that Christ found, in those places where he preached, both Jews and Gentiles: *Istis locis inter istos commorabantur Gentiles, qui magistrorum placitis se astringi passi non sunt*. And a little after: *Nec enim Israelitas ab alienigenarum urbibus abstinuissent, Josephus Indicat*. And that long before that time there was a mutual conversing of Jews and Gentiles, I gather from 1 Kings xx. 34, "Thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus as my father made in Samaria," meaning for trade and commerce.

I will here anticipate a great objection which may be made against me, from Acts x. 28, "Ye know that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or come unto one of another nation." This might seem to make more for Mr Prynne's exposition than all the places cited by himself. But I answer, for the better understanding of that place, first of all observe what Dru-

sius, *Quæst. et Resp.*, lib. 2., quest. 67, tells us out of *Elias in Tishbite*: The Jews had an old law against drinking wine with Gentiles or heathens, *Lata videlicet eo tempore quo gentes vinum libabant in sacris*, the law was made at that time when the Gentiles used a prelibation of wine in their idolatrous solemnities; whereupon the wise men of the Jews, fearing lest heathen men should give to Jews that wine which had been dedicated to idols, did forbid the Jews to drink wine with heathens: which (as other statutes of their wise men) the Jews did *religiosè* religiously observe. Mark we hence, 1. It was not a generally received custom among the Jews in no case to eat or drink with heathens, else it had been unnecessary and superfluous to forbid the drinking of wine with heathens, *exceptio affirmat regulam in non exceptis*. 2. It was for a religious and conscientious reason, *propter periculum idolatriæ*, for fear of partaking with idolatry, and not for civil respects, that they were forbidden to drink wine with the Gentiles. The same I say of their shunning to eat with them; for the heathens used also a dedicating of their meats to idols, 1 Cor. x. 27.

Secondly, Observe Peter addeth immediately, "But God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean;" meaning, so as not to keep company with him because of his Gentilism or uncircumcision, or because of his eating of meats which were unclean by the ceremonial law, as Ludovicus de Dieu doth rightly give the meaning, understanding not moral, but only ceremonial uncleanness to be there spoken of; for many men under the gospel are still to be looked upon and avoided as morally unclean. But God hath taught Peter, by abrogating the ceremonial difference of meats in the vision, that the ceremonial law, which was the partition-wall between Jews and Gentiles, was now to be taken away; so that the Gentiles should no longer be called dogs, as Matt. xv. 26; neither were the disciples to be forbidden any longer to go into the way of the Gentiles, Matt. x. 5. Henceforth no man should be called holy because of his circumcision, no man unclean because of his uncircumcision.

This being the meaning, it followeth that the unlawfulness of eating and companying with an heathen, mentioned Acts x. 28, must not be so understood, as if bare civil fellowship had been unlawful; but it must be understood, first, in reference to the moral

law; that is, for avoiding the danger of idolatry, in eating or drinking that which idolatrous heathens had sacrificed to idols, as hath been just now cleared. Secondly, In reference to the ceremonial law, or of such fellowship as was contrary to the ceremonial law, in eating together with heathens of meats legally unclean, such as were represented to Peter in the vision, and he commanded to eat what was formerly unclean to him. Otherwise, when the Gentiles did not eat anything which the Jews were forbidden to eat, it was lawful for the Jews to eat with the Gentiles, saith Tostatus in 2, *Paral.* 6, quest. 21. So likewise Grotius, *de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. 2, cap. 15, sect. 9, where he referreth the Jews' not eating with the heathens to the laws of meats, or the *peculiaris victus* which was prescribed to the Jews. But otherwise the law did not make it unlawful for them to eat with any of another nation; which he thinks is proved by Christ's own example, who took a drink of water from the woman of Samaria, being yet most observant of the law. That the unlawfulness of eating with the heathens was understood in reference to the ceremonial law, I prove from Gal. ii. 12, 14. Peter having before eaten with the Gentiles, to avoid the scandal of some Jews that came from James, did withdraw and separate himself from the believing Gentiles. What! to keep no more any civil company with them? I hope no man will imagine that. But the text expounds itself, ver. 14, "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" This was Peter's fault, that, having formerly lived as the Gentiles, that is, eating with them all sorts of meats freely, thinking himself liberated from the yoke of the ceremonial law, afterward he withdrew and separated himself from that manner of fellowship with the Gentiles, and bound up himself to live as do the Jews, and to observe the distinction of meats according to the law. And in so doing, whilst he avoided the scandal of the Jews, he gave a greater scandal to the Gentiles, in compelling them, by the authority of his example, to Judaize, and to think the ceremonial law necessary.

Thirdly, The foresaid place, Acts x., is to be understood of such fellowship as was not merely civil, but religious and sacred, as may appear, 1. By the exposition formerly given of these words, "God hath showed me that

I should not call any man common or unclean." 2. By the invitation of the men that were sent from Cornelius to Peter, who did not call him to civil but to sacred fellowship; Acts x. 22, "And they said, Cornelius the centurion, a just man and one that feareth God, and of good report among all the nation of the Jews, was warned from God by an holy angel, to send for thee into his house, and to hear words of thee." 3. Peter calls in the men and lodgeth them; that being a civil fellowship, he doth it freely, ver. 23; but when he comes to Cornelius and those that were assembled with him, to hear words from Peter, here was the case of conscience, and here Peter beginneth to apologise, ver. 28, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing," &c. The Syriac hath it thus; "Ye know that it is not lawful for a man that is a Jew to join himself unto a man that is a stranger, who is not a son of his generation," as it were, intimating a religious and church fellowship. 4. That which gave offence to them of the circumcision at Jerusalem, was, that they heard Peter had so gone into men uncircumcised, that they had also received the word of God from him, Acts xi. 1, 3. And as soon as they were satisfied in that point, that God had given unto the Gentiles repentance unto life, ver. 18, they held their peace, and made no further scruple concerning eating with them.

I hope I have sufficiently answered the strongest objection which can be made against that which I did begin to prove, namely, that the Jews might, and did, keep civil company and fellowship with heathens. Which, that I may now further confirm, let it be observed, with Schindlerus in *Lexic. Pentaglo.*, p. 297, that there were two sorts of proselytes among the Jews: some that were circumcised and received the law of Moses; and such an one was even as a Jew, and was called *proselytus justitias* or *fœderis*, a righteous or a true proselyte, or a proselyte of the covenant. Others that did only renounce idolatry and keep the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah, not being circumcised nor keeping the law of Moses, were permitted to dwell with the Jews, and, therefore, such a one was called *proselytus portæ* or *proselytus incolæ*, a proselyte of the gate, or a proselyte indweller, who dwelt within their gates. See for the same thing L'Empereur, *de Legibus Ebræorum Forensibus*, p. 72; Buxtorff, *Lexic. Rabbin.* p. 408, 409; Grotius, *de Jure Belli.* ac

Pacis, lib. 1, cap. 1, sect. 16; Hen. Vorstius, *Observ. ad Chronol.*; R. Ganz, p. 279; Georgius Genzium, in *Annot. ad Maimon. Canon. Ethic.*, p. 91, 92. To the same purpose, Mr Ainsworth, *Annot. in Gen.* ix. 4, and on Exod. xii. 45, and on Lev. xxii. 10, hath noted out of the Hebrew writers, that such of the heathens as did observe the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah, though they were not circumcised, neither did observe the ordinances of the ceremonial law, nor were admitted to the holy things of the children of Israel, yet they were admitted to cohabit and converse with the people of God in the Holy Land. And that it was so, may be proved from Lev. xxv. 6, 45, 47 (where the Chaldee hath, *an uncircumcised indweller*); Deut. xiv. 21; yea, such a one might dwell in the priest's house, Lev. xxii. 10. The Jews receive no proselyte now except one that undertakes to keep the whole law to the least jot, as Dr Buxtorff informs us in the place last cited; and so they are a great deal more strict in reference to the Gentiles than the ancient Jews were. Notwithstanding they do, without scruple, familiarly converse and keep company with Gentiles who keep not the last of the seven precepts which bind (as they think) all the sons of Noah, namely, that concerning the not eating of blood. How much more may we suppose that the ancient Jews did keep civil company and fellowship with such Gentiles as did observe all these seven precepts? And this comparison the Jews have made between themselves and the Gentiles in reference to the law of Moses: "It is our inheritance, not theirs; as for them, let them observe the seven precepts," *Exc. Gem. Sanhedrim*, cap. 7, sect. 6. So that the Jews were not scandalised at the Gentiles' not observing of the whole law of Moses, not being circumcised, &c., but at their not keeping of those seven precepts, which were also a part of the law of Moses. This to me appeareth to be a chief reason (if not the reason) why the synod of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did impose upon the churches of the Gentiles no other burden of Jewish rites and ceremonies, but to abstain from blood and things strangled. They did not impose circumcision, nor holidays, nor the like, because that which was intended was, to draw together the believers of the Jews and the believers of the Gentiles into a familiar conversation, that they might live together and eat together

without scandal; and this could not be, except the believing Gentiles should observe the seven precepts which were given not only to the posterity of Abraham, but to the posterity of Noah; of which precepts one did forbid the eating of blood, Gen. ix. 4 (and under that is comprehended also the eating of things strangled). Now there was no doubt of the believing Gentiles' observing of the other six precepts, which the Hebrews say were observed from Adam to Noah: 1. Against idolatry; 2. Against blasphemy; 3. Against uncleanness or unlawful copulations; 5. Against rapine or robbery; 6. For executing judgment and inflicting punishment upon malefactors. All the question was of the seventh and last, against eating of blood, which the believing Gentiles (though they knew it to be older than the ceremonial law, or circumcision itself, and to belong to all the posterity of Noah, yet) knew to be temporary and not perpetual, and so, at the abrogation of the other ceremonies, and propagation of the gospel to the Gentiles, thought themselves free from that as well as other ceremonies. On the other part, it was a principle among the Jews, that they ought not to converse familiarly with any of the Gentiles, except such as observe the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah. Wherefore the synod of the apostles and elders thought good that the believing Gentiles should so far condescend to the weakness of the Jews (not fully instructed concerning Christian liberty, and the abrogation of the old ceremonies), as to observe for a time that precept against eating blood, as well as the other precepts given to the sons of Noah; to the intent that the Jews and Gentiles might peaceably and familiarly cohabit and converse together; for though the Gentiles did not observe the other ordinances and ceremonies of the Jews, yet, observing those seven precepts, they were free to converse familiarly with the Jews. Schindlerus in his *Lexicon Pentagl.*, p. 298, and p. 1530, seemeth to have had the same notion; for he saith the apostles and elders would not impose circumcision and the keeping of the law of Moses, but they imposed some things not unlike to the precepts given to the sons of Noah. I return to that distinction of the two sorts of proselytes: the one had the name of *Ger tsadeck*, a proselyte of righteousness, and *Ger berith*, a proselyte of the covenant; the other was called *Ger toshav*, a pro-

selyte indweller, and *Ger schagnar*, a proselyte of the gate, *qui intra portas, inter Judæos scilicet habitabat*,—who dwelt within the gates, to wit, among the Jews, saith Matthias Martinus in *Lexic. Philol.*, p. 2922. This proselyte indweller was not called nor esteemed as one of the Jews, being no church member, nor admitted to any religious or church communion with the Jews, but he was still esteemed and reckoned as one of the uncircumcised Gentiles; yet the Jews did keep civil company and fellowship with such a one, as with a neighbour and an inhabitant of the same city or land.

And if the Jews had not been free to keep civil company with heathens or infidels, yet Christians are expressly allowed to do so; 1 Cor. x. 27, "If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go, whatsoever is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience sake;" and, chap. v. 10—12, the Apostle permitteth Christians to company and eat with fornicators, covetous, extortioners, or idolaters, who are no church members, but by no means with scandalous brethren. I do not dispute whether any more liberty of this kind is granted to Christians than, peradventure, was granted to the Jews; yet I am sure a great measure of the liberty of civil fellowship with heathens was granted to the Jews also.

It must needs follow from that which hath been said, that, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," is not a casting out from mere fellowship and company, but from religious and church fellowship. This agreeth well with that passage in Josephus *contra Appionem*, lib. 2, "Whoever (of the Gentiles) are willing to come and live under our law, it doth freely receive them, esteeming communion to consist not only in origination or descent, but also in choice of life; but as for those (of the Gentiles) who come occasionally among us, our law doth not admit them into our solemn or sacred assemblies, but it appointeth to communicate unto them all such things as they need, as fire, water, meat, also to show them the way, and to let none of them be unburied." (So likewise publicans noted for impiety and injustice were permitted to be city members, but not owned for church members.) Grotius, *de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. 2, cap. 15, sect. 9, holds that it was lawful for the Jews not only to have company

and commerce with the heathens, but to do them good and to enter in league and covenant with them, such only excepted as the law did accurse, namely, the seven nations in Canaan, the Amalekites, Ammonites, and Moabites. He brings, among other things, the example of the Asmonites, who, as they were themselves skilled in the law, so, with the approbation both of priests and people, they made a covenant with the Lacedæmonians and Romans; yea, publicly prayed for them. Learned Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.* lib. 2, cap. 3, doth not only confirm what hath been said before of the *proselyti domicilii*, heathens, not circumcised nor keeping the law of Moses, but observing the seven precepts given to the sons of Noah, and that such were permitted to dwell together with the children of Israel; but he further tells us out of Maimonides, that though, when the Jewish republic did flourish, and when they were *sui juris*, no strangers were permitted to dwell among them except such as did renounce idolatry, and keep the seven precepts, yet, after the captivity, and under the Romans, the Jews did allow to themselves a common commerce and civil conversing even with such Gentiles as had not renounced the pagan or idolatrous worship; and, as for such of the Gentiles as the Jews did observe to be good men, whom they called *ex piis à Gentibus mundi*, such as Cornelius the centurion, to whom the Jews themselves gave a good testimony, of these he saith, that though they were not formally admitted and received as proselyte indwellers were wont to be (that formal reception of *proselyti domicilii* having ceased in those latter times), yet he puts it out of doubt that the Jews were willing that such Gentiles should dwell among them.

Add hereunto that which Gul. Vorstius, *Annot. in Maimon. de Fundam. Legis*, cap. 5, sect. 9, observeth out of Beth Joseph, *de Idololat.* and out of Abodazara, that a heathen man was permitted to be physician to a Jew, provided that he should not entice him to idolatry; and that a Jew also was permitted to be physician to a Gentile, for which purpose they alleged the example of Moses, who (as their tradition told them) did practice medicine in Egypt.

Furthermore, when Mr Prynne understands nothing by those words, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," but avoid civil fellowship and keep no familiar company with him, and expounds

it also by 1 Cor. v. 11, "With such an one no not to eat" (which he still conceives to be only meant of avoiding civil fellowship), and by 2 John 10, "Receive him not into thy house," he is twice out, both because the Jews did keep civil company with heathens, which hath been proved, and also because (if we believe the Jewish writers concerning the customs of their nation) the rabbies or wise men among them did not keep familiar fellowship nor civil company with the plebeians of the Jews themselves: they were forbidden to eat and drink with or among the plebeians, *Maimon. de Fundam. Legis*, cap. 5, sect. 13; neither might they converse in the paths, nor come into the houses of the plebeians, *Ibid.* sect. 14. Gul. Vorstius, in his *Annot.*, p. 73, addeth a passage in *Misna*, that a wise man might neither lodge with a plebeian, nor receive a plebeian to lodge with him. Nevertheless a wise man was permitted to converse not only civilly but frequently with an heathen man, for which see Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 6, cap. 10: *Quoniam nihil mali ex Gentilium consuetudine viro scientiori imminere censebant.* So that, in Mr Prynne's sense, all the plebeians of the Jews themselves were as heathens and publicans, or civilly excommunicated by their wise men.

Wherefore we must needs distinguish a twofold communion or fellowship among the Jews,—one civil, another ecclesiastical. It was the shutting out from the ecclesiastical communion of the Jews which Christ alludes to Matt. xviii.; for beside the distinct notions of the Jewish church and the Jewish state (of which before), Is. Abrabanel, *de Capite Fidei*, cap. 6, speaking of certain fundamental articles which the Jewish church did believe, saith, They were intended to be "articles of Judaism, so that he that should believe these should be in the communion of Israel;" and *Ibid.* cap. 3, speaking of an article concerning the coming of the Messiah, he moves a doubt about it, because Rabbi Hillel, who denieth it, was not "excluded from the communion of the law," for the *Gemara* gives him the title of Rabbi. When he comes to the solution of this doubt, cap. 14, he clears Rabbi Hillel, as not denying that article. But all this intimateth that for heresy there was a shutting out from ecclesiastical communion; or that an heretical apostate Jew was unto them as an heathen man; and, therefore, they were permitted to take usury as from strangers or hea-

thens, so from an apostate Jew, *quia fratris nomen exuerat*, saith Mr Selden, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. 6, cap. 10. In *Tzemach David*, edit. Hen. Vorstius, p. 67, it is said, that the chief of the heretics were Tzadok and Baythos, who, denying rewards and punishments after this life, *exiverunt e communione (vel cœtu Israelis)* they went out from the ecclesiastical communion of Israel.

This is good reason to say of a son of Israel, if he be a son of Belial, Let him be to thee as an heathen; that is, esteem him as profane, and as lost as an heathen; have no more church communion with him than with an heathen. And, by this time, I suppose, it doth fully appear to the intelligent reader, that some uncircumcised heathens were admitted into the civil fellowship, and some Israelites continued not in the ecclesiastical fellowship of the Jews, which overturneth the whole strength of Mr Prynne's answer to our argument, from Matt. xviii. But once more (for I have thought good to insist the longer upon this point, because much dependeth upon it), "Let him be to thee as an heathen," doth forbid ecclesiastical communion, not civil company, except secondarily, and as a consequent of excommunication and for spiritual respects and ends (as I shall show anon); but it is not meant of abstaining from mere civil company and fellowship, because the Jews were permitted to keep civil company and fellowship with heathens, even any civil company which did not encroach upon religion, or had appearance of an ensnarement into idolatry, and, in that respect (as participating of religious fellowship), became unlawful. This is the point I have been proving, and which I will yet farther prove out of Maimonides, *de Idololatria*, cap. 9; that one chapter is sufficient to decide the present question. Thus it begins: "Three days before the feasts (or holidays) of heathens that worship idols, we are forbidden to buy from them, or to sell unto them any durable thing; to take or give anything in lend; to take or make payment of that which was given in lend upon writ or pledge; but what was given in lend upon words only, it is lawful to exact, because this seemeth to be taken out of their hands. It is also lawful to sell unto them that which cannot last, as green herbs, or anything sodden, and that ever until their holiday." You see it was lawful among the Jews to buy and sell, borrow and lend, to make contracts with heathens, yea, with

idolatrous heathens; only in some (not in all) things there was a restraint upon them, and that but three days before the heathen festivities. Then follows, sect. 2, "This hath place in the land of the Israelites, but in the other lands it is not forbidden, except upon their holiday. If any man transgress, by having trade or commerce with them, during that space of three days, it is lawful (though) to use the ware; but if any man trade with them upon their holiday, the things are forbidden to be used. It is unlawful also to send a gift to an heathen man upon his holiday, unless it be known that he doth not profess the worship of idols, neither serveth them; but if some heathen man, upon his holiday, send a gift to an Israelite, let him not take it from him, unless it be suspected that he will be offended. Nevertheless he shall not use it, until it be known that the heathen man doth not worship idols, nor esteem them to be gods." Observe, 1. That the things mentioned in the first section, though unlawful to the Jews in their own land, three days before the heathenish festivities, yet they held them not unlawful in other lands. 2. They held it lawful for a Jew to send a gift to an heathen man, or to receive a gift from him, so that it were not upon the heathenish festivity. 3. Yea, in some cases, it was permitted to a Jew to send a gift to an heathen man, upon the very heathen festivity (to wit, if he knew that heathen man to be no worshipper of idols), as likewise to receive a gift from him (though upon the holiday) for avoiding of offence.

Sect. 4. reckoneth among the heathenish festivities a day set apart by them for coronation of a king, or in memory of a man's nativity, deliverance out of danger, or the like. Then it is added, sect. 5, "But with those idolaters who spend that day in mirth and gladness, eating and drinking, and observe that day, whether for custom or for the king's honour, nevertheless hold it not for a holiday, it is lawful to have commerce and trade." When conversing with heathens did not trench upon religion, they could do it without scruple, even upon the heathen's good days, or solemnities of joy. Then, sect. 8, "If Israelites dwell among heathens with whom they have made a covenant, it is lawful to sell arms to the king's servants, and to his military forces. &c. It is unlawful to enter into a town in which idolatry is practised: it is lawful to come

out of it ; but if the idol be without the town, it is also lawful to enter in it." If the Jews might dwell among, and enter into league and covenant with heathens, yea, enter into the towns of idolaters when the idol was not in town, then they held it not unlawful to have any civil company with heathens. It follows, sect. 11, "It is lawful to go to the markets or fairs of heathens, and to buy from them beasts, men-servants, maid-servants, though they be yet heathens ; also houses, fields, vineyards ; also for writing (contracts) it is permitted to go to their judicial courts."

If it be objected that sect. 12 doth forbid an Israelite to come to the banquet of an heathen, which he hath made for his son, or for his daughter, I answer from that very place, for lest this should be taken for a prohibition of civil fellowship, Maimonides did add these words : "Now, this interval is appointed for idolatry ; for it is said, 'and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice, and thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and they go a whoring after their god,'" citing Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16.

From all which I conclude, that Christ's words, relating to the Jewish custom, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man," cannot be meant (as Mr Prynne would have them) of avoiding mere civil company and fellowship ; for as much as it was not held unlawful among the Jews to have civil company and commerce with heathens. Sure the Jews of our age are far from holding such a thing unlawful.

Yea, so far I am unsatisfied with Mr Prynne's interpretation, that I verily believe (and so do some others) a part of the intendment of these words, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican," is to hold forth the lawfulness, yea, the obligation of performing all natural (and in divers cases moral) duties to a person excommunicated ; I mean, that the text doth intimate thus much. As, upon the one hand, the contumacious offender who will not hear the church, is to be used no better than an heathen or a profane publican, and is not to be admitted to any ordinance, except such as heathens and profane publicans are, and may be admitted unto ; so, upon the other hand, let him have no worse usage and entertainment than those very heathens and publicans unto whom all natural, and some moral, duties are performed, notwithstanding they be heathens and publicans ; for the Apostle commandeth Christians to be sub-

ject even to heathen magistrates, servants to honour and be subject to heathen and ungodly masters, the wife not to depart from the husband because he believeth not. So that this rule of Christ, Matt. xviii. 17, is so full and perfect, as to teach us, as well what fellowship is lawful with such an one, as what fellowship is not lawful to be kept with him. I do not deny but that (according to the ordinary rule) fellowship with an excommunicate person, in meat, drink, familiarity, and salutations, is unlawful, as well as in the sacrament and prayer, according to the received rule :

Si pro delictis, anathema quis efficiatur ;
Os, orare, vale, communicio, mensa negatur.

And the scripture forbidding to eat with such an one, or to have company with him, or to bid him God speed, will reach as far. Nevertheless, there are divers excepted or reserved cases in which the performance of natural duties unto, and keeping of civil company with, an excommunicate person is allowed. The exception made from the rule is this :

Hæc anathema quidem faciunt, ne possit obesse :
Utile, lex, humile, res ignorata, necesse.

Utile, as when a man seeketh payment of debt from an excommunicate person ; *lex*, because the law alloweth husband and wife to company together, though the one of them be excommunicate ; *humile*, because children may and ought to do the duties of children, and servants the duties of servants, and subjects the duty of subjects, and vassals the duty of vassals, and soldiers the duty of soldiers, in companying with, submitting unto, honouring and obeying of their excommunicated parents, masters, kings, lords, commanders ; *res ignorata*, when he that companieth with an excommunicate person, doth not know that he is excommunicate ; *necesse*, as when a man passeth through the land, or is under the power of excommunicate persons, or some such way, is drawn into a necessity of speaking and companying with them. All which is most agreeable to this expression, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," and to the nature of excommunication, which doth not break asunder natural or moral, but spiritual and ecclesiastical bonds. If it be asked, Why then are we forbidden to eat with an excommunicate person, or to bid him God speed ? I answer, These things are

not forbidden but under a spiritual notion, and for a spiritual end, that the offender may be ashamed and humbled; that others may not be deceived by countenancing of him, or companying with him; and that our eating with him, or saluting of him, may not be interpreted as a conniving at, or complying with his sins, or as a sign of Christian fellowship with a scandalous person formerly called a brother. Finally, That God may be the more glorified, wickedness the more ashamed, others the more edified, the sinner the more abased, ourselves the better kept from snares by avoiding of all appearance of evil; otherwise, setting aside these and such like spiritual considerations and respects, I do aver that excommunication hath nothing to do with the avoiding of civil company *qua* civil; that is, under a civil or political notion.

Thus we have the negative part of the rule of Christ; now to the positive part. What is it to be "as an heathen and a publican?" He must not be worse used in natural or civil things, yet he must be used in the same manner as an heathen and a publican in spiritual things.

Wherefore, "Let him be as an heathen man," implieth five things:—

1. I have proved that heathens were not permitted to come into the outer court of the temple, which the children of Israel did come into, only they might come and worship in the *intemurale* or *atrium Gentium*; and when they were at any time brought into the temple, it is challenged both by God, Ezek. xliv. 7, 9, and by the people of the Jews, Acts xxi. 28.

2. Heathens, though sojourning among the children of Israel, and dwelling within their gates, might not eat of the passover, Exod. xii. 43, 45; where the civil fellowship was allowed, partaking of the passover was forbidden.

3. No heathen man, no not he that was in the priest's house, might eat of an offering of the holy things, Lev. xxii. 10, 13.

4. A sacrifice was not accepted from the hand of an heathen, Lev. xxii. 25; those that came from a far country to pray and worship before the temple, if they had brought out of their own country, or had bought in the land of Israel, beasts, or bread, or oil, or frankincense, or the like, and brought any of these for an oblation, it was not accepted from their hand, as Tostatus in 2, *Paral.* 6, quest. 21, rightly observeth. Only he collecteth from Ezra vi. 8, 10, that an heathen might give to the priests money or

expenses to buy sacrifices, and to offer them in the temple.

5. And generally the heathens had no part or portion with God's people, Neh. ii. 20; they were not within but without the church, "being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world," Eph. ii. 12. So that, "Let him be as an heathen," must reach thus far,—Let him no more partake in the ordinances than an heathen; have no more church communion with him than with an heathen; let him be no more acknowledged for a church member than an heathen, and good reason, he hath made himself as an heathen, yea, worse than an heathen. Rom. ii. 25, "If thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision;" yea, a scandalous and profane church member is "worse than an infidel," 1 Tim. v. 8; 1 Cor. v. 1.

This fivefold restraint of heathens from the temple, from the passover, from eating of an offering, from bringing an oblation unto the Lord, and generally from all church fellowship, did lie even upon those heathens who did cohabit and familiarly converse with the children of Israel, who are called *proselyti domicilii*; and no heathen man was free of such restraint, except *proselyti iustitiae*, who were circumcised and made members of the Jewish church, and had the name of Jews.

Finally, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man," may have a commentary from 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, where David curseth his enemies before the Lord, because they had made him as an heathen man; "they have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go, serve other gods." He did not reckon his banishment, want of civil liberties, cutting off from the civil fellowship and company of the children of Israel, in comparison of that which was far worse to him, and a great deal heavier to be borne, namely, that he was rejected and repudiated from spiritual fellowship with God's people, from partaking in the holy ordinances, from coming to the sanctuary, from the church privileges, that his persecution was materially and substantially an excommunication, and *qua* excommunication, it was more grievous to him than *qua* persecution.

I suppose it now appears, that "Let him be to thee as an heathen man," is a shutting

out not from civil, but from sacred fellowship. The other branch, "Let him be to thee as a publican," I have before said enough of it. This only I add: There were among the Jews two sorts of publicans,—some were good and just men, exacting no more than what was appointed them; others were unjust and extortioners, and thereby made infamous. The former sort the Hebrews have professed they were willing to converse civilly withal, as members of the same commonwealth. See L'Empereur, *de Legibus Ebræorum Forensibus*, p. 272. But when Christ saith, "Let him be to thee as a publican," he means the impious and unjust publican only, as the same learned antiquary there saith. And so when our Saviour bids us esteem such a one not only as an heathen man, but as a publican, he means that he is not only to be denied fellowship in the holy things, but further, made infamous among the people; for the name *publican* is used to signify the worst of men, Matt. v. 46, 47, and in the gospel it is said, *publicans and sinners, publicans and harlots*, as was noted before. So Jerome upon Matt. xviii. 17, understands the name of publicans *secundum tropologiam*, for such as are given to unlawful gains, deceits, thefts, perjuries, and such like abominable wickednesses; wherefore we must not think that for civil respects of tax-gathering or the like, the Jews refused to keep civil company or fellowship with the publicans; for we read in *Exc. Gem. Sanhedrim*, cap. 3, sect. 3, that though he that was a shepherd, as such, was unfit to be a witness, yet he that was simply a publican (that is, as J. Coch saith in his *Annotation*, a publican who is not convicted of exacting more than is appointed by law) or a publican, as a publican, is not forbidden to be witness; where it is also added, that the father of R. Sira had the office of a publican thirteen years. Hence we see that a publican's testimony, were he a Jew or Gentile, provided he were a just publican, had faith and credit in judgment; how then can it be supposed that the Jews did not so much as keep any civil company with such a one? We must therefore understand that the Jews refused to have any fellowship with the impious and unjust publicans, as with church members, and this the Jews did because of their scandalous ungodliness and unrighteousness.

Wherefore, to be esteemed as a publican was esteemed among the Jews, compre-

hendeth these three things: 1. To be esteemed as the worst of men, impious, abominable, execrable, infamous, and, as it were, *publici odii victimæ*, for so were the publicans esteemed among the Jews. Dr Buxtorff, *Lexic. Chald. Talm. et Rabbin.*, p. 1065, tells us, that where in *Sanhedrim*, fol. 44, 2, it is said, "of a certain publican," the gloss expounds it thus, "of a certain wicked man." 2. Not to hold, or keep with such an one, the religious Christian fellowship which we keep with church members; yea, and (for religious ends, and in spiritual respects, as was said before) not to keep with such an one so much as that civil fellowship which we are permitted to keep with pagans and unbelievers, with whom, when bidden to a feast, we may go and eat together, as the Apostle expressly resolveth; but with him that is called a brother, when scandalous and obstinate (and, therefore, justly made as a publican), we may not so much as eat, as the same Apostle teacheth, wherein those are ever excepted who are tied by natural relations to perform natural and humane duties to the party excommunicate and made as a publican, as the wife to the husband, the children to their parents. In both these respects, "Let him be as a publican," superaddeth somewhat, and saith more than was in that other part, "Let him be as an heathen man." 3. The third thing which I conceive to be meant by being esteemed as a publican, is coincident with that which was meant by "Let him be as an heathen;" that is, let him be kept back from communion and fellowship with the church in the holy things. Mr Prynne brought a parabolical argument concerning the publican's going up to the temple to pray; that devout and religious publicans, whether Jews or Gentiles, did go up into the temple to pray, I make no question, and such a one is the publican in the parable; yea, if we mark the Pharisee's own words, he speaketh of that publican as one of the best and most religious publicans, Luke xviii. 11, "God I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, *ἢ καὶ ὡς οὐ-
τος ὁ τελώνης*, or even as this publican." The vulgar Latin hath it, *velut etiam hic publicanus*,—as likewise this publican,—making the publican to be one of those extortioners, unjust, adulterers. But it is a mistake of the text, which plainly holds forth a disjunctive, not a copulative sense. The Pharisee is further declaring what him-

self was not, and the disjunctive η intimateth some new matter. Therefore the Syriac and the Arabic hath it, "neither as this publican;" Erasmus, *aut etiam ut hic publicanus*; Arias Montanus, *aut et ut hic publicanus*; and the English, "or even as this publican." Many of the publicans were extortioners, unjust, adulterers, but the Pharisee thought he had not said enough when he had preferred himself to these, therefore he addeth this *ἀδύνητος*, "or even as this publican," which is a rising and heightening of his speech, as if he had said, "God I thank thee that I am more holy and righteous than the best of the publicans, who yet are not (as most of them are) extortioners, unjust, adulterers." But that profane, unjust, scandalous, infamous publicans, whether Jews or Gentiles, were allowed or permitted to come to the temple, to the worship, prayer and sacrifices, among the rest of the people of the Jews, I deny it, and Mr Prynne hath said nothing to prove it. These only are the publicans meant of when Christ saith, "Let him be unto thee as a publican." Now this sort of publicans, if they were allowed anything in reference to the temple, it was but to stand afar off in the *intermurale*, or *atrium Gentium*, as heathens might do. If the religious publican stood afar off, how much more the profane infamous publican. That such as were publicly scandalous, infamous for impiety, and esteemed the worst of men (which I have shewed to be meant by "Let him be unto thee as a publican,") were admitted into the temple as much as the rest of the people of the Jews, or had fellowship with the church in the holy things, I do not believe: I have proved the contrary from Philo and Josephus.

CHAPTER IV.

A CONFUTATION OF ERASTUS AND BILSON'S INTERPRETATION OF MATT. XVIII. 15—17, AS LIKEWISE OF DR SUTCLIFFE'S GLOSS DIFFERING SOMEWHAT FROM THEIRS.

As for that other Erastian gloss upon Matt. xviii. 17, that Christ meaneth of going to the orthodox magistrate being of the same true religion (and that this is the sense of those words, "Tell the church"); but if the brother who hath done us wrong will not hear nor obey that magistrate, then "Let

him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican;" that is, thou mayest prosecute him, as thou wouldest prosecute an heathen man or a publican, before an extrinsecal tribunal, such as at that time the Roman emperor's was to the Jews. See Erastus, thes. 41, wherein he is followed by Bishop Bilson, *Of the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, cap. 4. This gloss hath been justly rejected by many learned men. The first argument which I bring against it is, that it is wide from the scope of the text, yea, prejudgeth, and even overthroweth the great thing which is principally intended by Jesus Christ in this place. Camero, *Myroth.* in Matt. xviii., thinks it is utterly different from Christ's intention in this place, which is to prescribe rules to our consciences concerning the amendment of our brother, and the reducing of him from his sin, not to give economical rules concerning the reparation of our injuries or losses; wherefore he concludes, that by the church is meant the presbytery mentioned 1 Tim. iv. 14. He holdeth that also in the New Testament the word *ἐκκλησία* doth ever signify an assembly *cum oxései ad religionem*, with an habitude and reference to religion. Let it be also observed with Bucerus, *Script. Anglic.*, p. 40, 41, 304—306, that what our Saviour directeth one brother to do toward the gaining of another, by admonitions and reproofs, doth only belong to the care and solicitude of the salvation of his soul, and the gaining of him from eternal death to eternal life; and this he collects from these words in the text, "thy brother," and "thou hast gained thy brother." He doth also parallel Matt. xviii. 15, with Gal. vi. 1, "Brethren, if any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness." Now this, as it is the surest exposition (expounding scripture by scripture), so it doth not concern a judicial proceeding in the case of private injuries, but the Christian duty of reclaiming and saving the soul from sin.

He further observeth, that the thing which Christ recommendeth to every Christian, to be done *ex charitate Christiana*, is nothing else but what is incumbent to pastors *ex officio*; for pastors ought, by virtue of their public charge and ministry, to do the same thing authoritatively, which one Christian is bidden do to another in Christian brotherly charity; that is, to admonish, rebuke, &c.

I am persuaded were the Lord Jesus' scope and intent in this text rightly understood, there should need no other confutation of the glosses given either by Erastus or by Mr Frynne. They restrict to the case of private or personal injuries, and to the party injured civilly, that which our Saviour prescribeth as a duty of Christian charity, which every church member oweth to another.¹ It was an impious word of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" though spoken in reference to his brother's body and natural life; how much more sinful is it to say or think in reference to our brother's soul, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Every Christian is bound by the commandment of God to rebuke his brother, when he seeth, heareth, or knoweth him to commit sin; Lev. xix. 17, "Thou shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him." Where the marginal parallel in the English Bibles is Matt. xviii. 15. Yea, Erastus himself, lib. 2, cap. 2, p. 154, confesseth that Christ doth in Matt. xviii. interpret that law, Lev. xix. So Prov. xxviii. 4, such as keep the law, contend with the wicked. We ought to hate and abhor sin, by which God is dishonoured (and consequently to express our zeal against it by rebukes when it is committed in our sight, hearing, presence, privy, or knowledge), as much, yea, much more, than if it were a private and personal injury against ourselves, Psal. cvii. 10; Amos v. 15; Rom. xii. 9; Psal. cxxxix. 21, 22. Hence it is that the Apostle exhorteth Christians to "warn them that are unruly or disorderly," 1 Thes. v. 13. Wherefore it is justly and truly maintained by Augustine, *Regul. 3, infine Tomi primi*; Durandus, lib. 4, dist. 19, quest. 3; Tostatus in Matt. xviii., quest. 95, and divers others, that to admonish and rebuke a brother committing sin, is a necessary Christian duty commanded by the word of God, whereunto Christians are obliged by the love of God and their neighbour. For which see also Ægidius de Coninck, *de Actib. Supernat.*, disp. 28, dub. 2 and 4. And if the offender be not reduced by more private admonitions and rebukes, the same law of spiritual love bindeth his brother that knoweth his sin and impenitence to tell the church, as Joseph told his father of his brethren's faults, Gen.

xxxvii. 2, "And Joseph brought unto their father their evil report;" that is, their scandalous sins, which made them to have an evil report. It is well noted by Pareus upon the place, that the thing which Joseph did complain of to his father, was not his brethren's hatred against himself, nor any personal injury done to himself (because their hatred of Joseph was the effect, not the cause, of the information which he gave to his father of their faults), but it was their sin and scandalous life by which they brought an evil name upon themselves and the family of their father. Wherein he doth, upon good reason, justify what Joseph did, because he told not his brethren's faults to an enemy, but to a father, nor for their evil, but for their good. It was also declared unto the Apostle by them of the house of Chloe, that there were contentions among the Corinthians, 1 Cor. i. 11. So it is collected from 2 Thess. iii. 11, that some in the church of Thessalonica gave notice to the Apostle of such as walked disorderly. And as he that spares the rod hates the child, so he that neglects to rebuke an offending brother, or (when that cannot amend him), neglects to tell the church, doth hate his brother's soul, in so far as he suffers sin upon him.

If these things be acknowledged for truths, we will be easily induced to believe that the scope of Jesus Christ, Matt. xviii. 15—17, is to teach us, not what he permits the party injured to do toward the party injuring, but what he commands every one that loves the soul and salvation of his neighbour, to do for reducing his neighbour from a sin wherewith he is overtaken. Which fitly agreeth with that which Drusus, *præter. lib. 1 on Matt. xviii. 15, cited è libro Musar.* Besides, both fathers, schoolmen, casuists, commentators, Popish and Protestant, when they handle the questions *de correptione fraterna*, they make brotherly rebukes to be a common duty of love which one neighbour oweth to another; and ever and anon they clear what they hold from Matt.

¹ Cartwright, *Histor. Christi*, ex. 4, *Evang.*, p. 354. —Hoc loco (Matt. xviii.) notandum, singulorum in ecclesia civium munus esse, ut delinquentem fratrem corpiant.

¹ Si peccaverit in te frater tuus. Eadem habentur in libro Musar 221, quanquam paulo aliter, Qui arguit socium debet primum hoc facere placide inter se et ipsum solum verbis mollibus, ita ut non pudeat faciat eum si respicit bene est: sin, debet eum acriter arguere, et pūdefacere inter se et ipsum. Si non respicit, debet adhibere socios, ipsumque coram illis pudore afficere: si nec hoc modo quicquam profecit, debet eum pude facere coram multis, ejusque delictum publicare. Nam certe detegendi sunt hypocritæ.

xviii. I verily believe it is one of the wiles, yea, depths of Satan, in perverting that text with the Erastian glosses, to throw out of the church, and to drown in desuetude and oblivion, a great and necessary duty which every Christian, by the law of love, oweth to the soul of his brother with whom he converseth, which, were it conscientiously practised, I dare say it should be a most powerful and effectual means (by the blessing of Christ upon his own ordinance) to purge the church of scandals, to gain souls, and to advance holiness.

Now, he that can neither be reduced by more private reprehensions nor by public ecclesiastical conviction, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man," saith Christ: let him be esteemed as one that hath no part in the communion of the saints, in church membership, in the holy things, in the commonwealth of Israel, in the covenants of promise, more than an heathen man; which is a spiritual, not a civil separation, according to that, Gal. ii. 15, "We who are Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles."

My second argument shall be this: That which Christ saith generally of any sin whereby one brother scandaliseth another brother, the Erastians restrict to private or personal injuries. And whereas Christ's rule tendeth to the rescuing and saving of a sinner, their gloss runs upon a man's particular interest in the rescuing of a private injury. "If thy brother trespass against thee;" that is, *Cum quis coram aliquo peccaverit*, saith Munsterus, "When any brother sinneth in the presence of some other." Are we not obliged to rebuke an offending brother in Christian love, and to endeavour to bring him to repentance, and to save his soul, whether he hath done to us any particular injury or not? May we suffer sin upon his soul, because that sin is not an injury to us? Let it be well observed, the thing here aimed at, is the salvation of the offending brother, and his turning from sin, as Grotius rightly noteth from the word *κερδαίνειν* (which Erastus also confesseth from the word *ἐλεγεῖν*);¹ for in that sense is the word used, 1 Cor. ix. 19—22, "That I might gain them that are under the law," &c.; and 1 Peter iii. 1, "They may be won by the conversation of

the wives." This, saith Grotius, James doth explain, chap. v. 20, "He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." If this, then, be the meaning of Christ's words, Thou hast gained thy brother, then it concerneth all sins whereby we know our brother's soul and salvation to be in hazard. Wherefore, though Grotius understand private injuries to be that case which the text putteth, yet, saith he, it is the manner of the law of God, by one particular and more remarkable kind of things, to intimate what ought to be done in other things, according to the rule of just proportion. And it holds more true in other sins than in the case of private injuries: "This rebuking is necessary as well in sins which are committed against God as in those which are committed against man, and by so much the more it is necessary in sins which are committed against God, by how much they are heavier than sins which are committed against man," saith Tostatus in Matt. xviii, quest. 93. And Grotius himself citeth out of Mimus:—

"Amici vitia si feras facias tua."

And whereas the Erastians take much hold of the words *against thee*: "If thy brother trespass against thee,"—I have before answered, that any sin against God, which is committed in my sight, hearing, or knowledge, and so becometh a scandal or stumbling-block to me, is a trespass committed against me, because he that ought to edify me doth scandalise me. So that the words *against thee*, are added to signify not a civil injury, but rather a spiritual injury or scandal. Augustine, *Regul. 3. infinetom. 1*, applieth the rule and method of proceeding mentioned Matt. xviii., to lascivious or adulterous behaviour, which one brother observing in another, ought to admonish him, first secretly, then to take witnesses, then to tell the church, and if he be contumacious, *de vestra societate projiciatur*: Let him be cast out of your society, saith he. And the context carrieth it to any scandal whereby one brother scandaliseth another, whereof much was spoken in the preceding part of the chapter. Erastus, p. 154, *Scopus Christi est in hoc capite docere, quantum malum sit scandalum*: The scope of Christ is, in this chapter, to teach how great an evil scandal is. Wherefore I adhere to the resolution of Tostatus in Matt. xviii., quest.

¹ Confirm. Theas., lib. 3, cap. 3, p. 188.—Ideo dicit Christus *ἐλεγεῖν* apud Matt. ut intelligamus eum erroris et iniquitatis convincendum esse, ut eam agnoscat ac deprecetur non apud nos tantum, sed multo magis apud Deum.

84, *Sive sit peccatum directè contra Deum, sive contra proximum, si fit nobis scientibus, fit contra nos, cum nos scandalizet.* Both Chrysostom and Theophylact, upon Matt. xviii. 15, observe this cohesion, that Christ, having before spoken against those that give scandal, now he gives a rule to the person scandalised.

Thirdly, That exposition which now I argue against, tendeth to make one scripture contradict another, and to make that lawful by one scripture which another scripture makes unlawful, even some of themselves being judges. They so expound Matt. xviii., that they make it lawful (and as such allowed by Christ himself) for a Christian to pursue his brother for a civil injury before infidel or heathenish judges, even as he would pursue an heathen or infidel, if such an one had done him the injury. Erastus saith freely¹ (yet foully), that if a congregation of the faithful be under the Turk or the Pope, one of them may pursue another for an injury (when the offender will not hearken to his own assembly), before those judges who are aliens and enemies to the true religion. His exposition of Matt. xviii. doth plainly lead hereunto. So saith Bishop Bilson (a great follower of Erastus) in this debate upon Matt. xviii., in the place before cited, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican; that is, pursue him in those courts where thou wouldest a pagan and publican that should do thee wrong." But how doth this agree with 1 Cor. vi. (the place which Erastus, thes. 41, conceiveth to be a commentary upon Matt. xviii.)? Doth not the Apostle expressly condemn it, as being utterly a fault, that one brother went to law with another, for the things of this life or civil causes, before the unjust and unbelievers? Nay, let us hear Bishop Bilson himself in that very place: "Paul (saith he) by no means permitted them to pursue their brethren at the tribunals of infidels." What then? Will they set Paul against Christ? or will they make 1 Cor. vi. contrary to Matt. xviii.? As for that whereby Erastus would reconcile this difference, it as good as nothing. He saith, p. 183, that Paul re-

quireth them to refer to arbitrators within the church itself, only the smallest matters and things pertaining to this life, but not crimes or weighty matters, which he would reserve to the magistrates, otherwise he had detracted much from those to whom he everywhere commandeth to give obedience. And so, saith he, that which Paul saith is nothing but what Christ saith, "Tell the church." Besides, Paul himself appealed to Cæsar: Let all men judge, saith he, whether the Apostle would make it unlawful to other wronged persons, which he thought lawful for himself? I answer, 1. If it was a shame and foul scandal for Christians to pursue one another for smaller matters pertaining to this life, how much more for crimes and weightier matters? for then the unbelievers might cast the heavier load of reproaches upon the Christian religion. 2. This might have opened a door to elude that which the Apostle so earnestly presseth; for one would be ready to say, this cause of mine is a weighty one, it is an injury and crime that cannot be borne, therefore I am free to pursue it before unbelievers; whereas the Apostle saith, "Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?" 3. The judging of the smallest matters, and of the things pertaining to this life is, by the Apostle, opposed, not to weighty civil injuries, but to the judging of the world and of angels, as is manifest by the antithesis in the text. But he maketh no intimation of the least distinction of civil injuries, as if some might be pursued before unbelieving judges, some not. He speaketh generally, ver. 1, "Dare any of you having a matter against another;" ver. 4, "If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life;" ver. 7, "Why do ye not rather take wrong?" 4. If that which Paul saith be the same with that which Christ saith, "Tell the church;" and if it was Paul's mind that he who would not hearken to chosen arbitrators among the saints, might be pursued before the unbelieving judges (as Erastus tells us both here and thes. 47), then "Tell the church" cannot be meant of telling the magistrate of the same religion; for Paul sends them to no Christian magistrate (because there was none such then and there), but to arbitrators chosen among the saints. It is most strange to me, that so acute a disputant could expound the telling of the church, Matt. xviii., by the reference to arbitrators, 1 Cor. vi., and

¹ Confirm. Thees., lib. 3, cap. 2, p. 184.—Habitant nunc sub Turca et pontifice Romano fideles; si quis afficiatur ibi a fratre injuria, nec audire injuriosus suum cœtum velit, quid aliud potest offensum facere quam ejus implorare judicis opem, qui facultatem habet coercendi?

yet understand the church, Matt. xviii., to be the civil magistrate. 5. There might be subjection and obedience to the heathen magistrates, although the saints should not go to law one against another before them. 6. Paul did but appeal from Cæsar's deputy to Cæsar himself. He was drawn, by the Jews, before the tribunal of Festus (wherein Paul was a sufferer), and finding Festus unjust and partial, and that he endeavoured to deliver him to the Jews, who had a mind to have him put to death, thereupon he appealeth from Festus to Cæsar. So that if Erastus had made the parallel right, all that he could conclude from Paul's example had been this: That when a Christian is drawn and compelled by his accusers and enemies (not being Christians), before the tribunal of an inferior heathen judge; if he there find himself in danger of his life, he may appeal in his just defence to an higher heathen judge. Wherefore I yet conclude that, by the Erastian principles, Christ and Paul cannot be reconciled. These three arguments do militate not only against Erastus and Bilson, but likewise against Sutlivius, *de Presb.*, cap. 9, where he gives this sense of Matt. xviii. 15—17, that we ought to take heed we give no scandal in the pursuing of injuries, and for that end ought to give admonition first privately, then before witnesses, and in case of obstinacy in the brother that hath done the injury, to tell the rulers of the church (meaning the prelates), and if he will not hear them, then to go to law with that brother, as with an heathen or publican. The other arguments which are to follow (the lasted excepted), strike not at his interpretation, but at those other glosses of Erastus, Bilson, and Mr Prynne.

Fourthly, This Erastian exposition makes these words, "But if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," to be applicable only to such Christians as live under unbelieving magistrates, and not to all Christians. This consequence Erastus foresaw that it would needs follow from his interpretation; therefore he plainly owneth it, thes. 47. He confesseth that the former part, concerning rebuking and seeking to gain the offending brother, belongs to all Christians. What a boldness is here, to rent asunder this passage of Scripture, which was uttered, as it were, with one breath! And why doth not the latter part also belong unto all Christians?

Must Christians that live under an infidel magistrate have more effectual means and ways to use towards an offending brother, and may they go a step further in putting him to shame, or in humbling him, than those Christians can do who live under a Christian magistrate? How well doth this hang together! I should have thought the balance must rather fall to this hand; but to make the condition of those who live under a Christian magistrate to be more private, and the condition of those who live under an infidel magistrate to be more cumulative, is too great a paradox for me.

Fifthly, Whereas they say that the way prescribed by Christ, Matt. xviii., is such as is agreeable to the law of Moses, and they understand by "tell the church" tell the magistrate, I ask, What magistrate? If the judges and magistrates of the cities, as Bishop Bilson thinks, then he who did not hearken to those judges might appeal to the great sanhedrim at Jerusalem, or the judges themselves might refer and transmit the case thither; so that the man was not to be straightway accounted as an heathen man and a publican. But if by the church they understand the great sanhedrim itself, he that would not hearken to it, was to be put to death by the law, Deut. xvii., so that it had not been agreeable to the law of Moses to teach, that he who will not hearken to the great sanhedrim, is to be esteemed as an heathen man and a publican; for this supposeth that he shall not die, but be suffered to live.

Sixthly, The Erastian principles do plainly contradict and confute themselves, for both Erastus, Bishop Bilson, and Mr Prynne, hold that the Jewish sanhedrim, in Christ's time, was a temporal magistracy and a civil court of justice, which had power to scourge, imprison, torture, and outlaw offenders, yea, to put to death, as the first two do positively aver. How then can it be said, "If he neglect to hear the church, &c.,"¹ that is, if he neglect to hear the civil magistrate, who hath power to imprison, scourge,

¹ Sutlivius de Presbyterio, cap. 9.—Deinde loquitur Christus de ecclesia, quæ cogendi potestatem non habuit, cujusque sententiam impune licuit contemnere. Nam si cogendi potestatem habuisset, frustra illa verba addita sunt, si ecclesiam audire noluerit: nam ecclesia coegisset, et sententiam suam executioni mandasset. This he objecteth against the Presbyterian interpretation; but, in truth, it helpeth us, and strongly militateth against the Erastian interpretation.

torture, outlaw, yea, to put him to death? Surely, "if he neglect to hear the church," doth intimate that the church hath not used, nor cannot use, any external coercive power. Erastus finds himself so mightily puzzled with this difficulty, that to make out his interpretation of Matt. xviii., he confesseth, thes. 53, and *Confirm. Thes.*, lib. 2, cap. 2, the Jewish sanhedrim had no power, under the Romans, to judge of civil causes and injuries, but of things pertaining to their religion only, so that at that time, saith he, a man might *impune*, without punishment, condemn the judgment of the sanhedrim in civil things.¹ And thus, while he seeketh a *salvo* for his gloss upon Matt. xviii., he overthroweth the great argument by which he and his followers endeavour to prove that there was no other sanhedrim in Christ's time, but a civil court of justice, because, say they, that sanhedrim had the power of the sword and other temporal punishments.

Seventhly, Observe the gradation in the text: 1. A private conviction or rebuke. 2. Conviction before two or three witnesses. 3. Conviction before the church, and the church's declaring the thing to be an offence, and commanding the offender to turn from his evil way. 4. If he will not hear the church (which implieth that the church hath spoken and required him to do somewhat which he refuseth to do), then "Let him be as an heathen man and a publican." This last is heavier than all that went before, and is the punishment of his not hearing the church. Now, this gradation is inconsistent with the interpretation which Erastus giveth; for, by his own confession, the sanhedrim of the Jews, at that time, had not power to judge of civil causes, nor to punish any man for a civil injury, but for a matter of religion only (yet they are not matters of religion, but civil trespasses which he understands to be meant, Matt. xviii.). Here is an intercision in the third step of the gradation; and if it were an offence in the matter of religion, it had not been a greater punishment, but a greater ease to the offender, to draw him before the Roman tribunals; for the Romans cared for none of those things of which the Jewish sanhedrim was most zealous. The gradation in the text is as inconsistent with Mr Prynne's

interpretation; for imagine the offender to be, after previous admonitions, publicly accused and convicted before the church (that is, in his opinion, the civil court of justice, which had power to imprison, scourge, torture, and outlaw offenders, if not to condemn and put to death), what should be done with such an one? Can we go no higher? Yes; thus it is in Mr Prynne's sense: He that will not submit to the magistrate, and cannot be reduced by stripes and imprisonment, torturing and outlawing, yea, peradventure by condemnation to die the death, let this be the last remedy for such an one, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican;" that is, withdraw familiar civil company from him.

Eighthly, That interpretation of Erastus leaneth to a false supposition, namely, that the words *ὡς περ ὁ τελώνης*, "as a publican," are meant universally of all publicans, good or bad, or whatever they were. To prove this he takes an argument, p. 189, 190, 195, from the article *ὁ*; for, with the Grecians, saith he, the article being joined to the predicate, noteth the nature, and consequently the universality of the thing; whence he concludeth that *ὁ τελώνης* signifieth a publican *qua* publican, and so every publican. Now, what can be the sense of Christ's words in reference to every publican, saith he, unless this be it, that it was lawful to pursue any publican at a tribunal of the Romans? I answer, His argument goeth upon a most false supposition, which I clear by the like instances: Matt. vi. 7, "Use not vain repetitions as the heathens do," *ὡς περ οἱ ἑθνηκοί*. Shall we thence conclude that the heathens as heathens, and so all heathens, without exception, did use repetitions in prayer, or that they were all so devout, in their way, as to make long prayers? Luke xviii. 11, "I am not as other men are, *ὡς περ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, extortioners, unjust," &c. Did the Pharisee mean that every man *eo ipso* that he was another man, and so the rest of the Pharisees, as well as others, were extortioners, &c.? John xv. 6, "He is cast forth as a branch," *ὡς τὸ κλῆμα*. If the rule of Erastus hold, then a branch, as a branch, and so every branch, is cast out. Many such instances might be given. If, in these texts, there must be a restriction of the sense, notwithstanding of the prepositive article, so that, by *heathens*, we must understand devout or praying heathens; by *other men*, vulgar men, or the common sort of

¹ P. 158.—*Proinde impune poterat, qui volebat iudicium Synedrili contemnere in civilibus rebus.*

men; by a *branch*, a fruitless or withered branch; why shall we not also understand by *ὁ τελώνης*, the profane, loose, or unjust publican, and as Grotius doth rightly expound it, *ὁ ἀμαρτωλός*. Let him be esteemed, saith he, as an heathen man; that is, as an alien from religion or as a publican, that is, if he be a Jew, esteem him as an infamous sinner, or one of a flagitious life. Since, therefore, Erastus confesseth, p. 194, that as the office of the publicans was lawful, so likewise many publicans were honest, chaste, religious, and pious men, I may safely conclude, that "Let him be unto thee as a publican," cannot be meant universally of all publicans. For how can it be supposed that Christ would tacitly allow of alienation from, or severity to, pious publicans?

Ninthly, Whereas the Erastians lay great weight upon that form of speech, "Let him be to thee (not to the whole church) as an heathen man and a publican" (which is also one of Sutlivius's exceptions, *de Presbyterio*, cap. 9), in this also they do abuse the text; for, 1. The same offence which is a sufficient ground to one church member to esteem another church member as an heathen man or a publican, being a public and known scandal (such as is contumacy and disobedience to the church), must needs be a sufficient ground to all other church members, or to the whole church to esteem so of him. Surely Christ would not have contradictory judgments in his church concerning so high a point as is the esteeming of a church member to be as an heathen man and a publican. 2. The Erastians herein argue no better than the Papists. Christ said to Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" therefore unto Peter alone. Peradventure Mr Hussey was so sagacious as to prevent this objection with his Popish concession: "These keys were never given to any of the apostles but to Peter," saith he, in his *Plea for Christian Magistracy*, p. 9. It seems he will far less stick to grant the prelatial argument,—Timothy laid on hands, and Titus ordained elders; therefore each of these had the power of ordination by himself alone. 3. It is a good observation of Luther, tom. 1, *Resolv. super propos.* 13, *de Potest. Papæ*. fol. 299, In Matt. xvi., Christ begins with all his disciples, "Whom say ye that I am?" and he endeth with one, "Unto thee will I give," &c. In Matt. xviii. he beginneth with one, "If thy brother trespass against thee," &c.; and he

endeth with all, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth," &c. Whence he concludeth that, in both these places, what is said to one is said to all of them.

CHAPTER V.

THAT "TELL IT TO THE CHURCH" HATH MORE IN IT THAN "TELL IT UNTO A GREATER NUMBER."

There is yet another interpretation of these words invented to elude the argument for ecclesiastical government and censures, from Matt. xviii., "Tell it unto the church;" that is, if the offending brother will neither hearken to private admonition, nor to admonition before two or three witnesses, then tell it unto many or unto a greater company. This calls to mind Dr Sutcliffe's gloss upon the word *presbytery*,¹ 1 Tim. iv. 14, that it signifieth presbyters or ministers, *non juris vinculo, sed utcumque collectos*, as if the occasional meeting of some presbyters in Westminster Hall, or upon the Exchange, or in a journey, or at a burial, were a presbytery with power to lay on hands.

That interpretation of the word *church* is no better. But that I may reject nothing without reason, I desire it may be considered, 1. Whether either in Scripture, or in any Greek lexicon, or in any classic author, it can be found that the word *ἐκκλησία* was ever used to signify merely a greater number or company than two or three, not called out or embodied together for government or worship. For my part I could never yet find where the simple majority of the number maketh the denomination of *ἐκκλησία*. I find the word sometimes (yet very seldom) used of an unlawful assembly combining or joining together to evil: the reason I take to be this, because they pretended to be authorised as a lawful assembly. So Christ called Judas, "friend," when he came to betray him with a kiss. But since the word *ἐκκλησία*, Matt. xviii. 17, doth signify a lawful assembly (as all do confess), I desire some testimony of Scripture, or approved authors, where this name is given to a lawful assembly, which was not embodied for worship or government, but had the name of *ἐκκλησία* simply because of the majority of numbers.

¹ Sutlivius, *de Presbyt.*, cap. 1.

Sure I am *ἐκκλησία* is at least *cætus evocatus*, an assembly called forth; and every offended brother hath not from Christ the privilege of gathering a church. 2. If by "Tell it unto the church" were meant no more but this, *tell it unto a greater number*, then, if the offender do not hear the church, there must be recourse unto some others distinct from the church, for the more authoritative and ultimate determination (unless it be said that there is no remedy for offences, but in a greater number which each man shall make choice of). But where is their more effectual remedy, or where will they fix the ultimate degree of proceedings? 3. When Christ saith, "Tell it unto the church, and if he neglect to hear the church," &c., whether respect be had to the form of the Hebrews, or to the form of the Grecians, the church will still have a ruling power. In the Old Testament, the original giveth the name *kahal*, church (which is the word used in the Hebrew evangel of Matthew, published by Munsterus, chap. xviii. 17), and the Septuagints the name *ἐκκλησία*, to the elders and rulers of Israel; as 1 Chron. xiii. 2, 4, and xxix. 1; 2 Chron. i. 3, and in other places. And that which is said of the elders, Deut. xix. 12; Josh. xx. 4, is said of the congregation or church, Num. xxxv. 24; Josh. xx. 6; so Exod. xii. 3, compared with ver. 21. The Septuagints also render *kahal* by *συνέδριον*, Prov. xxvi. 26. It was not, therefore, to any assembly, but to an assembly of rulers, that causes were brought in the Old Testament. If we turn to the heathen Grecians, among them *ἐκκλησία* had a power of jurisdiction to judge and determine causes, as is manifest from Acts xix. 38, 39. Their *ἐκκλησία* was of two sorts, as Suides, Budæus, Stephanus, and others have observed: (1.) *Νόμιμος* and *ὠρισμένη ἐκκλησία*, a lawful, set, fixed assembly, which met at ordinary diets (which is meant in that place of the Acts last cited). It was also called *κυρία ἐκκλησία*, because of the jurisdiction and ruling power which was seated in it. Wherein I am confirmed by this passage of Aristotle, *Polit.*, lib. 3, cap. 11, *ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία κυρία πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν*, "For the assembly (saith he) hath the government or arbitrament of all such things;" he is speaking of the choosing of magistrates, and of craving an account of their administration. (2.) *Σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία*, which was indicted and called *pro re nata*, upon some urgent extraor-

dinary cause, and it was *concio magnatum sive optimatum*, in which the people were not present, as in the other. It was, therefore, rightly noted by Pasor, that Demosthenes useth the word *ἐκκλησία pro concione magnatum*. Afterward the Roman senate was called *σύγκλητος βουλή*, and sometimes *σύγκλητος* without an adjective; *ἐκκλησία*, therefore, among the heathen Grecians (from whom the word came) was not any assembly, but an assembly which had a jurisdiction or ruling power. It shall not be in vain to add, that *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*, to appeal to a superior ruler cometh from the same original verb from which cometh *ἐκκλησία*. 4. The church mentioned Matt. xviii. 17, hath a forensical or juridical power, as appeareth by that of the two or three witnesses, ver. 16, which relateth to a juridical proceeding in the trying and punishing of offences, as Mr Prynne hath observed. Peradventure some man will say, that the two or three witnesses here are brought in only to be witnesses to the admonition, or to make the admonition the more effectual, and the more to be regarded, but not as if any use were to be made of these witnesses, to prove the fact or offence itself before the church, if there be occasion,—I answer, Either it must be supposed here that the trespass was seen or known only by him that gives the first rebuke privately, or that it was also seen or known by those two or three witnesses. If the former, it is much disputed among schoolmen, whether he that rebukes his offending brother be to proceed any further than a private rebuke for a private offence, or whether he is to stop at private rebukes, and not to take witnesses with him (which divers think to be unfit and disallowed, as being an officious and unnecessary irritation of the offending brother by the spreading of his shame, a making of a private sin to become scandalous to others, as likewise an engaging of witnesses to assist in the admonition and rebuke by a blind and implicit faith). For my part I shall not need here to dispute this point; for whatever ought to be done, or ought not to be done in this case, when the trespass is known to one only, yet in the other case, when besides him that rebukes there are two or three more which can be witnesses of the fact or trespass committed (the trespass being yet not publicly divulged), it cannot be denied, that these witnesses of the fact are to be brought unto and confronted with the offender, when he

cannot be gained by private rebuke, and (if need be) prove it afterward before the church. Which I have before noted out of Durandus. And Aegidius de Coninck tells us (in whatsoever other case witnesses are to be taken, or are not to be taken), in this case all do consent that witnesses are to be taken.¹

Concerning the taking of witnesses, when the trespass is known to me alone, there are three different opinions: 1. That when I have rebuked the offender privately, and cannot gain him, I am to proceed no further, but have done my duty, and must leave the event to God. 2. That when a secret admonition is not effectual, witnesses are to be taken, in case the offender so admonished continue in his sin, or in case his relapse be feared and expected, that the witnesses may observe such continuing or relapse in sin, and then assist and join in rebuking him, and if need be (that is, in case of his contumacy) to prove the fact before the church. 3. That even when his continuance or relapse in sin cannot be observed (and so cannot be afterward proved by witnesses), yet the second admonition is to be given before witnesses when the first admonition given privately hath not gained the offender. Of these let the reader judge. It is enough for the point now in hand, that when witnesses can be had to prove the trespass committed, they ought to be brought, first before the offender, and then (if he continue obstinate) before the church, to prove the fact; and they must be three, or two at the least, which I do not see how it can be thought necessary, if we suppose that the sin is not known to any but to me alone who give the first rebuke; for if there must be a witness of my second admonition, why may not one witness join with me as well as two, when I cannot have two, but one only, willing and ready to join with me. But now a necessity of precept lies on me, that I must have two witnesses at least, which can-

not be otherwise understood, but in reference to a forensical proceeding afterwards, if need be.

5. That interpretation which now I speak against, while it goeth about to avoid a power of jurisdiction and censure in this text, it doth subject him that is reprov'd by another to a heavier yoke, and brings him into a greater servitude; for though a man be not disobedient nor contumacious unto any court civil or ecclesiastical, yet, if he doth not hearken to such a number, as the party offended shall declare the case unto (being a greater number than two or three), he must be by and by esteemed and avoided as an heathen man and a publican.

6. This interpretation, as it is fathered upon Grotius, so it may be confuted out of Grotius upon the very place. He expounds "Tell it unto the church" by the same words which Drusius citeth, *2 libro Musar.* declare it *coram multis*, before many; but is this any other than *ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων*, the many spoken of 2 Cor. ii. 6? a place cited by Grotius himself, together with *ἐνώπιον πάντων*, "before all," 1 Tim. v. 20. Now these were acts of ecclesiastical power and authority, not simply the acts of a greater number. He tells us also it was the manner among the Jews to refer the business *ad multitudinem τῶν ὁμοζήλων*, to the assembly of those who were of the same way, or followed the same rites, the judgments of which multitude, saith he, *seniores tanquam præsides moderabantur*: The elders as presidents did moderate. He further clears it out of Tertullian, *Apol.* cap. 39, where, speaking of the churches or assemblies of Christians, he saith, *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina, &c., præsident probati quique seniores*: Where there are also exhortations, corrections, and divine censure, &c., all the approved elders do preside. And is not this the very thing we contend for?

I hope I may now conclude that "Tell the church," is neither meant of the civil magistrate, nor simply of a greater number, but of the elders, or (as others express it better) of the eldership or assembly of elders. So Stephanus, Scapula, and Pasor in the word *ἐκκλησία*; Calvin, Bucerus, Illyricus, Beza, Hunnius, Tossanus, Pareus, Cartwright, Camero, Diodati, the *Dutch Annotations*, all upon the place; Marlorat in *Thesaurus*, in the word *ecclesia*; Zanchius, in præc. 4, p. 741; Junius, *Animad.*

¹ De Actib. Supernat., disp. 28, dub. 9.—Item quando peccatum corripienti præter me est uni vel alteri notum, etiam facile mihi esse hos post primam correptionem adjungere mihi socios ac testes secundæ correptionis. Cum enim hi non minus quam ego ejus peccatum noverint, æqualiter poterunt ipsum de hoc corripere, illudus postea, si opus sit, coram superiore testari. Quare communiter omnes censent in eo casu testes esse adhibendos, si prima correptio non fuerit efficax. Sed tota difficultas est quando peccatum est mihi soli notum. Qua in re triplex est sententia. Prima docet quando tunc proximus non emendatur secreta me admonitione, non esse ulterius progrediendum, &c.

in *Bell. Contr.* 3, lib. 1, cap. 6; Gerhard, *Loc. Theol.*, tom. 6, p. 137; Meisnerus, *Disput. de Regim. Eccles.*, quest. 1; Trelcatius, *Instit. Theol.*, lib. 1, p. 291; Polanus, *Syntag.*, lib. 7, cap. 1; Bullinger, in 1 Cor. v. 4; Whittaker, *de Ecclesia*, quest. 1, cap. 2; Danæus in 1 Tim. p. 246, 394. These, and many more, understand that neither the magistrate nor the multitude of the church, nor simply a great number, is meant by the church, Matt. xviii., but the elders or ecclesiastical senate, who have the name of the church, partly by a synecdoche, because they are a chief part of the church (as elsewhere the people or flock distinct from the elders, is called the church, Acts xx. 28), partly because of their eminent station and principal function in the church, as we say we have seen such a man's picture, when happily it is but from the shoulders upward; partly, because the elders act in all matters of importance, so as they carry along with them the knowledge and consent of the church (and therefore according to Salmeron's observation, tom. 4, part. 3, tract. 9, Christ would not say, 'Tell the officers or rulers of the church, but, "Tell the church,"' because an obstinate offender is not to be excommunicate secretly or in a corner, but with the knowledge and consent of the whole church, so that for striking of the sinner with the greater fear and shame, in regard of that knowledge and consent of the church, the telling of the officers is called the telling of the church); partly also, because of the ordinary manner of speaking in the like cases; that which is done by the parliament is done by the kingdom, and that which is done by the common council is done by the city. Among the Jews with whom Christ and his apostles were conversant this manner of speaking was usual. Danæus (where before cited) citeth R. David Kimchi upon Hosea v., noting that the name of the house of Israel is often put for the sanhedrim in Scripture. It is certain the sanhedrim hath divers times the name *kahal* in the Hebrew and *ἐκκλησία* in the Greek of the Old Testament; which is acknowledged even by those who have contended for a kind of popular government in the church. See *Guide unto Zion*, p. 6; Ainsworth in his *Counterpoison*, p. 113.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE POWER OF BINDING AND LOOSING,
MATT. XVIII. 18.

They that do not understand Matt. xviii. 17, of excommunication, are in extreme difficulty and scarce know what to make of that binding and loosing which is mentioned in the words immediately following, ver. 18, "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." Erastus and Grotius understand it of a private brother, or the offended party's binding or loosing of the offender. Bishop Bilson understands it of a civil binding or loosing by the magistrate, whom he conceives to be meant by the church, ver. 17. These do acknowledge a coherence and dependence between ver. 17 and 18; Mr Prynne differing from them, doth not acknowledge this coherence, and expounds the binding and loosing to be ministerial indeed, but only doctrinal; some others dissenting from all these, do refer this binding and loosing not to a person, but to a thing or doctrine, "whatsoever ye shall bind," that is, whatsoever ye shall declare to be false, erroneous, impious, &c. Sutlivius, though he differ much from us in the interpretation of ver. 15—17, yet he differeth as much (if not more) from the Erastians in the interpretation of ver. 18; for he will have the binding and loosing to be ecclesiastical and spiritual, not civil; to be juridical, not doctrinal only; to be acts of government committed to apostles, bishops and pastors. He alloweth no share to ruling elders, yet he alloweth as little of the power of binding and loosing, either to the magistrate or to the party offended. See him, *de Presbyterio*, cap. 9, 10; so that they can neither satisfy themselves nor others, concerning the meaning and the context.

For the confutation of all those glosses, and for the vindication of the true scope and sense of the text, I shall first of all observe, whence this phrase of binding and loosing appeareth to have been borrowed, namely, both from the Hebrews and from the Grecians. The Hebrews did ascribe to the interpreters of the law, power, authority *דָּבַר* *déur*, to bind, and *הָרַחֵץ* *háréur*, to loose. So Grotius tells us on Matt. xvi. 19, the Hebrews had their loosing of an excommunicated person,

which they called התרת המנורר. See Buxtorff, *Lexic. Chald. Talm. Rabbin*, p. 1410. The Grecians also had a binding and loosing which was judicial. Budæus and Stephanus, on the word λύω, cite out of Aeschines, Ἐπειδὴν τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, *Quum primo suffragio non absolutus fuerit reus τῶν παρανόμων*. Ὑψος was the stone by which the senators did give their suffrage in judgment. It was either a black stone, by which they did bind the sinner and retain his sin, and that stone was called ἡ ἀναρροῦσα or καθαιροῦσα; or it was a white stone, by which they did loose, remit and absolve; and that stone was called ἡ σώζουσα οὐ ἡ ἐλεοῦσα, which was the thing that Tully calleth *solvere crimine*. So where it is said, "her iniquity is pardoned," Isa. xl. 2, the LXX. read λέλυται ἁγνείης ἡ ἁμαρτία, *her iniquity is loosed*. And because there is usually some kind of expiation before a loosing and remitting of sins, which expiation being performed, the loosing follows, therefore the Grecians called such necessary and requisite expiation by the name of λύσις, that is, *loosing*; and they had their λύσιοι θεοί, expiatory gods, who did chiefly take care of those expiations.

That in Scripture the power of binding is judicial and authoritative is cleared by my reverend and learned colleague Mr Rutherford, in *The Divine Right of Church Government*, p. 234, 235. I add, that the word רבן, unto which Grotius sends us, is used for that binding or incarceration which is an act of corrective authority, as Gen. xl. 3; xlii. 16, 19, 24; Num. xv. 34; Lev. xxiv. 12; 2 Kings xvii. 4; Isa. xlii. 7; Jer. xl. 1; Ezek. iii. 25. It is also used for an authoritative prohibition, Num. xi. 28, "My lord Moses, forbid them." Thence רבן, *interdictum*, a decree forbidding somewhat, Dan. vi. 7—9.

As binding and loosing are acts of authority and power, such as doth not belong to any single person or brother offended, so the binding and loosing mentioned Matt. xviii. 18 are acts of ecclesiastical and spiritual authority, belonging to the kingdom and government of Christ in his church, but not belonging to the civil magistrate. And as the authority is ecclesiastical and spiritual, so it is more than doctrinal,—it is a power of inflicting or taking off church censures. These two things I will endeavour to prove: 1. That this power of binding and loosing belongeth neither to private

Christians, nor to civil magistrates, but to church officers. 2. That this power is juridical or forensical, and not doctrinal only; that is, that church officers are here authorised to bind with censures, or to loose from censures, as there shall be cause. In both which we have antiquity for us; which I do the rather observe, because Erastus and Grotius allege some of the ancients for their exposition of Matt. xviii. 18, that this binding or loosing is by the offended brother. That which Augustine, Origen, and Theophylact say of one brother's binding or loosing, is but spoken tropologically, and not as the literal sense of the text; yea, Theophylact, in that passage cited by Erastus and Grotius, doth distinguish between the ministerial or ecclesiastical binding and loosing, and the offended party's binding and loosing: *Non enim solum quæ solvunt sacerdotes sunt soluta, sed quæcunque et nos, &c.* Theophylact doth also find excommunication in that text, *Illam autem (ecclesiam) si non audierit, tunc abjiciatur, ne suæ malitiæ participes faciat alios*. I further appeal to Augustine himself, epist. 75, where, speaking of excommunication and anathema, he distinguisheth it from corporal punishment, and, after he hath spoken of the temporal sword, he addeth, *Spiritualis autem pœna, qua fit quod scriptum est, Quæ ligaveris in terra, erunt ligata et in cœlo, animas obligat*: But the spiritual punishment, by which that thing is done which is written, What thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, doth bind souls. Again, in his sixth vol., lib. 1, *contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*, cap. 17, he doth most plainly interpret Matt. xviii. 18 of church discipline and binding by censure.¹

Jerome, both in his commentary upon Matt. xviii. and in his epistle to Heliodorus, speaketh of this power of binding as a judi-

¹ Ignoscendi autem misericors mansuetudo, &c., non ad hoc valet ut sit iniquitas impunita, aut torpens et dormiens disciplina, quod potius obait quam diligens vigilansque vindicta. Claves quippe regni cœlorum sic dedit Christus ecclesiæ, ut non solum diceret quæ solveritis super terram, erunt solutæ et in cœlis: ubi apertissime bonum, non malum pro malo reddit ecclesiæ: verum et adjungeret. Quæ ligaveritis in terra erunt ligatæ et in cœlo, quia bona est et vindicandi justitia. Illud enim quod ait, si nec ecclesiæ audierit, sit tibi tanquam ethnicus et publicanus, gravius est quam si gladio feriretur, et flammis absumeretur, si feris subrigeretur. Nam ibi quoque subjunxit, amen dico vobis quæ ligaveritis super terram erunt ligatæ et in cœlis: ut intelligeretur quanto gravius sit punitus qui velut relictus est impunitus.

cial forensical power belonging to the ministers or officers of the church, by which they judge and censure offenders.¹

But to save myself the labour of more citations, I take help from Bishop Bilson, *Of the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, cap. 4, where, though he expound the binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 18, to be acts of the magistrate, yet he acknowledged that the ancient writers lean very much another way, and understand that text of the ministerial and spiritual power of excommunication, for which he citeth Chrysostom, *de Sacerdotio*, lib. 3; Ambrosius, *de Penitent.*, lib. 1, cap. 2; Jerome in Matt. cap. 18; Hilarius in Matt., can. 18. Unto these I also add Isidorus Pelusiota, in the third book of his Epistles, epist. 260, where he applieth this text, Matt. xviii. 18, to this sense, That impenitent sinners are to be bound, and penitent sinners loosed, and thence argueth against the absolving of a perjured person who had not declared himself penitent, but had purchased his absolution by a gift. Nor can I pass Chrysostom upon this very text, where he tells that Christ will have such a one to be punished, *καὶ τῇ ἐννεύθεν τιμωρία καὶ τῇ ἐκεί κολάσει*, both with a present chastisement and with a future punishment, or both in earth and in heaven; and would have the offender to fear *τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξολήν*, casting out of the church. He addeth, *οὐκ εὐθέως ἐξέκοψεν*, he cuts not off immediately, but after admonitions.

I will now proceed to a further confirmation of the two propositions afore-mentioned. Touching the first, that this binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 18, belongeth neither

to private Christians nor to civil magistrates, but to church officers, I clear it thus: There are two things by which (as schoolmen observe) men's souls and consciences are bound.

1. They are bound by their sins, Prov. v. 22, "His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins;" Acts viii. 23, "Thou art in the bond of iniquity." 2. Men are bound by precepts, Matt. xxiii. 4, "They bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders." This binding by precept or law some take to be meant, Ezek. iii. 25, "O son of man, behold they shall put hands upon thee, and shall bind thee with them;" that is, thou shalt, in vision, see thyself bound with bands upon thee, to signify that I have forbidden thee to be a reprob to the rebellious house. So the Chaldee paraphrase: "But thou, O Son of man, behold I have put my word upon thee, as a band of cords with which they bind, and thou shalt not go forth into the midst of them." Now, in both these respects, the Scripture elsewhere doth ascribe to church officers a power of binding and loosing. 1. In respect of sin, John xx. 23, "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained." It is spoken to the apostles and their successors in the ministry of the gospel, Matt. xvi. 19, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven;" where the power of binding and loosing is given to the apostles, and Grotius upon the place cleareth it from 2 Cor. v. 19, 20, "God hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. Now, then, we are ambassadors for Christ." So that we find, in Scripture, church officers enabled and authorised, *ex officio*, as the heralds and ambassadors of the King of Zion, to loose from the bands of sin all repenting and believing sinners, and to bind over to eternal justice and wrath the impenitent and unbelievers. 2. They are also authorised, dogmatically and authoritatively, to declare and impose the will of Christ, and to bind his precepts upon the shoulders of his people, Matt. xxvii. 20; as likewise to loose them and pronounce them free from such burdens, as men would impose upon them, contrary or beside the word of God, 1 Cor. vii. 23. An example of both we have,

¹ Jerome in Matt. xviii. 18, Quia dixerat, Si autem ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus, et poterat contemptoris fratris hæc occulta esse responsio vel tacita cogitatio: si me despicias et ego te despicio: si tu me condemnas, et mea sententia condemnaberis: potestatem tribuit apostolis, ut sciant qui a talibus condemnantur, humanam sententiam divina sententia roborari, et quodcunque ligatum fuerit in terra, ligari pariter et in cælo. Jerome, epist. 1, ad Heliod.—Absit ut de his quicquam sinistrum loquar, qui apostolico gradu succedentes, Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt, per quos et nos Christiani sumus. Qui claves regni cælorum habentes, quodammodo ante iudicii diem iudicant, &c. Mihi ante presbyterum (legendum fortasse presbyterum) sedere non licet: illi si peccavero, licet tradere me Satanas in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit. Et in veteri quidem lege, quicumque sacerdotibus non obtemperasset, aut extra castra positus, lapidabatur a populo, aut gladio cervice subjecta, contemptum explabat cruore: Nunc vero inobediens, spiritali mucrone truncatur, aut ejectus de ecclesia, rabido dæmonum ore discerpitur.

Acts xv. 28. The synod of the apostles and elders bindeth upon the churches such burdens as were necessary, by the law of love, for the avoiding of scandal, but did pronounce the churches to be free and loosed from other burdens which the Judaising teachers would have bound upon them. Now, therefore, if we will expound Matt. xviii. 18, by other scriptures (it being the only surest way to expound Scripture by Scripture), it is manifest and undeniable, that church officers are, by other scriptures, enabled and authorised to bind and loose in both those respects afore-mentioned. But we nowhere find in Scripture, that Christ hath given either to all private Christians, or to the civil magistrate, a commission and authority to bind or loose sinners. I know a private Christian may and ought to convince an impenitent brother, and to comfort a repenting brother, *ex charitate Christiana*; but the Scripture doth not say, that God hath committed to every private Christian the word of reconciliation, and that all Christians are ambassadors for Christ; nor is there a promise to ratify in heaven the convictions or comforts given by a private Christian, no more than a king doth engage himself *in verbo principis* to pardon such as any of his good subjects shall pardon, or to condemn such as any of his good subjects shall condemn; but a king engageth himself to ratify what his ambassadors, commissioners, or ministers, shall do in his name, and according to the commission which he hath given them to pardon or condemn. Besides all this, if Christ had meant here of the brother's private binding or loosing, to whom the injury was done, not condemning or forgiving, then he had kept the phrase in the singular number, which Erastus observeth diligently all along the text, ver. 15, 16, 17. But he might have also observed, that ver. 18 carries the power of binding and loosing to a plurality, "Whatever ye bind," &c. As for the magistrate, it belongeth to him to bind with the cords of corporal or civil punishments, or to loose and liberate from the same, as he shall see cause, according to law and justice. But this doth not belong to the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ; for his kingdom is not of this world, neither are the weapons thereof carnal but spiritual. And, beside, the magistrate may lawfully and sometime doth bind on punishment, when the soul is loosed in heaven, and the sin remitted. Again, the magistrate

may lawfully, and sometime doth, loose and absolve from punishment, when a man's soul is impenitent, and sin is still bound upon his conscience. There is no such promise that God will forgive whom the magistrate forgiveth, or condemn whom the magistrate condemneth. Neither hath God anywhere in Scripture committed to the magistrate the keys of the kingdom of heaven, or the word of reconciliation, as to the ambassadors of Christ.

Binding and loosing in the other sense, by a dogmatical authoritative declaration of the will of Christ, is not so principally or directly intended, Matt. xviii. 18, as that other binding and loosing in respect of sin. Howbeit, it is not to be excluded, because the words preceding, ver. 17, mention not only the execution of excommunication, "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican," but also the church's judgment, and determination of the case, "If he neglect to hear the church," which words imply that the church hath declared the will of Christ in such a case, and required the offender to do accordingly; but he, showing himself unwilling and contumacious, as it were saying in his heart, I will break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from me, thereupon the promise reacheth to this also, that what the church hath determined or imposed according to the will of Christ, shall be ratified and approved in heaven. Now Christ hath nowhere given a commission, either to every particular Christian, or to the magistrate, to teach his people to observe all things which he hath commanded them, and authoritatively to determine controversies of faith, or cases of conscience.¹ As in the Old Testament, the priest's lips did preserve knowledge, and they were to seek the law at his mouth, Mal. ii. 7, so in the New Testament, the ministers of Christ have the commission to make known the counsel of God.

My second proposition, that the power of binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 18, is juridical or forensical, and meant of inflicting or taking off ecclesiastical censures, this I will make good in the next place against Mr Prynne, who, to elude the argument for excommunication from Matt. xviii., answereth two things concerning the binding

¹ Sutilvius de Presbyt., cap. 14, p. 107.—Apostoli religionis et fidei a Christo cognitionem acceperant: hæc enim pars est maxima clavium quas ille apostolis suis commisit.

and loosing there spoken of. 1. That these words have no coherence with, or dependence upon, the former. 2. That this binding and loosing is meant only of preaching the gospel. Touching the first of these, I confess if by *the church*, ver. 17, be meant a civil court of justice, and by those words, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen," &c., be meant no more but keep no civil fellowship with him (which is his sense of the text), I cannot marvel that he could find no coherence between verses 17 and 18; yet if there be no coherence between these verses, the generality of interpreters have gone upon a great mistake of the text, conceiving that Christ doth here anticipate a great objection, and add a great encouragement in point of church discipline; for when the offender is excommunicated (that is all the church can do to humble and reduce him), put the case, He or others despise the censures of the church, "What will your censure do?" saith Mr Hussey. To that very thing Christ answereth, It shall be ratified in heaven, and it shall do more than the binding of the offenders in fetters of iron could do. But let us hear what Mr Prynne saith against the coherence of text. Because, saith he, that of binding and loosing is "spoken only to and of Christ's disciples, as is evident by the parallel text of John xx. 23, not of the Jewish church."

It maketh the more against him (I am sure) that it is spoken to and of Christ's disciples; for this proveth that the church, ver. 17, is not the Jewish sanhedrim, but the Christian presbytery, then instituted, and afterwards erected; and that the thing which makes one as an heathen and a publican, is binding of his sins upon him. And for the context, immediately after Christ had said, "If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee," &c., he addeth, "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth," &c. The dependency is very clear. A Christian having first admonished his brother in private, then, having taken two or three witnesses, after this, having brought it to the public cognisance of the ecclesiastical consistory, and after all that, the offender being for his obstinacy excommunicate: here is the last step, no further progress. Now, might one think, what of all this? what shall follow upon it? Nay, saith Christ, it shall not be in vain, it shall be ratified in heaven. And as the purpose cohereth, so that form of words, "Verily I say unto you," is ordi-

narily used by Christ to signify his continuing and pressing home the same purpose which he had last mentioned, as Matt. v. 26; vi. 2; viii. 10; x. 15; xi. 11; xviii. 3; xix. 23, 28; xxi. 31; xxiii. 36; xxiv. 34, 47; xxvi. 13; Mark x. 15; xii. 43; xiii. 30; Luke xii. 37, and many the like passages. To my best observation, I have found no place where Christ's "Verily I say unto you" begins a new purpose, which hath no coherence with, nor dependence upon the former.

This coherence of the text, and the dependency of ver. 18 upon that which went before (which dependency is acknowledged by Erastus, who, perceiving that he could not deny the dependency, fancieth that the binding and loosing is meant of the offended brother's pardoning or not pardoning of the offender, *Confirm. Thes.* p. 157), doth also quite overthrow Mr Prynne's other answer, that this binding and loosing is only meant of preaching the gospel, and of denouncing remission of sins to the penitent, and wrath to the impenitent.

Nay, that *potestas clavium concionalis* is instituted in other places, but here it is *potestas clavium disciplinalis*, as is evident: First, by the coherence of the text, and by the taking of two or three more, and then telling of the thing to the church; all which intimateth a rising as from one or two or three more, so from them to the church, which cannot be meant of one man, as hath been argued against both Pope and prelate, for no one man can be called a church; neither hath one man the power of jurisdiction, but one man hath the power of preaching.

Secondly, The apostles, and those who succeed them in the work of the ministry, have the same power of the keys committed from Christ to them ministerially, which Christ hath committed from the Father to him (as Mediator) authoritatively; for, in the parallel place, John xx. 21, 23, where he gives them power of remitting or retaining sins, he saith, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." But the Father gave Christ such a power of the keys, as comprehends a power of government, and not merely doctrinal; Isa. xxii. 21, 22, "I will commit the government into his hand, &c. And the keys of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder."

Thirdly, It may be proved also by that which immediately followeth, ver. 19, "Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree

on earth," &c., which cannot be meant of the power of preaching; for neither the efficacy of preaching, nor the ratification of it in heaven, nor the fruit of it on earth, doth depend upon this, that two preachers must needs agree in the same thing. But it agreeth well to the power of discipline, concerning which it answereth these two objections: First, It might be said, the apostles and other church governors may fall to be very few in this or that church where the offence riseth; shall we, in that case, execute any church discipline? Yes, saith Christ, if there were but two church officers in a church (where no more can be had), they are to exercise discipline, and it shall not be in vain. Again, it might be objected, be they two or three, or more, what if they do not agree among themselves? To that he answereth, There must be an agreement of two church officers at least, otherwise the sentence shall be null. We cannot say the like of the doctrinal power of binding or loosing, that it is of no source or validity, unless two, at least, agree in the same doctrine, as hath been said. Two must agree in that sentence or censure, which is desired to be ratified in heaven, and then they binding on earth, and unanimously calling upon God to ratify it in heaven, it shall be done.

Fourthly, This binding and loosing cannot go without the church—it is applicable to none but a church member or a brother. So the thread of the text goes along from ver. 15, "*If thy brother trespass against thee;*" and ver. 16, "*Thou hast gained thy brother.*" And when it is said, "*Tell the church,*" it is supposed that the offender is a member of the church, over whom the church hath authority, and of whom there is hope that he will hear the church. And when it is said, "*Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican,*" it is supposed that formerly he was not unto us as an heathen man and a publican. For these and the like reasons Tostatus, in Matt. xviii., quest. 91, and divers others, hold that this rule of Christ is not applicable to those who are without the church. But if the binding and loosing be meant only of preaching the gospel, as Mr Prynne would have it, then it were applicable to those that are not yet baptized nor made church members; for unto such the gospel hath been, and may be, preached. The binding and loosing which is proper to a brother, or to a church member, must be a juridical power of censures,

of which the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. v. 12, "What have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within?" Therefore Chrysostom, hom. 61, in Matt. (according to the Greek, hom. 60), doth parallel Matt. xviii. with 1 Cor. v., proving that this rule of Christ is not applicable to one that is without, but only to a brother: "Which Paul also saith in these words, What have I to do to judge them also that are without?" But he commandeth us to convince and reduce brethren, *καὶ ἀπορρίπτειν μὴ πειθομένους*, and to cut off the disobedient: this he (Christ) doth also in this place." Theophylact, also, on Matt. xviii., noteth the same restriction of this rule of Christ to a Christian brother.

Fifthly, This binding power is not to be made use of, till all other means have been essayed, *ante tentanda omnia*, saith Munsterus; first, a private admonition, then before witnesses, then the matter is brought to the church, the church declareth and judgeth, the offender neglecteth to hear the church, then, after all this, cometh the binding, which must needs be a binding with censures; for that binding which Mr Prynne speaks of, the denouncing of the wrath of God against the impenitent, by the preaching of the gospel, is not, neither ought to be, suspended or delayed upon such degrees of proceeding.

Sixthly, This binding and loosing is not without two or three witnesses, ver. 16. But that of two or three witnesses relateth to a forensical or judicial proceeding, as Mr Prynne himself tells us. These witnesses may be brought before the ecclesiastical court, either to prove the offender's contumacy, being admonished, or to prove the scandalous fact itself, which was, from the beginning, known to two or three witnesses, according to the sense of schoolmen, expressed in the preceding chapter.

Seventhly, This phrase of binding and loosing is taken both from the Hebrews and from the Grecians; but both the Hebrews and the Grecians used these words in a juridical sense, as I observed in the beginning.

Eighthly, That the binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 18, is juridical, not doctrinal, belonging to the power of jurisdiction, not of order, is the sense of the ancients above cited; as likewise of Scotus, lib. 4, sent. dist. 19, quest. 1, art. 5; Tostatus in Matt. xviii., quest. 113, yea, the current both of schoolmen and of interpreters, as well Pro-

testant as Popish, runneth that way. It were too long to cite all. Yea, further, Salmasius, in *Appar. ad Lib. de Primatu*, p. 296, understands the binding and loosing, Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 23, of discipline; so Walæus, tom. 1, p. 92; so divers others. From the same places, Aretius, *Theol. Probl.*, loc. 133, *de excom.*, draws excommunication as an ordinance of Christ; from the same two texts, John xx. 23, and Matt. xvi. 19, Dionysius Areopagita, *de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, cap. 7, sect. 7, doth prove that Christ hath committed unto the ministers of the church *τὰς ἀποριστικὰς δυνάμεις*. His ancient scholiast Maximus upon that place tells us, that he speaks *περὶ τῶν ἀειρωρησίων καὶ ἀπορισμῶν*, of *excommunications and separations*, or (as he there further explaineth) the judging and separating between the righteous and the wicked. Salmeron, upon Matt. xvi. 19, thinks that the latter part of that verse, "And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," &c., doth belong to the power of jurisdiction and censure; Hugo de S. Victore, *de Sacramentis*, lib. 1, cap. 26, doth also expound Matt. xvi. 19, of the forensical power of excommunication. Now if, in these places, binding and loosing, remitting and retaining sins, comprehend a juridical power of laying on, or taking off, church censures, how much more must this juridical power be comprehended, Matt. xviii. 18, where the context and circumstances will much more enforce this sense, than in the other two places? This binding and loosing being also in the plural number, "Whatsoever ye bind," &c., not in the singular, as the phrase is, Matt. xvi. 19, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c. One minister may bind doctrinally, but one alone cannot bind juridically.

Ninthly, The very doctrinal or conscional binding which is yielded by Mr Prynne, is voided and contradicted by the admission of known scandalous impenitent sinners to the sacrament; for he that is admitted to the sacrament is loosed, not bound; remission, not condemnation, is supposed to be sealed up to him, as is manifest by the words of the institution, Matt. xxvi. 27, 28, "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins." So that, without a power of binding by censures, and, namely, by suspension from the sacrament, one and the same scandalous impenitent person shall be bound by the word, and loosed by the sacra-

ment. Surely he that is to be bound by the word, ought also to be bound by suspension from the sacrament, unless we make one public ordinance to contradict another.

Tenthly, Doth Mr Prynne believe that Jesus Christ hath anywhere given to church officers a forensical or juridical power of binding by excommunication, and loosing by absolution or receiving again into the communion of the church? If he doth believe it, then, I ask, where hath Christ committed that power unto them, if not Matt. xviii. 18? If he doth not believe that Christ hath given any such power, then why doth he hold excommunication to be lawful and warrantable by the word of God? Most certain it is, that neither king, nor parliament, nor eldership, nor synod, nor any power on earth, may, or ought to prohibit or keep back from the sacrament such as Christ hath not commanded to be kept back, or to bind sinners by excommunication, if Christ hath given no such commission to bind in that kind.

Eleventhly, It may give us some light in this present question, to compare the phrase of binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 19, with Psal. cxlix. 6—9, "Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written; this honour have all his saints:" which both Jewish and Christian interpreters refer to the kingdom of Christ, out of whose mouth proceedeth a two-edged sword, Rev. i. 16; ii. 12, *ῥομφαία δις ἁκμῆς*, the phrase used in the Greek version of Psal. cxliv. If it should be understood of temporal or external victories and conquests of the nations and their kings, so it was not fulfilled to the Jews in the Old Testament; and the Jews do now but in vain flatter themselves with the expectation of such a thing to come. There are but two expositions which are most received and confirmed: the first is, that the saints shall judge the world together with Christ, 1 Cor. vi. 2, and then vengeance shall be executed on the wicked, and all they who would not have Christ to reign over them, shall be bound hand and foot and cast into outer darkness. This is the sense of Arnobius upon the place, and the Jesuits of Doway, Emmanuel Sa, Jansenius, Lorinus, Menochius, go that way. The other exposition

holds an accomplishment of the thing in this same world; and this in a spiritual sense, concerning the kingdom of Christ in this world, is holden by Calvin, Bucerus, Westhamerus, Heshusius, Gesnerus, Fabritius, and others. So the *Dutch Annotations*, Augustine and Jerome, both of them upon the place, take the sword and the chain, and fetters, to be meant of the word of God conquering and overcoming aliens, and heretics, and the mightiest enemies; which others clear from Isa. xlv. 14, "Men of stature shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine, they shall come after thee, in chains they shall come over." But because the Psalmist maketh mention of a corrective or punitive judiciary power, therefore others add for making the sense more full, the power of excommunication; for which Lorinus citeth Bruno and Hugo Victorinus. Of the Protestant interpreters upon the place, Gesnerus applieth it to the power of the keys, to be made use of according to that which is written, Matt. xviii. Fabritius conceiveth the text to comprehend *castigationes spirituales*, and he citeth Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18; John xx. 23. Heshusius cleareth it by the instance of Theodosius excommunicated by Ambrose. Mr Cotton, in his *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, p. 53, applieth it to the ecclesiastical power of the keys. Barthol. Coppen understands it of the spiritual rule and kingdom of Christ, and makes it parallel to 2 Cor. x. 4, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds;" ver. 6, "and having in readiness to revenge all disobedience." This judiciary ecclesiastical power is to be executed upon all such of the nations as fall under the government of the church according to the rule of Christ; and this honour have all his saints, that their ministers are armed with such a power. They that follow this latter exposition will be easily induced to believe that the binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 19, is also judicial or juridical. They that follow the former exposition will also observe that the phrase of *binding* in Scripture, even where it is ascribed to the church or saints, is used in a judiciary sense, and therefore it is most suitable to the Scripture phrase to understand Matt. xviii. 19 in that sense.

As touching that other exposition of the binding and loosing, that the object it is exercised about, is not a person, but a thing

or doctrine, for it is not said *whomsoever*, but *whatsoever ye bind*, it is sufficiently confuted by much of that which hath been said already, proving a forensical binding and loosing even of persons. Only I shall add these further considerations:—

First, The binding and loosing are acts of the power of the keys, and are exercised about the same object about which the power of the keys is exercised, Matt. xvi. 19. Now the power of the keys is exercised about persons, for the kingdom of heaven is opened or shut to persons, not to doctrines. If it be said that the keys are for opening and shutting, not for binding and loosing, to this I answer with Alex. Alensis, part 4, quest. 20, mem. 5, "that these keys are as well for binding and loosing as for shutting and opening; but the act of binding and loosing doth agree to the keys immediately and in respect of the subject; but the act of opening in reference to the last end." *Ibid.* mem. 2: He had given this reason why the power of the keys is called the power of binding and loosing, "Because although to open and shut be the proper acts of the keys themselves, yet nevertheless to loose and bind are the more proper acts in reference to those who are to enter into the kingdom, or to be excluded from the same; for the persons themselves which do repent, are the subject of loosing; and they that repent not, of binding, which is not so of opening and shutting, for although the opening be to those that are loosed, and the shutting to those that are bound; yet those that are loosed are not the subject of opening (as to the manner of speaking) nor those that are bound the subject of shutting." So then *antecedently* binding and loosing are acts of the power of the keys, because a man is bound before he be shut up, and loosed before the door be opened to him.

Secondly, That gloss which now I dispute against, doth suppose one of these two things; either that binding and loosing cannot be exercised upon the same object at different times, and that the binding is such as can never be loosed again; or otherwise that one and the same doctrine may be condemned at one time, and approved at another time: both which are absurd, and contrary to the generality of divines.

Thirdly, Seeing the Scripture speaketh of binding and loosing in reference to persons, as corporally, so spiritually, which I have before proved, why, then, shall persons be

excepted from being the objects of binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. ?

Fourthly, That of binding and loosing, Matt. xviii. 18, doth cohere with, and is added by occasion of, that which went before, as is also before proved. If this concerning the context be acknowledged, it will carry it to persons, for it was an offending brother, not a false doctrine, which was spoken of in the verses preceding.

Fifthly, Binding and loosing here doth at least reach as far as retaining or remitting of sins, John xx. 23, but there it is "Whose soever sins ye remit," &c. They whose sins are retained are bound.

Wherefore *ὅσα, whatsoever*, Matt. xviii. 18, is put for *ὅσους, whomsoever*, by an *hypallage generis*, many examples whereof may be given in Scripture: so *τὰ ἴδια*, John i. 11, is expounded by *οἱ ἴδιοι*; and "all things that offend," Matt. xiii. 41, expounded by *them that do iniquity*. Unless you please to understand *ὅσα ἀπαρτήματα, whatsoever sins* ye bind upon men or loose from off them, they shall be bound upon them or loosed from off them in heaven.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT I COR. V. PROVETH EXCOMMUNICATION AND (BY A NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE EVEN FROM THE ERASTIAN INTERPRETATION) SUSPENSION FROM THE SACRAMENT OF A PERSON UNEXCOMMUNICATED.

Mr Prynne, in his first query, did ask whether that phrase, 1 Cor. v., "To deliver such a one to Satan," be properly meant of excommunication or suspension from the sacrament only. This, he saith, I did in my sermon wave with a rhetorical preterition. I answer, For the latter part of the query I know not the least ground; for who did ever expound it of suspension from the sacrament only? For the former part of it, it is not necessary to be debated, therefore, for husbanding time, and not to multiply questions unnecessarily, I said in my sermon, that the question ought to be whether that chapter (not whether that phrase) prove excommunication; and that we have a shorter way to prove excommunication from the last words of that chapter, as Dr Moulin doth in his *Vates*, lib. 2, cap. 11. And if I should grant that delivering such a one to Satan

signifieth either of those things which Mr Prynne conceiveth; that is, a bodily possession, torture, or vexation by Satan, inflicted either by the apostolical power of miracles, or by God's immediate permission; yet that will not prove that it signifieth no more. Therefore Peter Martyr upon the place, thinks that the Apostle's delivering of the man to Satan by a miraculous act, and the church's delivering of him to Satan by excommunication, do very well stand together. So *Synop. pur. Theol.*, disp. 48, thes. 40, and he alloweth of both these expositions; and afterward, in his common place of excommunication, he speaketh of God's co-operating with the censure, by punishing the excommunicate person with diabolical vexations. Sure I am an excommunicate person may truly be said to be delivered to Satan, who is the god and prince of this world, and reigneth in the children of disobedience. But Mr Prynne will find it somewhat difficult to prove that *tradere Satanæ*, 1 Cor. v. is only meant of a miraculous or extraordinary act, or to show how or why the Apostle requireth the assembling of the church, and their consent to the working of a miracle; which, if there were no more, may discover the weakness of Mr Prynne's notions concerning delivering to Satan, 6—8. But as the full debate were long, so it were not necessary, since Mr Prynne doth now himself acknowledge that the last verse of that chapter proveth excommunication, *Vindic.*, p. 2. I come therefore to the next, which he calls the fourth difference, whether 1 Cor. v. 11, "With such an one no not to eat," be properly meant of excommunication or suspension from the sacrament. But (whatsoever be properly meant by that phrase) that which his debate driveth at is, that this verse doth neither prove excommunication nor suspension from the sacrament so much as by necessary consequence.

But let us see whether his reasons can weaken the proof of suspension from ver. 11. First, He saith there is not one syllable of receiving or eating of the Lord's supper in this chapter. I answer, The question is neither of syllables nor words, but of things; and how will he prove that ver. 8, "Let us keep the feast, not with old leaven," &c. is not applicable to the Lord's supper; I say not to it only, yet surely it cannot be excluded, but must needs be comprehended as one part, yea, a principal part of the mean-

ing, the better to answer the analogy of the passover (there much insisted upon). He may be pleased also to remember that he himself, p. 24, proving the passover and the Lord's supper to be the same for the substance, for proof hereof citeth 1 Cor. v. 7, and that Aretius, *Theol. Probl.*, loc. 80, expoundeth our feast of the passover, 1 Cor. v., to be meant of the Lord's supper.

But he further objecteth from 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, "We are all partakers of that one bread:" "If all were then partakers of this bread, certainly none were excluded from it in the church of Corinth; but as the Israelites under the law, did all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drink the same spiritual drink, though God were displeased with many of them who were idolaters, tempters of God, fornicators, murmurers, and were destroyed in the wilderness, 1 Cor. x. 1—12: so all under the gospel who were visible members of the church of Corinth did eat and drink the Lord's supper, to which some drunkards, whilst drunken, did then resort, as is clear by 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21, which Paul indeed reprehends, ver. 22."

Ans. 1. When Paul saith, "We being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread," he speaketh of the communion of saints, and the word *all* can be of no larger extent than visible saints, to whom the epistle is directed, 1 Cor. i. 2, and cannot be applied to visible workers of iniquity, who continue impenitent and obstinate in so doing. As we may join in communion with a visible church, which hath the external marks of a church, though it be not a true invisible church, so we join with visible saints to become one body with them in external church communion, and to be partakers of one bread with them, though they be not true or invisible saints in the hid man of the heart. But if these be visibly no church, we cannot join in church communion; and if a man be visibly no saint, he ought not to be admitted to the communion of saints. I shall never be persuaded that the apostle Paul would say of himself and the saints at Corinth, "We are one body with known idolaters, fornicators, drunkards and the like."

2. If all in the church of Corinth (none excluded), even drunkards whilst drunken, and if all under the gospel, who are visible members of the church, ought to be admitted to eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink at the Lord's table, as

he supposeth that in the wilderness all the Israelites did the like, who were idolaters, fornicators, &c., then I beseech you observe how Mr Prynne doth by all this overthrow his own rules; for, p. 2 and elsewhere, he tells us he would have notorious scandalous sinners, who, after admonition, persevere in their iniquities without remorse of conscience or amendment, to be excommunicated from the church and from the society of the faithful in all public ordinances. If both in the church of Israel and in the church of Corinth all were admitted and none excluded, even those who were idolaters or drunkards, whilst actually such, without repentance or amendment, how can Mr Prynne straiten Christians now more than Moses did the Jews, or Paul the Corinthians? Since, therefore, his arguments drive at it, it is best he should speak it out, that all manner of persons who profess themselves to be Christians, be they never so scandalous, never so obstinate, though they persevere in their iniquity after admonition without amendment, yet ought to be admitted to the Lord's table.

3. He shall never be able to prove either that those drunken persons, 1 Cor. xi. 21, were drunken when they did resort to the church (for it was in the church, and in eating and drinking there, that they made themselves drunk), nor yet that the idolaters and fornicators' eating, in the wilderness, of the spiritual meat, and drinking of the spiritual drink mentioned by the Apostle, 1 Cor. x., was after their idolatries and fornications. But of this latter I have elsewhere spoken distinctly and by itself.

4. To say that all who were visible members of the church of Corinth were admitted, and none excluded, and to say it with a *certainly*, is to make too bold with Scripture; and the contrary will sooner be proved from 1 Cor. x. 21, "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils." So much for his first exception.

His second is concerning persons (but not to the purpose), that if we look upon the catalogue of those with whom we are forbidden to eat, not only shall most of the Anabaptistical and Independent congregations, but too many Presbyterian ministers and elders, who are most forward to excommunicate others for idolatry, fornication, drunkenness, must first be excommunicated themselves

for their own covetousness. *Ans.* Let it light where it may, ministers do not stand nor fall to his judgment; but where just proof can fasten either covetousness or any other scandalous sin upon them, it is all the reason in the world they be censured with the first. If I had fallen upon this passage of his book without knowing the author, I had presently imagined it to be a piece from Oxford. It calls to my thoughts so many expressions in pamphlets from thence, aspersing London and Westminster, as more full of covetousness, lying, hypocrisy, than Oxford of bloody oaths, masses, and the like.

Thirdly, "It is as clear as the noon-day sun (saith he), that 'No not to eat,' in this text, is no more than not to keep company, or hold civil familiarity with such." What! As clear as the noon-day sun! Let us open our eyes, then, to see this meridian light. First, saith he, "No not to eat," is interpreted in the text itself, by "not to keep company," which we find twice in the preceding words,—eating together being one of the highest expressions of outward friendship and familiarity. Had the Apostle said simply, "No not to eat," this argument had been the more colourable, but after he had twice said, "Not to keep company," to add, "No not to eat," doth plainly intimate that the Apostle argueth from the less to the greater, and that there is some other fellowship and company with such a one, which is more than eating together, and so much less permitted.¹ And what is that (eating together being, as Mr Prynne saith, one of the highest expressions of outward friendship and familiarity)? Must it not be communion in the holy things, and especially the receiving such a one to the Lord's table? As if he had said, "If scandalous brethren be spots in your common, how much more in your sacred feasts: for which cause the mixture of scandalous persons in church fellowship is extremely blamed, 2 Pet. ii. 13; Jude 12. Put the case: That a parliament-man, or a divine of the Assembly, were known (as God forbid) to be an incendiary, an active malignant, a traitor, a

blasphemer, so that neither parliament-man, nor member of the Assembly would eat or company with him, were it not strange if, for all that, such a one should be permitted to sit in parliament or in assembly? Is it not as strange if the whole church, distributively, shall not so much as eat with a scandalous person, and yet the whole church, collectively, shall eat with him, in that very action which is a symbol of the communion of saints? So that if I should now admit that sense, that these words, "No not to eat," amount no more than "Not to keep company, or hold civil familiarity with such" (as Mr Prynne expresseth it), yet the argument will stand firm and strong in regard of this necessary consequence: If a private Christian ought not to hold so much as civil fellowship with a scandalous brother not 'excommunicated, much less ought the church to admit him to church communion in all public ordinances (there being less latitude, and the rule much stricter in this communion than in private civil fellowship); and if we be forbidden to do so much as to eat with such an one at a common meal, *quante magis convictu sacro*, saith Pareus upon the place, how much more is the church forbidden to receive him to the Lord's table. For if the end of avoiding private company with such an one be to make him ashamed, as the Erastians themselves do confess from 2 Thes. iii. 14, were it not contrary to that end to countenance and embolden him, by receiving him to public church communion at the Lord's table? Surely, the refusing of the private could not so much put him to shame, as the admission to the public should put respect upon him. Wherefore 1 Cor. v. 11, as it is interpreted by Mr Prynne, proveth, by a necessary consequence, the suspension from the sacrament of a scandalous church member not excommunicated.

If his next reason help him not, surely his sun will go down at noon. He citeth some parallel texts, which interpret "not to eat" here, of avoiding them, turning away from and rejecting them, &c., which are no judicial acts of the presbytery, but moral or prudential acts of particular Christians. *Ans.* There is a judicial presbyterial act (as very many conceive) in some of those parallel texts cited by him, 2 Thes. iii. 14; Tit. iii. 10; and so his proof is no less questionable than the thing he would prove by it. And here the Apostle intendeth more than a

¹ Magdeb. Cent. 1, lib. 2, cap. 4, p. 275, edit. 1624, giving the sense of this very place, they say, *Atque ita excludantur a communione ecclesiae, ut non modo arceantur ab usu sacramentorum, sed etiam a commercio, ne cibis quidem cum iis capiantur.* Novarinus upon the place expresseth the Apostle's meaning in these words of Ambrose: *Cum fratre in quo vitia hæc reperiuntur, non solum sacramenta non edenda, sed nec communem escam docet, ut erubescat quum vitatur et se corrigat.*

voluntary prudential withdrawing of particular Christians, even a judicial act, in the very next words, "What have I to do to judge them also that are without? Do not ye judge them that are within?" Where he gives the reason of what he had said before, that he had written to them not to be mixed with scandalous brethren, permitting them to keep company with pagans, though guilty of the same faults. The reason, because church censures are only for those that are church members, not for aliens.

After Mr Pryne hath put forth his strength to prove that excommunication, or suspension from the sacrament, is not meant 1 Cor. v. 11, he comes, in the next place, to answer the argument drawn by consequence: If we may not so much as eat with such an one at our own tables, far less at the Lord's table; whereunto his answer is, "The argument is fallacious (saith he) because it varieth in the kind of eating, the one being civil, the other spiritual; the one private, in one's own house or another's, where he hath absolute freedom or liberty to eat or not to eat with another; the other, public in the church," &c. But all this, say I, maketh our argument the stronger; for if it be sin to a private man to eat in his own house with a scandalous brother, though this be but a civil fellowship, in which there is more liberty and less latitude than in religious fellowship, how much more sinful is it for church officers to admit such an one to sacramental eating with the church?

And for that first rule of his, that arguments from the less to the greater are not conclusive, except in the same kind of action, it is utterly untrue; for the holy Scripture itself hath divers arguments from the less to the greater, where the kind is no less different, if not more, than private civil eating together is from public eating together at the table of the Lord. As Num. xii. 14: If Miriam's father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? how much more when God hath smitten her with leprosy, for speaking against his servant Moses? Hag. i. 4, You have built to yourselves ceiled houses, how much more ought ye to have built the house of the Lord? John iii. 12, "If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?" 1 Cor. vi. 3, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels, how much more things that pertain to this life?"

His second exception is, that "they fall not both under the self-same precept." If this be a just exception against our argument, then one cannot argue thus: It is a sin to steal a man's private goods, how much more to steal that which is holy? It is a sin to reproach a man's name, how much more to reproach God's name? These do not fall under the self-same precept, shall such arguments be therefore inconclusive? Whence comes all this new logic, which the world never knew before?

His third condition (let it be remembered, he saith, if either of these three conditions fail, the argument is inconsequent) is, that it must be within the compass of the same power. If it be so, how shall that hold universally true? "How much better is it to get wisdom than gold, and to get understanding rather than choice silver?" By Mr Pryne's rule it must only hold true in this case, when it falls within the compass of the same power, to get both wisdom and gold? However, if he had apprehended our argument aright, he had perceived that the lesser thing, and the greater thing, are both within the compass of the same power. The church of Corinth ought not to eat with such an one at common tables; therefore not at the Lord's table. For this refusing to eat with such an one at common tables, was by virtue of a judicial ecclesiastical sentence passed against the scandalous person, so that when Mr Pryne saith, "We have free power not to eat bread with those at our own tables, with whom we have no power or liberty left us by Christ to refuse to eat with them at the Lord's table," and thereupon supposeth that our argumentation from that text is one principal cause and prop of Independency, yea, of separation, not only from sacraments but from churches, he doth altogether misapprehend the business. For, 1. Separation from churches is properly a renouncing of membership as unlawful. Our argument concerneth the unlawfulness of a particular act, not of a membership in such a church. 2. The causes and motives of separation suppose either an unlawful constitution of churches, or an unlawful government of churches, or both, so far, that they who separate hold it unlawful to continue their membership in churches so constituted and governed, or so much as to communicate and partake in the sacrament with such churches, though they know no scandalous person admitted to the sacrament. 3. The great mis-

take lieth in this, that our present controversy is apprehended to be, whether every particular Christian hath power or liberty from Christ to withdraw from the sacrament, because of the admission of a scandalous person, whereas our question is only of the church's power to suspend a scandalous person from the sacrament; and when the Apostle, ver. 9—11, forbiddeth to be mixed, or so much as to eat, with such and such scandalous members of the church, he meaneth of church discipline and excommunication, which he had begun to speak of, and so he comes to show them what kind of persons he would have to be excommunicated,¹ and used like that incestuous man. So Beza, Bullinger, Hunnius, Gualther, Martyr, Tossanus, and others upon the place; and long before all these, Augustine and Beda plainly expound the Apostle's words, of a public ecclesiastical judgment passed upon one who hath either confessed his offence, or is formally accused and convicted thereof; and as they conceive, that text doth not at all justify, but doth rather condemn private Christians' separating from the church, because of a mixture of scandalous persons. I know we ought prudently and cautiously to endeavour the avoiding of the company and fellowship of scandalous brethren, though not yet censured in the church (which may be proved from other scriptures); but that is not the point the Apostle is here upon. He means by "No not to eat," synecdochically, the whole casting off of an excommunicate person, and all that separation or withdrawing which is commanded to be made from him, or, if you will (by a metonymy of the effect for the cause), he means excommunication itself; and, however, the words immediately following prove that a public judicial act is intended, as hath been said before.

¹ Gualther Archel, in 1 Cor. v. 11, *Catalogus eorum qui debens excommunicati*. Tossanus, *ibid.*—*Quod cibum non vult sumi cum iis, pertinet id quidem ad disciplinam excommunicationis*. Martyr, *ibid.*—*Notandum præterea, non esse privatorum hominum ut quisque pro sua libidine ab hoc vel ab ille, quem peccasse forte suspicatus fuerit, sese disjungere velit. Ad commune iudicium ecclesiæ pertinet*. August., *hom. 50*, joineth 1 Cor. v. 11, with 12, 13, and then saith, *Quibus verbis satis ostendi non temere aut quomodolibet, sed per iudicium auferendes esse malos ab ecclesiæ communione, ut si per iudicium auferri non possunt, tolerentur potius, ne perverse malos quisque evitando, ab ecclesiâ ipse discedens, eos quos fugere videtur vincia ad gehennam*. The same hath Beda upon the place out of Augustine; so likewise Ambrose and the Centurists before cited.

These things considered, I shall not need to be led out of my way by Mr Prynne's descanting upon the meaning of 1 Cor. v. 11, how far it prohibits civil communion and eating with a scandalous Christian, being a railer, or fornicator, or idolater, &c. I confess some of his limitations—as, namely, that we may eat with such a one in cases of expediency, or when we cannot avoid it in civility nor without offence—are very lubric, unsafe, and ensnaring, and at best it is but like that in Martial's epigram.

*Difficilis, facilis, jucundus, acerbus es idem;
Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.*

But to treat of that case of conscience in general is not *hujus loci*; for this text speaks of not eating with an excommunicate person. Neither yet shall I need here to examine Mr Prynne's six considerations, p. 12—14, which he wisheth to be pondered by Separatists and Independents, misled (as he thinks) by our fallacious argument. I hope he doth not mistake our question so far as to comprehend the sinfulness of any private Christian's receiving of the sacrament, when and where some scandalous sinners are admitted to the sacrament, that private Christian not being accessory to the sin of the minister and eldership in admitting those scandalous sinners.

Wherefore I will add eight counterbalancing considerations, to prove from 1 Cor. v. 1—12,¹ (all which Mr Prynne conceiveth cannot prove excommunication,) compared with 2 Cor. ii., an ecclesiastical jurisdiction or power of censures, and particularly of excommunication.

1. There was a censure inflicted upon the incestuous man by the eldership of the church of Corinth, being assembled together, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. Where read we that ever the church was intentionally gathered to co-operate with an apostle in the exercise of his miraculous apostolical power? But we do read that this man's punishment or censure was inflicted upon him not by the Apostle alone, but by *many*, 2 Cor. ii. 6. Erastus p. 214, thinks that *ἐκτίψα* (in our books rendered *punishment*, and in the margin *censure*) was not excommunication, but only sharp abjuration or reproof. To this I have abundantly answered, book ii. chap. 9, and in *Male Audis*, p. 12—14.

¹ The 13th verse he yieldeth to be a warrant for excommunication; yet he differeth concerning that also, in Diotrephes Catechised.

And if it should be granted that the man was not then excommunicate, but sharply and publicly rebuked (which indeed is the opinion of some), yet the church of Corinth had proceeded to excommunication if the Apostle had not written to dissuade them, and take them off with a *sufficit*, which he neither needed nor would have done, if they had power to do no more to the offender than to rebuke him sharply. To conclude this point, Mr Prynne granteth that 1 Cor. v. 13, proveth excommunication; and why the gathering together, ver. 4, should not be intended for the same work, I cannot imagine? Some question there was of old, whether the Apostle's meaning, ver. 13, were not, that the Corinthians should put away, every man out of himself, the evil of sin; which Augustine having somewhere left in *medio*, doth in his retractations correct (and Beda upon the place, out of him, tells us the very same), and expounds it of the taking away of the evil man from the church by excommunication, because, saith he, the Greek cannot be rendered *hoc malum*, but *hunc malum*.

2. They who had power to receive him and forgive him, and to confirm their love towards him, had power to cast him out and censure him; but those *πλειονες*, the church officers of the church of Corinth, had power of the former, therefore of the latter. See 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8, the Apostle adviseth them to forgive the offender. How to forgive him? Not as man forgives a private injury, that was not the case; nor only by the doctrine of remission of sins applied to him *in foro conscientie*, upon evidence of his repentance; that any one minister might do: but the Apostle will have those *many* who had censured him consistorially and judicially, to forgive him in the same manner; which is yet further confirmed by that *κύρωσις τῆς ἀγάπης*, that confirming of their love towards him, ver. 8, *κυρώσαι* is *ratum facere*, thence cometh not only *κύρωσις* but *κύριος*. When the Apostle will express a ratified or confirmed testament, Gal. iii. 15, he calls it *κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην*. From the same word Erasmus doth collect, that the Apostle speaketh to them as the ordinary judges, who have power to confirm their love to that penitent sinner in an authoritative manner. And why doth the Apostle choose a word which properly signifieth an authoritative confirming or ratifying of a thing, if he were not speaking of a jurisdiction and

power of inflicting and taking off again censures?

3. The Apostle upon occasion of that offender's case, puts the Corinthians in remembrance, that they ought likewise to purge the church from the mixture of other scandalous sinners, 1 Cor. v. 9—12. The chapter both begins and ends with the case of the incestuous man and his punishment; which makes interpreters conceive, that what is interlaced concerning other scandalous sinners in the church, is to be understood of such as the Apostle would have to be censured in the same manner as that incestuous man.

4. He instanceth in six cases (not intending an enumeration of all the particular cases of excommunication), fornication, covetousness (meaning covetousness scandalously and grossly manifested, or practical covetousness, for of the heart God only judgeth), idolatry, railing, drunkenness, extortion. His instancing in these, tells us he intends not the case of private civil injuries, but of scandals, yea, though the scandal be without the mixture of any civil or private injury, as in the case of an idolater or a drunkard.

5. And even where there is a private injury wrapt up in the bosom of the scandal, as in railing and extortion, yet the Apostle there looketh upon them not *qua* injuries, but *qua* scandals; and in that notion, he will have not only the party particularly interested and injured, but the other members of the church also, to withdraw communion from the offender; for he writeth to the whole church of Corinth not to keep company with such.

6. When he saith, "With such an one no not to eat," he intimates by *no not*, some further and greater punishment than not eating with him, as hath been said before. If not so much as eating with him, then much less church communion with him at the Lord's table.

7. He means not of that withdrawing whereby each Christian may and ought to withdraw familiarity and fellowship from such a notorious scandalous sinner, whose sin is manifest beforehand, that he may keep himself pure and not partake of another man's sin; in which case a member of one church may withdraw familiar conversing with a scandalous member of another church; but he speaks of such a withdrawing from, and avoiding of the fellowship of

a scandalous brother, as is done not by one, or some few private Christians, but by the whole church (for he writeth to the whole church of Corinth, not to company nor eat with such a one); I say, by the whole church, whereof the offender was a member; and that not without a judicial or consistorial sentence, ver. 12, "Do not ye judge them that are within?" which cannot be restricted to the judgment of Christian discretion and prudence (for so both the apostles and they did judge those that were without, to walk circumspectly toward them, Col. iv. 5, and to beware of their evil); but it is meant of censures and punishments inflicted by many, that is, by the presbyters of that church, 2 Cor. ii. 6.

8. And so I have touched upon the last consideration, which is this: That as the fault was a scandal given to the church, and the judgment and censure was ecclesiastical, not civil, so that censure for that offence was inflicted only upon church members, not upon unbelievers. If any unbeliever did a civil injury to a Christian, the Christian was free to accuse the unbeliever (if he saw it good) before the civil magistrate, and there to seek judgment and justice; or the Christian was free to withdraw civil fellowship from the unbeliever who did him a civil injury, which I suppose Mr Prynne will easily grant. But this way of censuring and punishing a scandalous church member did not agree to an heathen who was an idolater, or drunkard, or extortioner, &c. ver. 10—13. Thus I have proved church censure from 1 Cor. v. compared with 2 Cor. ii., without laying the weight of any argument upon *tradere Sathane*; which I would not have to be understood as if I yielded to our opposites that the delivering to Satan is not meant of excommunication. My meaning is only to make the shorter work of the Erastian antithesis. The weight of their arguments, not of ours, is laid upon *tradere Sathane*; but, for my sense of the word, I am of their opinion who interpret it of excommunication; and so doth Gualther himself. So doth the Syriac, which readeth, "That you (Corinthians) may deliver such an one to Satan." If it was an act of the church of Corinth, then it was a church censure, not a miracle. The Greek doth also carry it to be an act of the church of Corinth assembled together. We have also some (though not all) of the ancients for us in this particular; as Balsamon in *Ca-*

non. epist. Basilii ad Amphilocho., can. 7, observeth. Basilus speaketh of some who at that time had been delivered to Satan for thirty years, that they might learn not to carry themselves filthily, yea unnaturally, as they had done formerly; concerning whom he adviseth that now, after so long a time, they might be (upon their spontaneous confession of their heinous offence) received again into the church. Hereupon Balsamon noteth: "Those are said to be delivered to Satan who are separated from the communion of Christians."

CHAPTER VIII.

WHETHER JUDAS RECEIVED THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Mr Prynne hath filled up a good part of his *Vindication* with the case of Judas, as going very far in the deciding of this present controversy. But as Protestant writers answer the Papists in the case of Peter, that it cannot be proved that Peter was ever bishop of Rome, but rather that he was not; and if he had, this cannot prove the Pope's supremacy; the like I say of this case of Judas: Mr Prynne shall never be able to prove that Judas did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and if he could prove it, yet it shall not at all help that cause which he maintaineth.

I begin with the matter of fact, Whether Judas received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as well as the other apostles, which is the question by him stated. For decision whereof I hold it necessary, first of all, that these two things be premised, concerning the harmony of the evangelists in that matter of Judas, the use whereof we shall see afterwards: Matthew and Mark tell us Christ's discourse of the traitor at table, and the discovery of Judas, before the institution of the sacrament; Luke hath the same thing after the institution and distribution of the sacrament; so that either Matthew and Mark speak by anticipation, or Luke speaketh by a recapitulation; that is, either Matthew and Mark put before what was done after, or Luke puts after what was done before. Now that there is in Luke an *ὑστερολογία*, a narration of that after the institution which was indeed before the institution of the sacrament, may thus appear:—

1. That very thing which Luke placeth after the institution and distribution of the sacrament, Luke xxii. 21—23, "Behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. And truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined, but woe unto that man by whom he is betrayed. And they began to inquire among themselves which of them it was that should do this thing,"—the very same thing do Matthew and Mark record before the institution of the sacrament, Matt. xxvi. 21—26; Mark xiv. 18—22; and it is more credible that one of the evangelists is to be reduced to the order of two, rather than two to the order of one.

2. Especially considering that Luke doth not relate the business of the last supper according to that order wherein things were acted or spoken, as is manifest by Luke xxii. 17, 18, "And he took the cup and gave thanks, and said, Take this and divide it among yourselves." This, though related before the taking and breaking of the bread, yet it is but by an anticipation or preoccupation, occasioned by that which had preceded, ver. 16, so to join the protestation of not drinking again, with that of not eating again the passover with his disciples; therefore Beza, Salmeron, Maldonat, and others, following Augustine and Euthymius, do resolve it is an anticipation, even as Paul mentioneth the cup before the bread, 1 Cor. x. 16. I know some understand the cup mentioned Luke xxii. 17, to be the paschal cup; others, to be the cup in the ordinary supper; but to me it is plain that it was the eucharistical cup. Yea, Mr Prynne takes it so, p. 25, because that which Luke saith of that cup, that Christ took it, and gave thanks, and gave it to the disciples, that they might all drink of it, and told them he would not drink with them any more of the fruit of the vine till the kingdom of God should come; all this is the very same which Matthew and Mark record of the eucharistical cup. Therefore our non-conformists were wont to argue from that place, that the minister ought not to give the sacramental elements to each communicant out of his own hand, but the communicants ought to divide the elements among themselves, because Christ saith in that place, of the cup, "Divide it among yourselves."

3. Luke saith not that after supper, or after they had done with the sacrament, Christ told his disciples that one of them should be-

tray him; only he addeth, after the history of the sacrament, what Christ said concerning the traitor. But Matthew and Mark do not only record Christ's words concerning the traitor before they make narration concerning the sacrament, but they record expressly that that discourse, and the discovery of the traitor, was *ἐσθίουτων αὐτῶν*: "As they did eat," Matt. xxvi. 21; Mark xiv. 18, "Now, when the evening was come, he sat down with the twelve," and immediately followeth, as the first purpose which Christ spake of, "And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me;" which could not be so, if Luke relate Christ's words concerning the traitor in that order in which they were first uttered; for Luke having told us, ver. 22, that Christ took the cup after supper and said, "This cup is the New Testament," &c., addeth, "But behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table." So that if this were the true order, Christ did not tell his disciples concerning the traitor, as they did eat (which Matthew and Mark do say), but after they had done eating. If it be said that *ἐσθίουτων αὐτῶν* may suffer this sense, *when they had eaten, or having eaten*, I answer, The context will not suffer that sense; for they were, indeed, eating in the time of that discourse, Matt. xxvi. 23, "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me;" John xiii. 26, "He it is to whom I shall give a sop after I have dipped it."

4. Musculus, in *Loc. Com. de Cæn. Dom*, p. 362, gives this reason out of Rupertus, why Luke's narration of Christ's words concerning the traitor, is placed by a recapitulation after the sacrament: because Luke is the only evangelist who writeth distinctly of the paschal supper, and what Christ said at that supper; and having once fallen upon that purpose, the connection of the matter did require that he should immediately add the story of the eucharistical supper, without interlacing that of the traitor, which reason will pass for good with such as think Judas did eat of the paschal supper, and that Christ's words concerning him were spoken at the paschal supper, which I greatly doubt of.

5. Mr Prynne, p. 18, doth, in effect, grant the same thing that I say; for he saith, "That Matthew and Mark record, that immediately before the institution of the sacrament, as they sat at meat, Jesus

said unto the twelve, Verily one of you shall betray me, whereupon they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him," &c. He addeth, "That Judas *was* the last man that said, Is it I? immediately before the institution," as Matthew records. But of Luke he saith only thus much, that he "placeth these words of Christ concerning Judas's betraying him, after the institution and distribution of the sacrament, not before it." If it be thus, as Mr Prynne acknowledgeth, that Matthew and Mark record that Christ had that discourse concerning Judas before the institution of the sacrament, then most certainly it was before the institution of the sacrament, because it must needs be true which Matthew and Mark say. Whence it will necessarily follow that Luke doth not mention that discourse concerning Judas in its proper place, and this doth not offer the least violence to the text in Luke, because he doth not say that Christ spake these words after the sacrament, only he placeth these words after the sacrament, as Mr Prynne saith rightly. When Scripture saith that such a thing was done at such a time, it must be so believed; but when Scripture mentioneth one thing after another, that will not prove that the thing last mentioned was last done. More plainly, Mr Prynne, p. 26, 27, tells us, that the sacrament was given after Christ had particularly informed his disciples that one of them should betray him, which he proves from John xiii. 18—28; Matt. xxvi. 20—36; Mark xiv. 18—22; Luke xxii. 21—23. Whence it follows inevitably, by his own confession, that Matthew and Mark, recording that discourse about Judas after the sacrament, do place it in the proper order; and that Luke, mentioning that discourse about Judas after the sacrament, doth not place it in its own place. This is the first thing which I thought good to premise, which will easily take off the strongest argument which ever I heard alleged for Judas's receiving of the sacrament, namely this, that Luke, immediately after the institution and distribution of the sacrament, addeth, "But behold the hand of him that betrayeth me, is with me at the table." If these words were not uttered by Christ in that order wherein Luke placeth them (which I have proved), then the argument is not conclusive.

The second thing to be premised is this: That the story which we have, John xiii., from the beginning to ver. 31, concerning

the supper at which Christ discoursed of Judas and gave him the sop, after which he went immediately out, was neither in Bethany two days before the passover, as the *Antidote Animadverted* tells us, p. 5; nor yet after the institution of the sacrament, as Mr Prynne tells us, *Vindic.* p. 25, herein differing either from himself or his friend. That supper in Bethany, the pamphlet saith, was two days before the passover; but some interpreters collect from John xii. 1, 2, it was longer before, Christ having come to Bethany six days before, and after that supper, the next day Christ did ride into Jerusalem on a young ass, and the people cried, Hosanna, John xii. 12: the very story which we have, Matt. xxi. Mark saith, that two days before the passover, the chief priests and scribes sought how to put Christ to death; but he doth not say that the supper in Bethany was two days before the passover. But of this I will not contend, whenever it was, it is not much material to the present question; there was nothing at that supper concerning Judas, but a rebuking of him for having indignation at the spending of the alabaster box of ointment, and from that he sought opportunity to betray Christ. But the discourse between Christ and his apostles concerning one of them that should betray him, and their asking him one by one, "Is it I?" was in the very night of the passover, as is clear, Matt. xxvi. 19—26; Mark xiv. 16—22; so that the story, John xiii. 18—30, being the same with that in Matthew and Mark, could not be two days before the passover; and if, two days before, Christ had discovered to John who should betray him, by giving the sop to Judas, how could every one of the disciples (and so John among the rest) be ignorant of it two days after, which made every one of them to ask, "Is it I?" Finally, That very night in which the Lord Jesus did institute the sacrament, the disciples began to be sorrowful, and began to inquire which of them it was that should betray him, Matt. xxvi. 22; Mark xiv. 19; Luke xxii. 23. But if Christ had told them two days before, that one of themselves who did sit at table with him, should betray him, surely they had, at that time, begun to be sorrowful, and to ask every one, "Is it I?"

That which hath been said doth also discover that other mistake, that the discourse at table, concerning the traitor and the giving of the sop to Judas, John xiii., was after the

institution of the sacrament. If it were after, then either that in John is not the same with the discourse concerning the traitor mentioned by Matthew and Mark, or otherwise Matthew and Mark speak by anticipation. But I have proved both that the true order is in Matthew and Mark, and that the discourse concerning the traitor, mentioned by John, must be in the evangelical harmony put together with that in Matthew and Mark, as making one and the same story. And if this in John had been posterior to that in Matthew, then why doth Mr Prynne himself join these together as one? p. 18, 19.

These things premised, I come to the arguments which prove that Judas did not receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

The first argument (which was by me touched in that sermon so much quarrelled by Mr Prynne) is this: It is said of Judas, John xiii. 30, "He then, having received the sop, went immediately out." But this sop, or morsel, was given him before the sacrament, whilst they were yet eating the other supper, at the end whereof Christ did institute the sacrament; therefore Judas went away before the sacrament. Let us hear Mr Prynne's four answers to this argument, p. 24, 25. First, saith he, Judas went not out till after supper; John xiii. 2, "And supper being ended," &c. *Ans.* *δέλπρον γενομένου* will not prove that the supper was fully ended. The Centurists, cent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 10, explain John xiii. 2 thus, *Magna cœne hujus parte peractâ*: A great part of this supper being done. Yea, the Greek may be as well turned thus, "When they were at supper," as the late *English Annotations* have it. Ludovicus de Dieu chooseth this sense; Salmeron and others prove it from ver. 4, "He riseth from supper," with ver. 12, He sat down again to supper, and dipped the sop. Take but two like instances in this same story of the passion, Matt. xxvi. 6, *τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου ἐν Βηθανίᾳ*: "Now when Jesus was in Bethany;" not, *After Jesus was in Bethany*. Matt. xxvi. 20, *Ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης*: "Now, when the even was come;" not, *when the even was ended*. His second answer, that all the other three evangelists prove that Judas was present at the sacrament, is but *petitio principii*. Thirdly, saith he, the sacrament was not instituted after supper, but as they sat at supper. *Ans.* It was, indeed, instituted while they were sitting at supper, or before they rose from supper, so

that they were still continuing in a table gesture; yet the actions must needs be distinguished, for they did not, at the same instant, receive the sacrament, and eat of another supper too. And though it be said of the bread, that "as they did eat, Jesus took bread," yet of the cup Paul and Luke say, that Jesus took it "after supper;" that is, after they had done eating, therefore, certainly, after Judas got the sop and went away, at which instant they had not done eating. Neither is there any ground at all, Luke xxii. 17, to prove that he took the cup during supper, as Mr Prynne conceiveth, but finding no strength herein, he addeth, that some learned men are of opinion, that Christ had, that night, "first, his paschal supper, at the close whereof he instituted his own supper," 1 Cor. xi. 21, 22; secondly, an ordinary supper, which succeeded the institution of his own, in imitation whereof the Corinthians and primitive Christians had their love feasts, which they did eat immediately after the Lord's supper; and this is more than intimated, John xiii. 2, 12—31, &c., therefore Luke's *after supper*, he took the cup, must be meant only *after the paschal supper*, not the other supper."¹

Ans. I verily believe that, beside the paschal and eucharistical suppers, Christ and his disciples had, that night, a common or ordinary supper, and so think Calvin and Beza upon Matt. xxvi. 20; Pareus upon Matt. xxvi. 21; Fulk on 1 Cor. xi. 23; Cartwright, *Ibid.*, and in his *Harmony*, lib. 3, p. 173; Pelargus in John xiii., quest. 2; Tossanus in Matt. xxvi; Tolet and Maldonat upon John xiii. 2; Jansenius, *Conc. Evang.*, cap. 131; and divers others. I am very glad that Mr Prynne grants it; and I approve his reason that, in the paschal supper, we read of no sops, nor ought to dip them in. The Jews, indeed, tell us of a sauce in the passover, which they call *charoseth*; but, I suppose, Christ kept the passover according to the law, and did not tie himself to rites which had come in by tradition. I could bring other reasons to prove an ordinary supper, if it were here necessary. But what gaineth Mr Prynne hereby? Surely he loseth much, as shall appear afterwards.

2. Whereas, he thinks, the common supper at which Christ did wash his disciple's feet, and discover Judas, and give him the

¹ Tertullian, Apolog.

sop, was after the sacrament, as I know not those learned men that think as he doth in this point, so it is more than he can prove. The contrary hath been proved from Matthew and Mark, who record that the discourse concerning Judas, was while they were eating that supper which preceded the sacrament; so that the giving of the sop to Judas must be before the sacrament. But after the sacrament, both Matthew and Mark do immediately add, "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives."

3. As for that of the Corinthians, the very place cited by himself maketh against him, 1 Cor. xi. 21; for when they came together to eat the Lord's supper, every one did *ᾠλοῦσθαι* first take his own supper, and that in imitation of Christ, who gave the sacrament after supper; so Aquinas, Lyra, and others, following Augustine. This taking first, or before, hath reference to the sacrament; because it is spoken of every one who came to the Lord's table, "Every one taketh before his own supper," which made such a disparity, that one was hungry, and another drunken, at the sacrament, the poor having too little, and the rich too much, at their own supper.¹

4. The example of the ancient Christians will help him as little. I find no such thing in Tertullian's *Apologetic*, as the eating of the love feasts immediately after the Lord's supper. But I find both in the African Canons² and in Augustine,³ and in Walafrius Strabo,⁴ that once in the year (and oftener by divers) the sacrament was received after the ordinary meat, for a com-

memoration of that which Christ did in the night wherein he was betrayed. It had been formerly in use among divers to take the sacrament ordinarily after meat, till the African Council discharged it, as Laurentius de la Barre observeth in the notes upon Tertullian, p. 339, Paris edit., 1580. Augustine, epist. 118, cap. 5, 6, answereth certain queries of Januarius, concerning eating or not eating before the sacrament. He saith that Christ did indeed give the sacrament after supper, and that the Corinthians did also take it after supper; but that the Scripture hath not tied us to follow these examples, but left us at liberty. And, upon this ground, he defendeth the church's custom at that time of taking the sacrament fasting, for greater reverence to the ordinance. But in this he speaks plainly, that when Christ was eating with the disciples, and telling them that one of them should betray him, he had not then given the sacrament. With Augustine's judgment agreeth that epistle of Chrysostom, where, answering an objection which had been made against him, that he had given the sacrament to some that were not fasting, he denieth the fact, but addeth, if he had done so it had been no sin, because Christ gave the sacrament to the apostles after they had supped. *Καθελέτωσαν αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον ὅς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔδωκε*: Let them depose (saith he) the Lord himself, who gave the communion after supper. In commemoration whereof the ancient church (even when they received the sacrament fasting at other times, yet) upon the passion day, called Good Friday, received it after meals, as I proved before. And this I also add by the way, that though Paul condemneth the Corinthians for eating their love feast in the church, yet he allows them to eat at home before they come to the Lord's table, as the Centurists, cent. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, p. 384, prove from 1 Cor. xi. 34, "And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation." Casaubon, exerc. 16, p. 367, edit. Franco. 1615, thinks it was in imitation of Christ's example that those Egyptians mentioned by Socrates did take the sacrament at night, after they had liberally supped, *παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθέντες*: being filled with all sorts of meats.

¹ Magdeb., cent. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, 384, edit. 1624.—Apud Corinthios invaluerat ille abusus, ut ante cœnam Dominicam inter se concertarent; et alii ibi suas cœnas instruerent et benepoti cœnam Domini acciperent.

² Cod. Canon. Eccl. Afric., can. 41.—Ut Sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna dominica celebratur.

³ August., epist. 118, cap. 7.—Sed nonnullos probabillis quædam ratio delectavit, ut uno certo die per annum quo ipsam cœnam Dominus dedit, tanquam ad insigniorem commemorationem, post cibos offerri et accipi liceat corpus et sanguinem Domini, &c., hoc tamen non arbitror institutum, nisi quia plures et prope omnes in plerisque locis eo die cœnare consueverunt.

⁴ Walafrius Strabo de Reb. Eccl., cap. 19.—Hoc quoque commemorandum videtur, quod ipsa sacramenta quidam interdum jejuni, interdum præsenti percipisse legantur. He tells us out of Socrates that the Egyptians, near Alexandria, as likewise those in Thebais, did often take the sacrament after they had eaten liberally.

¹ Cum sero factum esset, recumbat cum duodecim, et manducantibus eis dixit, quoniam unus ex vobis me tradet. Post enim tradidit sacramentum.

I conclude, therefore, that when Luke saith, "After supper he took the cup," the meaning is, after both paschal and common supper, and that there was no other eating after the sacrament that night, and so, consequently, the giving of the sop to Judas must needs be before the sacrament; and his going out immediately after the sop, proves that he did not receive the sacrament.

But Mr Prynnne gives us a fourth answer, which is the last (but a very weak) refuge. The word "immediately (saith he), many times, in our common speech, signifieth *soon after*, or *not long after*, as we usually say we will do this or that immediately, instantly, presently, whereas we mean only speedily, within a short time." *Ans.* 1. This is no good report which Mr Prynnne brings upon the English tongue, that men promise to do a thing *immediately*, when they do not mean to do it *immediately*. I hope every conscientious man will be loath to say *immediately*, except when he means *immediately* (for I know not how to explain *immediately*, but by *immediately*); and for an usual form of speaking, which is not according to the rule of the word, it is a very bad commentary to the language of the Holy Ghost. 2. And if that form of speech be usual in making of promises, yet I have never known it usual in writing of histories, to say that such a thing was done *immediately* after such a thing, and yet divers other things intervened between them. If, between Judas's getting of the sop and his going out, did intervene the instituting of the sacrament, the taking, blessing, breaking, distributing, and eating of the bread; also the taking and giving of the cup, and their dividing it among themselves, and drinking all of it; how can it then be a true narration that Judas went out immediately after his receiving of the sop? 3. Neither is it likely that Satan would suffer Judas to stay any space after he was once discovered, lest the company and conference of Christ and his apostles should take him off from his wicked purpose. 4. Gerhardus having, in his *Common Places*, given that answer, that the word *immediately* may suffer this sense, that shortly thereafter Judas went forth, he doth professedly recal that answer in his *Continuation of the Harmony*, cap. 171, p. 453, and that upon this ground, because Judas being mightily irritated and exasperated, both by the sop and by Christ's answer (for when Judas asked, "Is it I?"

Christ answered, "Thou hast said"), would certainly break away abruptly, and very immediately. So much of the first argument.

The second argument (which I also touched in my sermon) was this: As Christ said to the communicants, "Drink ye all of it," Matt. xxvi. 27; "And they all drank," Matt. xiv. 23; so he saith to them all, "This is my body which is broken for you; this is the cup of the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you," Luke xxii. 19, 20. But if Judas had been one of the communicants, it is not credible that Christ would have said so in reference to him as well as to the other apostles. This argument Mr Prynnne, p. 25, doth quite mistake, as if the strength of it lay in a supposed particular application of the words of the institution to each communicant, which I never meant, but dislike it as much as he. The words were directed to all, in the plural, "This is my body broken for you, &c.; my blood shed for you," &c. Mr Prynnne conceives that it might have been said to Judas, being meant by Christ, "only conditionally, that his body was broken, and his blood was shed for him, if he would really receive them by faith." Jonas Schlichtingius, a Socinian, in his book against Meisnerus, p. 803, though he supposeth, as Mr Prynnne doth, that Judas was present at the giving of the sacrament, yet he holds that it is not to be imagined that Christ would have said to Judas, that his body was broken for him. And shall we then, who believe that the death of Jesus Christ was a satisfaction to the justice of God for sin (which the Socinians believe not), admit that Christ meant to comprehend Judas among others, when he said, "This is my body which is broken for you?"

Ministers do, indeed, offer Christ to all, upon condition of believing, being commanded to preach the gospel to every creature, and not knowing who are reprobates; but that Christ himself (knowing that the son of perdition was now lost, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, John xvii. 12) would, in the sacrament (which is more applicative than the word, and particulariseth the promises to the receivers), so speak, as that, in any sense, those words might be applied to Judas, that even for him, his body was broken and his blood shed; and that, thereupon, the seals should be given him, to me is not at all credible, and I prove the negative by four arguments (though I might give

many more): 1. If Christ did, in reference to Judas, mean conditionally that his body was broken, and his blood shed for him, if he would believe (as Mr Prynne holds), then he meant conditionally to save the son of perdition, whom he knew infallibly to be lost, and that he should be certainly damned and go to hell, and that, in eating the sacrament, he would certainly eat and drink judgment to himself (all which Mr Prynne himself, p. 26, saith Christ infallibly knew). But who dare think or say so of Jesus Christ? Suppose a minister knew infallibly that such an one hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost (which sin the Centurists and others think to have been committed by Judas, which could not be hid from Christ), and is irrecoverably lost, and will be most certainly damned, durst that minister admit that person to the sacrament, and make those words applicable to him so much as conditionally, "This is the Lord's body broken for you; this is the blood of the new covenant shed for you unto remission of sins?" How much less would Christ himself say so, or mean so, in reference to Judas?

2. If Christ would not pray for Judas, but for his elect apostles only, and such as should believe through the word of the gospel, then he meant not so much as conditionally to give his body and blood for Judas (for if he meant any good to Judas, so much as conditionally, he would not have excluded him from having any part at all in his prayers to God). But Christ doth exclude Judas from his prayer, John xvii., not only as one of the reprobate world, ver. 9, but even by name, ver. 12, giving him over for lost, and one that was not to be prayed for.

3. Love and hatred in God, and in his Son Jesus Christ, being eternal and unchangeable (for *actus Dei immanentes sunt æterni*), it followeth that if there was such a decree of God, or any such meaning or intention in Christ, as to give his body and blood for Judas, whom he knew infallibly to be lost, and since that same conditional meaning or intention could not be without a conditional love of God and of Christ to Judas and his salvation, this love doth still continue in God, and in Christ, to save Judas now in hell, upon condition of his believing, which every Christian I think will abominate.

4. That conditional love and conditional

intention or meaning, could not have place in the Son of God. For as Spanhemius doth rightly argue in his learned exertations, *de Gratia Universali*, p. 746, it doth not become either the wisdom or goodness of God to will and intend a thing upon such a condition as neither is nor can be. And p. 829, he saith, that this conditional destination or intention cannot be conceived, as being incident only to such as do neither foreknow nor direct and order the event, and in whose hand it is not to give the faculty and will of performing the thing, which cannot without impiety be thought or said of God. Thus he.

The third argument (which I shall now add) is that whereby Hilarius, can. 30, in Matt., and Innocentius III. lib. 4, *de Mystero Miss.* cap. 13, prove that Judas received not the sacrament, neither was present at the receiving of it: because that night while Judas was present, Christ in his gracious and comfortable expressions to his apostles did make an exception, as John xiii. 10, 11, "Ye are clean, but not all; for he knew who should betray him, therefore said he, Ye are not all clean;" ver. 18, "I speak not of you all, I know whom I have chosen;" so ver. 21, even as before; John vi. 70, "Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil." But at the sacrament all his sweet and gracious speeches are without any such exception, "This is my body which is given for you," &c. Yea he saith positively of all the apostles to whom he gave the sacrament, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom," Matt. xxvi. 29, and this he saith unto them all, as it is clear from ver. 27, "Drink ye all of it." Again, Luke xxii. 28—30, "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Would not Christ much more have excepted Judas in these expressions, if he had been present, seeing he had so often excepted him before?

As for Mr Prynne's reasons from Scripture to prove that Judas did receive the sacrament, they are extremely inconclusive. First, he saith that Matthew, Mark and Luke, are all express in *terminis*, that Christ sat down to eat the passover, and the

twelve apostles with him; that Judas was one of those twelve, and present at the table; that as they sat at meat together, Jesus took bread, &c., that he said of the cup, Drink ye all of it; and Mark saith they all drank of it.

Ans. 1. The three evangelists are all express in *terminis*, that when even was come, Christ sat down with the twelve, as likewise that the twelve did eat with him that night; but that the twelve apostles were with him in the eating of the passover, they are not express in *terminis*, and I have some reasons which move me to think that Judas did not eat so much as of the passover that night; whereof in the proper place. 2. And if he had been at the passover, that proves not he was at the Lord's supper. When Christ took the cup and said, "Drink ye all of it," it was after supper, that is, after the paschal supper, as Mr Prynne himself gives the sense. 3. When Mark saith, "They all drank of it," he means all that were present, but Judas was gone forth. His argument supposeth that Judas was present, which being before disproved, there remains no more strength nor life in his argument.

That which he addeth p. 18, 19, if it have either strength or good sense, I confess the dullness of my conception. He would prove from Matthew and Mark, that immediately before the institution of the sacrament, Christ told his disciples that one of them should betray him, and they all asked, "Is it I?" and that therefore certainly the sacrament was given to Judas, because he was the last man that said "Is it I?" immediately before the institution. And further (saith he) Luke placeth these words of Christ concerning Judas's betraying of him, after the institution, which manifesteth that Judas was present at the sacrament. His inference is this, that seeing John avereth, chap. xiii. 2, that all this discourse, and the giving of the sop to Judas, was after supper, and the other three evangelists agreeing that Christ instituted and distributed the sacrament, as they did eat, before supper quite ended, it must follow that Judas did receive the sacrament.

Ans. 1. But how doth this hang together: 1. To argue that Judas received the sacrament, because Christ's discourse concerning Judas and Judas's question, "Is it I?" were immediately before the institution of the sacrament; and again to prove that Judas did receive the sacrament, because

Christ's discourse about Judas was after supper ended, and after the sacrament, which was instituted before supper ended? the one way of arguing destroyeth the other.

2. For that in Matthew and Mark, that Christ discoursed of the traitor, and that Judas said "Is it I?" before the institution of the sacrament, I confess; but that it was immediately before the institution of the sacrament the evangelists do not say, neither doth he prove it. Judas went out after that discourse and the sop, and how much of the consolatory and valedictory sermon (which beginneth John xiii. 31) was spent before the distribution of the sacrament, who is so wise as to know? 3. For that in Luke, I have proved that though he sets down the things, yet not in that order wherein they were done; which is also the opinion of Grotius upon that place. And for that, John xiii. 2, "Supper being ended," I have answered before.

Shall we, in the next place, have a heap of human testimonies concerning Judas's receiving of the sacrament? I see so much light from the Scripture to the contrary, that I shall not be easily shaken with the authority of men; yet it shall not be amiss a little to try whether it be altogether so as he would make us believe. He saith we go "against all antiquity," p. 18, and against the most and best of Protestant writers, p. 23; yea, that all ages have received it as an indubitable verity, that Judas received the sacrament, p. 19. No, Sir, soft a little. The truth is, the thing hath been very much controverted, both among the fathers, and among Papists, and among Protestant writers. I have found none so unanimous for Judas's receiving of the sacrament as the Lutherans, endeavouring thereby to prove that the wicked hypocrites and unbelievers do, in the sacrament, eat the true body of Christ, and drink his true blood;¹ yet (as hot as they are upon it) they acknowledge it is no *indubitable verity*, they cite authorities against it as well as for it. See Gerhardus, *Harm. Evang.*, cap. 171; Brochmand, tom. 3, p. 2082. Neither do the Lutherans make any such use of Judas's receiving of the sacrament, as Mr Prynne doth; for they hold, that not only excommunicated persons, but scandalous and notorious sinners, not yet excommunicated, ought to be kept back from

¹ Gerhardus, *Loc. Com.*, tom. 5, p. 186, 187; Petrus Hinckelmannus de Anabaptismo, disp. 5, cap. 2.

the Lord's table; see Gerhardus, *Loc. Com.*, tom. 5, 180—182, where he proves distinctly, that all these ought to be excluded from the Lord's supper: 1. Heretics. 2. Notorious scandalous sinners. 3. Excommunicated persons. 4. Possessed persons, furious persons, and idiots. 5. Infamous persons, who use unlawful arts, as magicians, necromancers, &c.; and, for the exclusion of scandalous sinners, he citeth the ecclesiastical electoral constitutions. Luc. Osiander, *Enchir. contra Anabap.*, cap. 6, quest. 3, tells us, that the Lutheran churches exclude all known scandalous persons from the sacrament. But it is strangest to me that Mr Prynne will not give credit to some of the testimonies cited by himself. Theophylact, in Matt. xxvi., saith, *Quidam autem dicunt quod egresso Juda, tradidit sacramentum aliis discipulis, proinde et nos sic facere debemus, et malos à sacramentis abarcere. Idem in Mark xiv., Quidam dicunt* (but who they were appears not, saith Mr Prynne, in any extant work of theirs) *Judam non fuisse participem sacramentorum, sed egressum esse priusquam dominus sacramenta traderet.* Shall we take this upon Mr Prynne's credit, that it doth not appear in any extant work of theirs? Nay, let him take better heed what he saith, and whereof he affirmeth. In the next page he himself excepteth one, which is Hilarius; but except him only, he saith that all the ancients *unanimously accord herein, without one dissenting voice.* But see, now, whether all is to be believed that Mr Prynne gives great words for. It is well that he confesseth we have Hilarius for us. First, therefore, let the words of Hilarius be observed;¹ next, I will prove what he denieth, namely, that others of the ancients were of the same opinion.

Clemens, lib. 5, *Constit. Apost.*, cap. 13, after mention of the paschal or typical supper, addeth these words as of the apostles, *παράδους δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίου σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος, Ἰούδα μὴ συμπαρόντος ἡμῖν:* But when he had delivered to us the antitype mysteries (so called in reference to the paschal supper) of his precious body and blood, Judas not being

present with us. I do not own these eight books of the apostolical constitutions as written by that Clemens who was Paul's fellow-labourer, Phil. iv., yet certainly they are ancient, as is universally acknowledged. Dionysius Areopagita (or whosoever he was that anciently wrote under that name), *de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, cap. 3, part 3, sect. 1, speaking of the same bread and the same cup, whereof all the communicants are partakers, he saith that this teacheth them a divine conformity of manners, and withal calls to mind Christ's supper in the night when he was betrayed, *Καθ' ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν συμβόλων δημιουργὸς, ἀποκληροῖ δικαιοσύνην τὸν οὐχ ὁσίως αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοτρόπως τὰ ἱερὰ συνδειπνήσαντα.* In *qua cœna*: so Ambrose the monk, in his Latin translation; and Judocus Clichtoveus in his *Commentary*: In which supper (for καθ' ὃ relates to τὸ δείπνον, the supper before mentioned, and signifieth the time of supper, or after supper was begun; so the Grecians use to say κατὰ τῶν νόσων to signify in the time of sickness) "the author himself of those symbols doth most justly deprive or cast out him (Judas) who had not holily, and with agreement of mind, supped together with him upon holy things." By those holy things he understands (it should seem) the typical or paschal supper, of which Judas had eaten before, and peradventure that night also, in the opinion of this ancient. Judocus Clichtoveus, in his *Commentary*, saith only, that Judas did that night eat together with Christ *cibum*, meat, he saith not *sacramentum*. This ancient writer is also of opinion, that Christ did excommunicate Judas, or as Clichtoveus expounds him, *à cœterorum discipulorum cœtu æquissime separavit, discrevit et dispecuit.* If you think not this clear enough, hear the ancient scholiast Maximus, to whom the Centurists give the testimony of a most learned and most holy man. He flourished in the seventh century under Constance; he was a chief opposer of the Monothelites, and afterwards a martyr. His *scholia* upon that place of Dionysius, maketh this inference, "Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὸ μυστήριον: That after Judas had gone forth from supper, Christ gave the mystery to his disciples. Again, Καὶ σημεῖωσαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ μετέδωκε τὸ μυστικὸν ἄρτον καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, τὰ δὲ μυστήρια τοῖς μαθηταῖς μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τοῦ δείπνου τὸν

¹ Hilarius, can. 30, in Matt.—Post quæ Judas proditor indicatur, sine quo pascha accepto calice et fracto pane conficitur: dignus enim æternorum sacramentorum communione non fuerat, &c. Neque sane bibere cum eo poterat, qui non erat bibeturus in regno.

Ἰούδαν, ὡς ἀναξίον τούτων ὄντος αὐτοῦ : Where note, that to him also (that is, to Judas) he (Christ) gave of a mystical bread (meaning the unleavened bread of the pass-over) and cup (meaning the cup drunk at the paschal supper), but the mysteries (that is, the eucharistical bread and cup, commonly called the *mysteries* by ancient writers) he gave to his disciples after Judas went forth from supper, as it were, because Judas himself was unworthy of these mysteries.

Add hereunto the testimony of Georgius Pachymeres, who lived in the thirteenth century. In his *Paraphrase* upon that same place of Dionysius, he saith that Christ himself, the author and institutor of this sacrament, ἀποκληροῖ καὶ ἐποδιαστέλλει δικαιοτάτα τὸν οὐχ ὁσίως συνδειπνήσαντα Ἰούδαν, καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου μεταδοῦς, τὰ μυστήρια μόνους τοῖς μαθηταῖς, μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, παρέδωκεν, ὡς ἀναξίου τούτων ὄντος τοῦ Ἰούδα : Christ doth cast out and separate, or excommunicate most justly, Judas, who had not holily supped together with him. For having given to him also of a mystical bread and cup, he gave the mysteries to the disciples alone, after he went forth from supper, thereby, as it were, showing that Judas was unworthy of these mysteries.

By the mysteries which Maximus and Pachymeres speak of, and which, they say, Christ gave to his disciples after Judas was gone forth, I can understand nothing but the eucharistical supper, the elements whereof are very frequently called the *mysteries* by the ancients, as hath been said. And if any man shall understand by these mysteries the inward graces or things signified in the Lord's supper, then what sense can there be in that which Maximus and Pachymeres say? for Christ could as easily keep back from Judas, and give to his other disciples, those graces and operations of his Spirit, when Judas was present among them, as when he was cast out. So that it could not be said that Christ did cast out Judas in order to the restraining from him, and giving to the other disciples, the invisible inward grace signified in the sacrament, as if the other apostles had not received that grace at the receiving of the sacrament, but that Judas must first be cast out, before they could receive it; or as if Judas had received the inward grace, if he had not gone out from supper. The sense must therefore be this, that Judas, as an unwor-

thy person, was cast out by Christ, before he thought fit to give the sacrament of his supper unto his other apostles.

Unto all these testimonies add Ammonius Alexandrinus, *de Quatuor Evangeliorum Consonantia*, cap. 155, where he hath the story of Judas's receiving of the sop, and his going forth immediately after he had received it; thereafter, cap. 156, he addeth the institution and distribution of the Lord's supper, as being, in order, posterior to Judas's going forth. So likewise before him, Tacianus doth make the history of the institution of the sacrament to follow after the excluding of Judas from the company of Christ and his apostles, which neither of them had done, if they had not believed that Judas was gone before the sacrament. With all these agreeth Innocentius III.,¹ who holdeth expressly that the sacrament was not given till Judas had gone forth; and that there is a recapitulation in the narration of Luke. Moreover, as it is evident by the fore-mentioned testimonies of Theophylact, that some of the ancients did hold that Christ gave not the sacrament to Judas; so also the testimony cited by Mr Prynne out of *Victor Antiochenus* beareth witness to the same thing: *Sunt tamen qui Judam ante porrectam eucharisticæ sacramentum exivisse existiment*: But yet, saith he, there are who conceive that Judas went forth before the sacrament of the eucharist was given. And with these words Mr Prynne closeth his citation out of *Victor Antiochenus*; but I will proceed where he left off. The very next words are these, *Sane Johannes quiddam ejusmodi subindicare videtur*: Certainly John seemeth to intimate some such thing. Which is more than half a consenting with those who think that Judas went forth before the sacrament of the Lord's supper. I shall end with two testimonies of Rupertus Tuitiensis, one² upon

¹ Lib. 4, de Myster. Missæ, cap. 13.—Patet ergo quod Judas prius exiit quam Christus traderet eucharistiam. Quod autem Lucas post calicem commemorat tradiderem, per recapitulationem potest intelligi: Quia sæpe fit in Scriptura ut quod prius factum fuerat posterius enarratur. That whole chapter is spent in the debating of this question.

² In John vi. de participatione autem corporis et sanguinis ejus, potest aliquis opinari quod ille (Judas) interfuerit. Sed profecto diligentius evangelistarum narratione, doctorumque considerata diversitate, citius deprehendi, huic quoque sacramento illum nequaquam interfuisse. Nam cum accepisset buccellam, qua traditor designatus est, exivit continuo.

John vi.; another upon John xiii.¹ The latter of the two speaketh thus, being Englished: "But we must know that, as it hath been also said before us, if Judas, after the sop, did go forth immediately, as, a little after, the Evangelist saith, without doubt, he was not present with the disciples at that time, when our Lord did distribute unto them the sacrament of his own body and blood." And a little after: "Therefore, by the Lord's example, the good ought, indeed, to tolerate the bad in the church, until, by the fan of judgment, the grain be separated from the chaff, or the tares from the wheat; but yet patience must not be so far void of discerning, as that they should give the most sacred mysteries of Christ to unworthy persons, whom they knew to be such."

As for modern writers, this present question hath been debated by Salmeron, tom. 9, tract. 11, and by Dr Kellet in his *Tri-cœnium*, lib. 2, cap. 14. Both of them hold that Judas did not receive the Lord's supper. Mariana on Luke xxii. 21, citeth authors for both opinions, and rejecteth neither; Gerhardus, *Harm. Evang.*, cap. 171, citeth for the same opinion, that Judas did not receive the Lord's supper (beside Salmeron), Turrianus and Barradius; and of ours, Dansæus, Musculus, Kleinwitzius, Piscator, *et alii complures*, saith he, and many others.

Add also Zanchius upon the fourth command. Gomarus (who professedly handleth this question), upon John xiii. Beza puts it out of question;² and Tossanus³ tells us it is the judgment of many learned men, as well as his own.⁴ Musculus, following Rupertus, concludeth that certainly Judas was gone

forth before Christ gave the sacrament to his apostles;¹ so likewise Diodati and Grotius.²

By this time it appeareth that Mr Prynne hath no such consent of writers of his opinion, or against mine, as he pretendeth.

As for those ancients cited by Mr Prynne, some of them (as Origen and Cyril) did go upon this great mistake, that the sop which Christ gave to Judas was the sacrament; which error of theirs is observed by interpreters upon the place. No marvel that they who thought so, were also of opinion that Judas received the sacrament of the Lord's supper; for how could they choose to think otherwise upon that supposition? But now the latter interpreters, yea Mr Prynne himself, having taken away that which was the ground of their opinion, their testimonies will weigh the less in this particular. Chrysostom thinks indeed that Judas received the sacrament, but he takes it to be no warrant at all for the admission of scandalous persons; for in one and the same homily, hom. 83, in Matt. he both tells us of Judas's receiving of the sacrament and discourseth at large against the admission of scandalous persons. As for Bernard, Mr Prynne doth not cite his words nor quote the place. Oecumenius (in the passage cited by Mr Prynne) saith that the other apostles and Judas did eat together *communi mensa*, at a common table; but he saith not "at the sacrament of the Lord's supper." That which Oecumenius in that place argueth against, is the contempt of the poor in the church of Corinth, and the secluding of them from the love-feasts of the richer sort. Now, saith he, if Christ himself admitted Judas to eat at one and the same table with his other disciples, ought not we much more admit the poor to eat at our tables? Mr Prynne tells us also that Nazianzen, in his *Christus Patiens*, agreeth that Judas did receive the Lord's supper together with the other apostles. I answer, first, I find no such thing in that place; next, those verses so entitled are thought to be done by some late author, and not by Nazianzen, as J. Newenklaius, in

¹ Rupertus Tuitiensis in John xiii. — Sciendum vero est, quia, sicut et ante nos dictum est, si post buccellum continuo Judas exivit, sicut paulo post evangelista dicit, procul dubio nequaquam discipulis tunc interfuit, quando Dominus noster sacramentum illis corporis et sanguinis sui distribuit. *Et paulo post.* — Igitur exemplo Domini, tolerare quidem malos boni debent in ecclesia, donec ventilabro judicii granum a palea, vel a tritico separentur zizania: verumtamen non eo usque indiscreta debet esse patientia, ut indignis, quos noverunt, sacrosancta Christi tradant mysteria.

² Beza in John xiii. 30. — Certa videtur esse eorum sententia qui existimant Judam institutioni sacræ cœnæ non interfuisse.

³ Tossanus in John xiii. — Ita ut Judæ quidem la-verit pedes Christus, sed postea egressus cœnæ sacramentali non interfuerit, sicut eruditi multi ex hoc capite colligunt.

⁴ Musculus in loc. Com. de Cœna Dom., p. 352. — Mihi sane dubium non est, egressum ad perficiendum traditionis scelus fuisse Judam, priusquam sacramentum hoc a Domino discipulis traderetur.

¹ Diodati upon John xiii. 30. — "We may gather from hence that he (Judas) did not communicate of our Saviour's sacrament."

² Grotius, Annot. in Matt. xxvi. 21, 26; Luke xxii. 21; John xiii., holds the supper at which the sop was given to Judas, and from which he went forth, was the common supper, and that it was before the Lord's supper, and that Luke doth not place Christ's words concerning Judas, Luke xxii. 21, in the proper place.

his censure upon them, noteth, and giveth reason for it. Cyprian's sermon *de ablutione pedum*, as it is doubted of whether it be Cyprian's, so the words cited by Mr Prynne do not prove the point in controversy. The other testimony cited out of Cyprian's sermon *de cæna Domini*, as it is not transcribed according to the original, so if Mr Prynne had read all which Cyprian saith in that sermon against unworthy receivers, peradventure he had not made use of that testimony. The words cited out of Ambrose do not hold forth clearly Judas's receiving of the eucharistical supper. The words cited out of Augustine, epist. 162, *Judas accepit pretium nostrum*, are not there to be found, though there be something to that sense. It is no safe way of citations to change the words of authors. This by the way. As for his other three citations out of Augustine, tract 6, 26, 62, in John, I cannot pass them without two animadversions. First, The greatest part of those words which he citeth as Augustine's words, and also as recited by Beda in his commentary on 1 Cor. xi. is not to be found either in Augustine or Beda in the places by him cited; viz. these words: *Talis erat Judas, et tamen cum sanctis discipulis undecim intrabat et exibat. Ad ipsam cœnam Dominicam pariter accessit, conversari cum eis potuit, eos inquinare non potuit: De uno pane et Petrus accipit et Judas; et tamen quæ pars fidei et infidei? Petrus enim accipit ad vitam, manducat Judas ad mortem: qui enim comederunt indigne judicium sibi manducat et bibit SIBI, NON TIBI, &c.* Of which last sentence if Mr Prynne can make good Latin, let him do it (for I cannot), and when he hath done so, he may be pleased to look over his books better to seek those words elsewhere if he can find them, for as yet he hath directed us to seek them where they are not. My next animadversion shall be this. The words of Augustine which Mr Prynne allegeth for Judas's receiving of the sacrament, are these, tract 6, in John: *Num enim mala erat buccella quæ tradita est Judæ à Domino? Absit. Medicus non daret venenum; salutem medicus dedit, sed indigne accipiendo ad perniciem accepit, quia non pacatus accepit.* Thus the original, though not so recited by Mr Prynne; but that I pass, so long as he retains the substance. Yet how will he conclude from these words that Judas received the sacrament of the Lord's

supper, unless he make Augustine to contradict himself most grossly; for tract 62, in John (another place whither Mr Prynne directeth us), speaking of Christ's giving of that *buccella* or sop to Judas, he saith, *Non autem ut putant quidam negligenter legentes, tunc Judas Christi corpus accepit:* But Judas did not at that time receive the body of Christ, as some negligently reading do think. Which words Beda also in his comment on John xiii. hath out of Augustine. It is Augustine's opinion that the sacrament was given before that time, at which Judas was present. That which Mr Prynne citeth out of Algerus (a monk, who in that same book writeth expressly for transubstantiation) maketh more against him than for him; for Algerus takes the reason of Christ's giving the sacrament to Judas, to be this, because his perverse conscience, though known to Christ, was not then made manifest, Judas not being accused and condemned, so that he was a secret, not a scandalous sinner. Thus far we have a taste of Mr Prynne's citations of the ancients; peradventure it were not hard to find as great flaws in some other of those citations. But it is not worth the while to stay so long upon it. Among the rest he citeth Haymo, bishop of Halberstat, for Judas's receiving of the sacrament; but he may also be pleased to take notice that Haymo would have no notorious scandalous sinner to receive the sacrament, and holds that a man eats and drinks unworthily *qui gravioribus criminibus commaculatus præsumit illud (sacramentum) sumere:* that is, who being defiled with heinous crimes presumeth to take the sacrament; but if he had thought it (as Mr Prynne doth) the most effectual ordinance, and readiest means to work conversion and repentance, he could not have said so. That which Mr Prynne, p. 23, citeth out of the two Confessions of Bohemia and Belgia, doth not assert that for which he citeth them; for neither of them saith that Judas did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The *Belgic Confession* saith an evil man may receive the sacrament unto his own condemnation: "As for example, Judas and Simon Magus both of them did receive the sacramental sign." I can subscribe to all this; for it is true in respect of the baptism both of Judas and Simon Magus. But I must here put Mr Prynne in mind, that the thing which he pleads for is extremely different from that

which the Belgic churches hold. For *Harmonia Synodorum Belgicarum*, cap. 13, saith thus, *Nemo ad Cœnam dominicam admittatur, nisi qui fidei confessionem ante reddiderit, et disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ se subjecerit, et vitæ inculpatae testes fideles produxerit*: Let no man be admitted to the Lord's supper, except he who hath first made a confession of his faith, and hath subjected himself to the church discipline, and hath proved himself by faithful witnesses to be of an unblameable life. The other Confession of Bohemia, saith that "Judas received the sacrament of the Lord Christ himself, did also execute the function of a preacher, and yet he ceased not to remain a devil, an hypocrite," &c. This needeth not be expounded of the Lord's supper (which if he had received, how did he still remain an hypocrite? for that very night his wickedness did break forth and was put in execution), but of the passover, received by Judas once and again, if not the third time. That chapter is of sacraments in general, and that which is added, is concerning Ananias and his wife, being baptized of the apostles. However the very same chapter saith that ministers must thoroughly look to it, and take diligent heed lest they give holy things to dogs, or cast pearls before swine; which is there applied to the sacraments, and is not understood of preaching and admonishing, only as Mr Prynne understands it. Also the book entitled *Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum*, cap. 7, appointeth not only church discipline in general, but particularly suspension from the Lord's table of obstinate offenders. Finally, whereas Mr Prynne citeth a passage of the antiquated Common Prayer-book, as it hath lost the authority which once it had, so that passage doth not by any necessary inference hold forth that Judas received the sacrament, as Dr Kellet sheweth at some length in his *Tricentium*.

The citation in which Mr Prynne is most large, is that of Alex. Alensis, part. 4, quest. 11, mem. 2, art. 1, sect. 4 (though not so quoted by him); but for a retribution, I shall tell him three great points in which Alex. Alensis, in that very dispute of the receiving of the eucharist, is utterly against his principles: First, Alex. Alensis is of opinion that the precept, Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine," doth ex-

tend to the denying of the sacrament to known profane Christians; for both in that section which hath been cited, and art. 3, sect. 1, answering objections from that text, he doth not say, that it is meant of the word, not of the sacrament; and of infidels, heretics, persecutors, not of profane ones; but he ever supposeth, that the ministers are forbidden by that text to consent to give the sacrament to profane scandalous sinners. Secondly, Alex. Alensis holds, that Christ's giving of the sacrament to Judas is no warrant to ministers to give the sacrament to public notorious scandalous sinners, though they do desire it. And thus he resolveth, *Ibid.*, art. 3, sect. 1, "If the priest know any man by confession to be in a mortal sin, he ought to admonish him in secret, that he approach not to the table of the Lord; and he ought to deny unto such an one the body of Christ, if he desire it in secret; but if he desire it in public, then either his sin is public or secret, *if public he ought to deny it unto him*; neither so doth he reveal sin because it is public; if private he must give it, lest a worse thing fall out." Thirdly, Alex. Alensis holds the sacrament of the Lord's supper, not to be a converting but a confirming and conserving ordinance, *Ibid.* art. 2, sect. 2. His words I shall cite in the debating of that controversy.

CHAPTER IX.

WHETHER JUDAS RECEIVED THE SACRAMENT OF THE PASSOVER THAT NIGHT IN WHICH OUR LORD WAS BETRAYED.

Mr Prynne (distrusting, peradventure, the strength of his proofs for Judas's receiving of the Lord's supper) betakes himself to an additional argument, p. 24, "All our antagonists (saith he) and evangelists clearly agree that Judas did eat the passover with Christ himself, as well as the other apostles: now the passover was a type of the Lord's supper," &c. It seems he had not the notes of my sermon truly (though he endeavour to confute it), for I did then, and I do still make, a very great question of it, whether Judas did so much as eat the passover, at that time, with Christ and the other apostles; and I think I have very considerable reasons which make it probable that Judas did not eat the passover that night with

Christ and the apostles. The resolution of this question depends upon another, whether Christ and his apostles did eat the passover before that supper at which he did wash his disciples' feet and gave the sop to Judas (after the receiving whereof Judas immediately went out), or whether that supper was before the eating of the passover. I find some others,¹ as well as myself, have been of opinion, that it was before, not after, the passover (yea, that the Jewish custom was to eat their common supper before the passover, see Mr Weymes' *Christian Synagogue*, p. 120); I find also Ammonius Alexandrinus, *de Quatuor Evangeliorum Consonantia*, cap. 154, placeth that supper mentioned John xiii. 2, 4, 12, 18, at which Jesus did wash his disciples' feet, and when he had done, sat down again and told them, that he who was eating bread with him should betray him. Then, cap. 155, he proceedeth to the story of the paschal supper, in which he conceiveth the sop was given to Judas, but in this particular he did much mistake; for the sop was given at the same supper mentioned, John xiii. 2, 4, 12, 18, and not at the paschal supper (as Mr Prynne also acknowledgeth). This is clear, that Ammonius placeth the common supper at which Christ did wash his disciples' feet, and told them of the traitor, to have been before the paschal supper. I will first tell the reasons that incline me this way, and then answer the objections which may seem to be against it. The reasons are these:—

1. The oriental custom was to wash before meal, not after they had begun to eat.

2. This supper (in which the sop was given to Judas, whereupon he went away) was "before the feast of the passover," John xiii. 1, *πρὸ τῆς ἐσπρῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, meaning immediately before the feast of the passover, it being reckoned from the time of eating the paschal lamb; and so "before the feast of the passover," hath the same sense as Luke xi. 38, *πρὸ τοῦ ἀπίστου*, the Pharisee wondered that Christ had not washed "before dinner," that is, immediately before dinner. So here I understand, "before the feast of the passover," that is, immediately before the time of eating the paschal lamb, which was the beginning of the feast of the passover. You will

say, perhaps, that Christ did not eat the passover upon the same day that the Jews did, and so those words, "before the feast of the passover," may be understood *before the passover of the Jews*, not before the passover of Christ. I answer, Whether Christ and the Jews kept the passover at one time is much debated among interpreters. Baronius, Toletus, and divers others, hold that Christ did eat the paschal lamb upon the same day with the Jews. Scaliger, Causabon, and others, hold the contrary. The question hath been peculiarly debated between Joh. Cloppenburgius and Ludovicus Capellus; yet so that Capellus (who follows Scaliger and Casaubon) acknowledgeth that both opinions have considerable reasons, and both are straitened with some inconvenience. *Ἐκκρίσις, de Ultimo Christi Paschate*, p. 6, 22. For my part, I shall not contend; but admit the distinction of Christ's passover and the Jews' passover. Yet, saith Maldonat upon John xiii. 1, I doubt not but John understands Christ's passover; for all the evangelists, in the story of the last supper, when they speak of the passover, they mean Christ's passover, and it was the true passover according to the law.

3. That which makes many to think that Christ did eat the passover before that other supper in which he gave the sop to Judas, is a mistake of the Jewish custom, which, as they conceive, was to eat other meat after, but none before the paschal lamb. Now to me the contrary appeareth, namely, that whatsoever the Jews did eat before the paschal supper, in the night of the passover, was eaten before the paschal supper, and it was among them forbidden to eat anything after the paschal supper. Which may be proved not only by that Talmudical canon (cited by Dr Buxtorff in *Hist. Instit. Cœnæ Dom.*) which saith, "The passover is not eaten except after meal," but also more plainly by *Liber Rituum Paschaliū*,¹ lately translated and published by Rittan-

¹ Gerhardus, Harm. Evan., cap. 170. — Quidam statunt pedum lotionem ipsi etiam legali cœnæ sive agni paschalis esui præmittendam esse.

¹ Non dimittunt (cætum comedentium) post esum (agni) paschalis cum bellariis (Hoc est non sinunt cætum comedentium post esum agni paschalis comedere secundarum mensarum delitias). *Ibid. versus finem*. Comedentium cætus sic dimittitur, ut nihil amplius cibi aut bellariorum aut similes secundarum mensarum delitias, quæ ad commensationes pertinent, illis comedere aut quicquam bibere permissum sit: non enim in more habent post sacram hanc cœnam indulgere commensationibus et potationibus, imo ne minimum quidem gustant.

gelius; and by another canon cited by Martinus.¹

But there are two arguments which may be brought to prove that Judas did eat the passover with Christ and the apostles. 1. Because that supper at which Judas got the sop was after the paschal supper; for it is said, John xiii. 2, "Supper being ended;" which must be meant of the paschal supper. I answer, These words may very well be understood, not of the paschal supper, but of that other supper at which the sop was given to Judas. And, as for *δείπνον γενομένον*, some Greek copies have *γινόμενον* and *nonnus γινόμενον*; so the sense were, as Augustine expounds, Supper being prepared and ready, and set on table. But be it *γινόμενον* or *γενομένον*, the matter is not great; for there is no necessity of expounding *δείπνον γενομένον* thus, *when supper was done, or ended*. It may suffer other two senses. First that of Augustine, *when it was supper time, or when supper was set on table*. And this sense is followed by Albinus Flaccus Alcuinus, lib. *de Divinis Officiis*, art. *de Cœna Domini*. *Circa vesperam vero cœna facta, id est parata, et ad convivantium mensam usque perducta, non transacta neque finita, surgit Jesus a cœna et ponit vestimenta, &c.* So likewise Mariana upon John xiii. 2, tells us that *cœna facta* may well be expounded *cœna parata*, or *ante cœnam*, or *cum cœnæ tempus adesset*, which he clearth by the like forms of speech in other scriptures. Secondly, *δείπνον γενομένον* may very well be translated, *when supper was begun, or when they were at supper*, as I have before shown by like instances in the New Testament, Matt. xxvi. 6, 20. Things permanent, as a house or the like, are said to be *factæ* when they are ended and complete; but things which are successive are said to be *factæ* when they are begun, as *dies factus*, not when the day is ended, but when it is begun. So here, there can be no more proved from the words but that supper was begun, or they were at supper. This sense is given by Osiander, Erasmus, Tossanus, *Harm. Evang.* part. 3, cap. 1, beside the Centurists, Salmeron and Lud. de Dieu, before cited.

¹ M. Martinus, Lexic. Philol., p. 25, 29, Nam sane canon paschalis diserte interdicebat, post poculum laudationis, aliquid cibi aut potus sumere. Interdicitur comedere aliquid post poculum hymni. Hic fuit verus ritus celebrationis pascha temporibus Messiae, &c.

The other argument may be this. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, after they have told of the making ready of the passover, add that Christ "sat down with the twelve."

Ans. 1. It cannot be proved that this is meant of sitting down to eat the passover; nay, it rather appeareth from the text, that it was to eat that other supper, at which the sop was given to Judas. The same discourse and questioning concerning the traitor, which John sets down before Judas's getting of the sop and going out, is recorded by Matthew and Mark to have been in that first supper, unto which Christ sat down with the twelve when even was come; therefore Christ's sitting down with the twelve, Matt. xxvi. 20, 21; Mark xiv. 17, 18, being spoken of that supper at which Christ told his disciples that one of them should betray him, and every one asked "Is it I?" (which, by Mr Prynne's confession, was not the paschal but the ordinary supper), it followeth that the sitting down with the twelve is not meant of the passover, but of an ordinary supper before the passover.

2. The same words of Christ's sitting down with the twelve are expounded (though upon other considerations) as spoken in reference not to the paschal, but the ordinary or common supper, by Lorinus, in Psal. ci. 6, following Maldonat; and by Gerhardus, *Harm. Evang.*, cap. 170, p. 403. Their reason is, because, according to the law, the passover was to be eaten standing, not sitting; but that is more than can be proved from the law, which doth not so much as speak of standing at the first passover. It is no necessary consequence: they had their staves in their hands, therefore they were standing. This by the way.

3. Granting that Christ's sitting down with the twelve were spoken of the paschal supper, yet the paschal supper being after the other supper, at which Judas got the sop and went away (which I now suppose, for the reasons before mentioned, till I see better reasons to the contrary), it might be said, after Judas was gone, that Christ sat down with the twelve, as well as, 1 Cor. xv. 5, it is said of Christ risen from the dead, "He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve," though he was seen only of the eleven, and Judas was gone to his place, which answers all that can be said from Luke xxii. 14, 15.

If I have not said so much as to put it out of all question that Judas did not eat

of the passover with Christ and his apostles, yet I am sure I have cleared so much as this, that Mr Prynne will not be able to prove convincingly, that Judas did eat of the passover that night with Christ.

I will conclude with the pious observation of Mr Cartwright, that it was not a vain or idle question which the disciples propounded (being commanded to prepare the passover): they ask, "Where wilt thou that we prepare?" Luke xxii. 9; for Christ having commanded them, that into whatsoever city they entered, they should inquire who were godly there, and turn in to such, to lodge and to eat there, they did thereby easily understand, that if, in common and ordinary eating together, then, much more in this sacred feast, they must turn into the families of the godly, and avoid the profane, especially considering that they who were of that household, were to eat the passover with Christ and his disciples, according to the law. From this very example of the passover, he draws an argument for keeping off all ungodly and profane persons from the sacrament, so far as is possible. Thus Cartwright, *Harm. Evang.*, lib. 3, p. 162. The like observation Chrysostom hath upon Matt. xxvi. 18, "I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples." He bids us mark those words, "with my disciples;" not with profane or scandalous ones, but "with my disciples." To the like purpose Titus Bostorum Episcopus in Luke xxii. hath this observation: *Non manducat autem hoc pascha cum Judæis, sed tantum cum discipulis suis: Siquidem Judæi, propter obstinatam incredulitatem, hoc paschate indigni erant*: Yet he eateth not this passover with the Jews, but only with his own disciples: for as much as the Jews, because of their obstinate incredulity, were unworthy of this passover.

CHAPTER X.

THAT IF IT COULD BE PROVED THAT JUDAS RECEIVED THE LORD'S SUPPER, IT MAKETH NOTHING AGAINST THE SUSPENSION OF KNOWN WICKED PERSONS FROM THE SACRAMENT.

I have now done with the first part of this controversy concerning Judas, and have disproved that which Mr Prynne hath said

either for Judas's receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or for his eating of the passover. In which particulars, though learned and godly divines who are against the admission of scandalous sinners to the sacrament, are not all of one opinion, yet all look upon it as a matter of debate, and I know none that ever cried down, with scorn and contempt, the opinion of Judas's not receiving of the sacrament, except Mr Prynne, whose grounds are oftentimes weakest, where his assertions are strongest.

I proceed to the second answer. Granting that Judas did receive the sacrament, that can make nothing for the admission of scandalous sinners, whose profaneness and ungodly conversation is known, and maketh their name to stink in the church; for Judas's wickedness was not public nor known before he had got the sop and gone out, and left the company of Christ and the apostles. And, moreover, he who argueth from Christ's receiving of Judas to the sacrament, when, though his sin was yet secret, yet Christ knew him to be a devil, to prove that the eldership may and ought to admit one to the sacrament, whom they know to be a Judas, a devil, may as well argue from Christ's choosing of Judas to be an apostle, when he knew him to be a devil, to prove the lawfulness of the eldership's choosing of a minister, whom they know to be a devil. But now for that point of the scandal or secrecy of Judas's sin, let us hear Mr Prynne's *Reply*, p. 26, 27. He gives it four feet to run upon. But the truth is, it hath but two (the same things being twice told); and those how founded you shall see by and by.

First, he saith, that at the time when Christ instituted the sacrament, he foretold the disciples that Judas should betray him, John xiii. 18—28; Matt. xxvi. 20—26; Mark xiv. 18—22; Luke xxii. 21—23. More plainly, p. 27, he saith, "Christ did admit Judas to eat the passover and sacrament with his other disciples, and they made not any scruple of conscience to communicate with him in both, no not after Christ had particularly informed them, and Judas himself, that he should betray him, Matt. xxvi. 21—36.

Ans. 1. It was but just now that Mr Prynne told us (to manifest that Judas was at the sacrament) that Luke placeth Christ's words concerning Judas after the sacrament, not before it. And more expressly he told

us out of John, that Christ's discourse about Judas, and his informing of the disciples that one of them should betray him, and his giving the sop to Judas, was after the sacrament, because it was after supper ended, the sacrament being instituted and distributed before supper ended, *Vindic.* p. 18, 19, 25. The same thing which before he made to be after the sacrament, to prove that Judas did receive the sacrament, the very same he now makes to be before the sacrament, that he may prove Judas a scandalous sinner and a known traitor, even before his receiving of the sacrament. And shall he thus abuse not only his reader, but the word of God itself, with palpable and gross contradictions? I shall beseech him, in the fear of God, to look to it, and never more to take this liberty to put contrary senses upon the holy Scripture, so as may seem to serve most for his present advantage. Surely such lubrications are not only *subitane* but *sinful*.

2. His answer, which now he gives us, doth clearly yield these two things: 1. That the discourse about the traitor, and the giving of the sop, John xiii. 8—28, was before the sacrament. Now Judas having gone out immediately after the sop, hereby Mr Prynne strengtheneth my argument, which I brought to prove that Judas did not receive the sacrament, which argument, in this very particular, he formerly opposed. 2. He hath here also yielded that these words, Luke xxii. 21—23, "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table," &c., though mentioned after the sacrament (which is the most colourable argument for Judas's receiving of the sacrament), yet were spoken before the sacrament; and that the order of time is not to be gathered from Luke, but from Matthew and Mark, who record that discourse about Judas before the sacrament. And in yielding this, he takes off his own strongest argument, and confirms what I have before taken pains to prove.

3. Those divines that hold Judas did receive the sacrament, do conceive that those words, "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me," &c., were indeed spoken after the sacrament, and that Luke placeth them in their proper place; and so, holding that the discourse about the traitor was after the sacrament, they do thereby intimate that Judas was not known to be the traitor till after the sacrament. Wherefore, either a man must quit the most considerable ar-

gument for Judas's receiving of the sacrament, or else acknowledge that Judas was not known by the disciples to be the traitor till after the sacrament.

4. When, after the giving of the sop, Christ said to Judas, "That thou doest, do quickly," no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him," John xiii. 28. But if Christ had particularly informed them that Judas was the traitor, how is it that they could have been so altogether ignorant of Christ's intent, as to think that he was still trusting Judas with the buying of what they had need of against the feast, or with giving to the poor? Hence Lud. Capellus Spicileg. in John xiii. collecteth, that when John asked of Christ who it was, and when Christ said, "He it is unto whom I shall give the sop," this was but a secret conference, and the rest of the disciples did not hear it, else they could not have been so ignorant of it.

5. The places cited by Mr Prynne do not prove that Christ did particularly tell and inform his disciples that Judas (but that one of them) should betray him. Christ made it known to John alone, by the sign of giving the sop, John xiii. 26. Yea, Theophylact upon John xiii. thinks that, as the other apostles heard not what Christ said to John concerning the traitor, so John himself even, at that instant, could hardly imagine that Judas would commit so great wickedness. *Nullus ergo cognovit*, he saith, "No man did know it," which he gathers from the words of John himself, ver. 28, 29. Bucerus in Matt. xxvi. 23 holdeth the same. I know some think it was made known to all the disciples by that, Matt. xxvi. 25, "Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Master, is it I?" He said unto him, "Thou hast said." But others answer that it is not certain that Christ said this to Judas in the hearing of all the disciples; also that these words, "Thou hast said," are not a clear affirmation of the thing. Lud. Capellus Spicileg. in Matt. xxvi. admitteth these words, "Thou hast said," to be affirmative of that which had been said. But he moves this doubt; when Judas had said, "Is it I?" he did not affirm the thing, but doubted of it. How then did Christ return such an answer as agreeth to that which Judas had said, as if it had been a positive truth? He gives this solution, that Christ, as searcher of the heart, did speak it to Judas, who was, in his con-

science, convinced that he was the man, and so assenteth to the truth of that testimony of his conscience. Now this could not be certainly known to the other apostles. For my part I shall not need to contend much about that; for granting it to be a clear information to all the disciples that Judas was the traitor, yet (by their principles who hold Judas did receive the sacrament) this was after, not before, the sacrament; for they make the anticipation to be in Matthew and Mark, and the true order to be in Luke.

6. Beside that of the *French Catechism*, which saith the impiety of Judas was concealed and not broken forth into the light and knowledge of men when the sacrament was given, take these other testimonies: Martyr in 1 Cor. v., *Et quod attinet ad Judam, peccatum ejus non erat cognitum atque perspectum, nec ullo judicio convictum*; Gerhardus, *Harm. Evang.*, cap. 171, p. 453, *Judæ scelus nondum erat in lucem productum, sed animo suo illud adhuc clausum tenebat*. The same he hath in his *Common Places*, tom. 5, p. 181, where he sheweth that Judas's receiving of the sacrament maketh nothing for the admission of scandalous persons, because, although Judas had gone to the chief priests and agreed with them, this was known to none of the disciples at that time, but to Christ himself only. Nay, the testimony cited by Mr Prynne himself out of *Algerus de Sacram.*, maketh strongly against him in this particular: *Quia enim, saith Algerus, Judas accusatus et damnatus non fuerat, ideo Christus conscientiam ejus perversam, quamvis sibi notam damnare noluit*: For because Judas was not accused and condemned, therefore Christ would not condemn (openly) his perverse conscience, though known to himself. Innocentius III. in the place above cited, *de Myst. Missæ*, lib. 4, cap. 13, after he hath asserted that Judas did not receive the Lord's supper, he addeth, that if it should be granted that Judas did receive it, this only will follow at most, that ministers are to admit to the sacrament such as are not known to the church to be impious or wicked, as Judas's wickedness was not, at that time, known to the disciples. Likewise, both Chrysostom and Theophylact upon John xiii. are clear in this, that Judas's hypocrisy was not detected to the apostles till Christ did separate him, and he went forth. Moreover, I shall mind Mr Prynne how he himself doth apply this example of Judas in his *Inde-*

pendency Examined: p. 8, 9, he argueth thus: "Whether Independents' refusal to admit such Christians who are not notoriously scandalous in their lives, nor grossly ignorant in the principles of religion, to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, &c., only upon this suspicion or apprehension, that they are but carnal men, not truly regenerated or sanctified by God's Spirit (though they cannot certainly judge of their present spiritual conditions, infallibly known to God alone), be not a very uncharitable, arrogant, yea, unchristian practice, contrary to our Saviour's own immediate example, who, at the first institution of this sacrament, admitted Judas to his last supper, as well as his disciples, though he certainly knew him to be both a traitor and a devil." In which argumentation he himself supposeth that Judas was not notoriously scandalous, nor known to the disciples (but to God and Christ alone) to be a traitor and devil; for otherwise he could not, in any reason, argue thus against the Independents; because if this supposition be not laid down that Judas was an unregenerate, yet not a scandalous person, then the Independents had this obvious answer, that if his argument prove anything, it doth conclude the admission not only of unregenerated and unsanctified, but of scandalous persons, to the sacrament; whereas he brings it to prove against them, that persons not scandalous, though unregenerate, ought not to be refused the sacrament. And now he brings the same thing against us, to prove that scandalous persons ought to be admitted, if not excommunicated, and desirous to receive the sacrament. He tells us, by the way, of "Judas's thievish, covetous, as well as traitorous, disposition, John xii. 6, both which did make him scandalous." But he might have observed, that the Holy Ghost sheweth plainly that, in that act, Judas was not a scandalous sinner in the esteem of the other disciples; for his thievish covetous disposition was not known to the disciples, yea, the pretext of his care for the poor was so plausible to them (though abominable to Christ who knew his heart), that it is said, not only of Judas, but of the disciples (by his instigation), *they had indignation at the wasting of that which might have been sold for much and given to the poor, Matt. xxvi. 8*.

Let us now hear Mr Prynne's other answer, *Vindic.*, p. 26, 27. He tells us, that though, perchance, the other disciples did not know that Judas was a traitor and a de-

vil, yet Christ himself did infallibly know all this of Judas, and did, notwithstanding, admit him to the sacrament. Whereupon he beseecheth all ministers not to make themselves wiser, holier, rigider, in this point than Christ himself.

Ans. 1. If ministers did take upon them to suspend men from the sacrament upon their own private knowledge of some secret sins, whereof those men are guilty, his argument might say somewhat. But the question being of suspension by the eldership, upon the notoriety or proof of the offence, and consistorial formal conviction of the offender, he saith here nothing to that point.

2. What a minister should do when he certainly knows one of the congregation (not convict nor notoriously scandalous) to be a Judas, a traitor, a devil, I will not now dispute. But surely Mr Prynne's reason why the minister ought to admit such an one is not rightly applied, for Christ did then know Judas to be a traitor and a devil; but how? not as man, by sight, information, or the like, but as God and as omniscient; that is, he knew Judas by that same knowledge whereby he knows close hypocrites, in whom no eye of man hath seen any thing scandalous, but rather good and promising signs. Some of this kind, no doubt, are admitted to the sacrament both among Presbyterians and Independents, whom Christ knows to be Judases, because he knows what is in man.¹ But now for a minister to know (not the heart and the reins as Christ doth, but) *τὰ πράγματα* or *τὰ ῥήματα*, some foul act which a man hath done, and some wicked profession which a man made, though in private, and not yet known to the world, this is a very different case from the other; and if Christ had admitted Judas to the sacrament, knowing him by his divine knowledge to be a traitor, this cannot prove that a minister ought to admit a traitor, whom, by his human knowledge, he knows to be such.

3. And if that which Christ did in this particular ought to be a precedent to ministers what to do in like cases, then, as Christ had a most sad and moving discourse about the traitor, till Judas himself was made to understand that Christ knew his

traitorous purpose, and then he said to him, "That thou doest, do quickly," which divers do rightly conceive to be as much as if Christ had said to him, Get you gone, I have no more to do with you,¹ he spake it, *ut a consortio suo recederet*, that he might be gone out of his company, as Ambrose takes it), and thus did by the sword of his mouth chase away, and as it were excommunicate Judas before the sacrament,—so should a minister (if he see one in the congregation whom he certainly knows to be a Judas, and to be living in some abominable wickedness, even while he comes with a professed desire to receive the sacrament) tell the congregation, that he knows and sees one amongst them whom he certainly knows to be guilty of such a particular secret horrible sin, and (if it be possible) make the sinner himself to know by such or such a sign, that he is the man whom he speaks of, and not to leave off powerful checks, sharp rebukes, terrible comminations, till, by the blessing of God and the power of the word, he gets such an one terrified and chased away.

4. It shall not be in vain to observe here, that Gamachæus, in *tertiam partem Thomæ*, quest. 54, cap. 5, though he hold that Christ gave the sacrament to Judas (whence he argueth that the sacraments do infallibly work *ex opere operato*, where no bar is put, though there be no faith nor devotion exercised in the receiver), yet he doth immediately move this objection: It is unlawful to give the sacraments to the unworthy, and to such as live in mortal sin. Whereunto he answereth, that it is indeed

¹ Durantus de Ritibus, lib. 2, cap. 38, num. 16.—Ipsi tamen (Jude) corpus et sanguinem suum dedit, ne occultum peccatorem sine accusatore et evidenti probatione, ab aliorum communione separaret. *Et infra*, num. 17, Nam etsi Christo nota erat Judæ iniquitas, sicut Deo: non tamen ei cognita erat eo modo, quo hominibus innotescit.

¹ Gerhardus, Harm. Evang., cap. 172.—Christus his verbis Judam quasi excommunicat, et ex apostolorum collegio discedere jubet, cum se totum Diabolo tradidisset. Quod facis fac citius, id est, cum alii magistro te addixeris, et me audire pertinaciter renuas, ab ex meo et apostolorum meorum conspectu, &c. Ambrosius, lib. 2, de Cain et Abel, cap. 4, Quod facis fac celerius, quid illud? ut quia introierat in illum Satanas, ipse abiret a Christo. Ejecit itaque et excluditur, eo quod jam cum Domino Jesu esse non posset, qui cuperet esse cum Diabolo. Estius, in lib. 4, Sent. dist. 19, sect. 9. Quin et ipse Christus hanc potestatem qua traduntur homines Sathanæ, exercuisse videtur, quando Judam a suo consortio removit, atque abire jussit dicendo, Quod facis fac citius. Chrysostom, hom. 71 in John (according to the Greek, hom. 72), making a transition unto that text, "That thou doest, do quickly," he useth these words to express what Christ was at that instant doing to Judas, καὶ ἀφαιρῆσαι, and again, καὶ ἐξῆλθαι αὐτὸν, Christ did separate him from the rest of the apostles, and cast him out. Theophylact upon the same place: Illum divisit Dominus et separavit ab aliis discipulis.

unlawful to ministers to give the sacrament to the unworthy when they can refuse them without scandal (a restriction which I suppose Mr Prynne dare not own; for if the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the thing must be determined by the scandal, they go upon a very slippery ground).¹ He addeth, that it is unlawful to us to follow God's example in giving holy things to the unworthy, as it is unlawful to follow his example in the permitting of sin when we can hinder it. The like I find in Alex. Alensis, *Summa Theol.* part. 4, quest. 12, mem. 2, art. 1, sect. 4, where he moves this objection in the question, whether Christ gave the sacrament to Judas. Christ himself hath commanded, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs," &c., and it seems he would not do the contrary of that which himself commandeth. Unto this objection his answer is, that this prohibition lieth indeed upon the ministers, dispensers of the sacraments, but bindeth not Christ himself the law-maker. As long therefore as we are able to prove from Scripture, that scandalous persons ought to be kept back from the sacrament, and that it is unlawful for church officers to admit such, the Erastians do but weakly help themselves by arguing from Christ's giving the sacrament to Judas, which I have said by way of concession; for my opinion is, that Christ did upon the matter excommunicate Judas, and that his practice in this very particular is a pattern to us, which I hope I have made evident.

Finally, It is observed by John Baptista de Rubéis in his *Novum Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. 1, cap. 24, that this case of Judas doth not concern public and known scandalous persons, but secret and lurking wicked persons, when they publicly desire to receive the sacrament; who yet, saith he, ought to be admonished and dehorted by the minister that they come not to the sacrament; and if such an one make his desire to receive the sacrament secretly known to the minister, the minister ought to refuse him, though his sin be yet secret

and not publicly known; "but if the sin be open or manifest, then whether the sinner do secretly or openly desire to receive the sacrament, the minister ought to refuse him."¹

CHAPTER XI.

WHETHER IT BE A FULL DISCHARGE OF DUTY TO ADMONISH A SCANDALOUS PERSON OF THE DANGER OF UNWORTHY COMMUNICATING? AND WHETHER A MINISTER IN GIVING HIM THE SACRAMENT AFTER SUCH ADMONITION BE NO WAY GUILTY?

Mr Prynne, p. 28, stateth the seventh point in difference thus, "Whether the minister hath not fully discharged his duty and conscience, if he give warning to unworthy communicants of the danger they incur by their unworthy approaches to the Lord's table, and seriously dehort them from coming to it, unless they repent, reform, and come preparedly?" But here he much mistakes his mark, or hitteth it not, as may appear thus: First, What if we should affirm it as he doth? What hath he gained thereby? That the minister hath not the power of keeping back scandalous persons; which cannot add one dram weight to his cause. The power is seated in the eldership, of which the minister is a principal member: even as Aristotle, *Polit.* lib. 3, cap. 11, tells us that *ὁ βουλευτής* is not the *ἄρχων* but *ἡ βουλὴ*: it is not the senator but the senate that doth rule. But if Mr Prynne meant to conclude against the suspension of scandalous persons not excommunicated (the thing which all along he opposeth), he ought to have stated the point thus, "Whether the eldership hath not fully discharged their duty," &c.; for every branch of this controversy concerning suspension (which is an act of jurisdiction and censure) must be fixed upon the eldership, not upon the minister. There is a huge difference between the minister's personal duty and the censure of suspension; insomuch that if the affirmative of this present question (as he stateth it) were yielded to him, it derogateth nothing from the power of the eldership to sus-

¹ Respondemus id nobis revera esse illicitum, et peccare ministros qui dant sacramenta indignis, quando sine scandalo denegare possunt, attamen Deum his legibus non teneri, cum sit supremus Dominus, qui suis donis utitur, prout voluerit, quem admodum etiam Deus non peccat permittendo hominum peccata, imo et ad peccati substantiam concurrere; nobis vero, nec concurrere licet nec permittere aliquod peccatum, quando sufficienter et moraliter id impedire possumus.

¹ Si vero peccatum est manifestum, tunc vero sive in occulto sive in manifesto petat, debet ei denegare.

pend from the sacrament a person not excommunicate. Secondly, In the debating of this point he sometimes argueth against the refusing or withholding of the sacrament "by any minister or presbytery," as p. 29—31, sometimes he argueth that "no minister's private judgment or conscience ought to be the rule of his admitting any to, or suspending them from, the sacrament," as p. 32, which is a confounding together of two most different points. Thirdly, And if the question should be stated of the minister's duty, that which Mr Prynne affirmeth, viz., that "the minister hath fully discharged his duty and conscience, if he give warning to unworthy communicants of the danger they incur by their unworthy approaches to the Lord's table, and seriously exhort them from coming to it, unless they repent, reform, and come preparedly," is erroneous and false; for there are other necessary duties incumbent to the minister in this business: as, 1. He must be earnest in his prayers to God for the conversion and reformation of such unworthy persons, else that God would give his Spirit and assistance to the eldership, and others to whom the case shall be brought, that they may faithfully do their duty in restraining such persons; or (if not so) that God would by his own providence keep back such persons, or hedge up their way with thorns, and make a wall that they shall not find their paths to come and profane the Lord's table. 2. The minister must deal seriously with the eldership, by informations, exhortations and admonitions, to move them to do their duty. 3. The minister must give his own vote and sentence in the eldership against the admission of such persons. 4. If (which God forbid) the eldership be not willing to do their duty, but sinfully neglect it, the minister ought to address himself with his complaints to the superior ecclesiastical assemblies (as they lie in their order) that they may interpose by their authority, to rectify the maladministration of the congregational eldership. 5. And if it should fall out that a scandalous unworthy person should find so much favour in the higher assemblies also as that they shall judge him fit to be admitted to the sacrament; yet if the minister know him certainly to be a scandalous abominable person, and be also clear in his conscience, that the matter of scandal is sufficiently proved, he must not do an unlawful act in obedience to men, but walk by that aposto-

lical rule, 1 Tim. v. 22, "Be not partaker of other men's sins; keep thyself pure." In doing whereof he doth not make his conscience the rule of inflicting any censure, and particularly of suspending from the sacrament (which must be done *ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων*, by many), but yet his conscience, so far as it is informed and illuminate by the word of God, is a rule to him of his own personal acting or not acting, notwithstanding of which the offender stands *rectus in curia*, and is not excluded by the sentence of any ecclesiastical court. I confess a minister ought to be very clear in his conscience, and be persuaded (not upon suspicions, surmises, or such like slight motives, but) upon very certain grounds, that the sentence of an eldership, classis, or synod, is contrary to the word of God, before he refuse to do the thing.

But what may be the reason why Mr Prynne is so large upon this point, from p. 28—35? I take not upon me to judge *de intentione operantis*; but the *intentio operis* is to yield somewhat in lieu of suspension from the sacrament, which yet shall be no church censure nor act of jurisdiction, and so to make the discipline of suspension (yea, and excommunication too) to be of no necessary use in the church. For if it be sufficient, and a full discharge of duty, to admonish unworthy scandalous persons not to come to the Lord's table unless they repent and reform, this cuts off the necessity of censure, whether suspension or excommunication. As for that admonition or warning to be given, it is no church censure nor act of jurisdiction, especially when given by the minister alone; for no ecclesiastical jurisdiction can be exercised, or censure inflicted by any one man, how eminent soever in the church. Yea, when it is a consistorial or presbyterial admonition, it is not properly a censure, but a degree to censure. 1. Because admonition doth not exclude a person from any church privilege, nor from communion in any ordinance. And how can one be said to be under church censure who enjoyeth all church privileges? 2. If consistorial admonition be a binding, where is the loosing of that bond? Every censure consistorially inflicted, must be also consistorially taken off, upon repentance appearing in the party. These things I do but touch, that I might make it appear how Mr Prynne's doctrine tendeth to strip elderships out of all jurisdiction or power of censures. Now

come we to the particulars, wherein I do not find any great matter to insist long upon.

He first premiseth six conclusions. *Supposed* conclusions he may make them, but *proved* conclusions they are not. The first of them is indeed ushered in syllogistically, but very weakly, as shall appear. The strength of his discourse he contracteth into this argument: "Those who have a true right to the sacrament, as visible members of the visible church, ought not, in justice or conscience, to be deprived of it, in case they demand it, by any minister or presbytery. But all unexcommunicate Christians, who are able to examine themselves, as visible members of the visible church, have a true right to the sacrament, in case they do demand it, when publicly administered. Therefore they ought not, in justice or conscience, be deprived of it by any minister or presbytery, when publicly administered, if they shall require it."

Ans. First, This is *fallacia plurium interrogationum*; for these words, "As visible members of the visible church," both in the *major* and *minor*, clog and confound the argument, and patch up two distinct propositions into one.

Secondly, His *major* cannot be admitted without a distinction. There is *ius ad rem*, and *ius in re*. There is a remote right, or a right *in actu primo*; that is, such a right, relation, or habitude, as entitleth a person to such a privilege or benefit, to be enjoyed and possessed by him when he shall be capable and fit to enjoy it. Such is the right of a minor to his inheritance. Such was the right of lepers of old to their tents, houses, and goods, when themselves were put out of the camp, and might not (during their leprosy) actually enjoy their own habitations. Such is the right which a man hath in England to his sequestered estate, lands, and houses; he doth not lose, but retain his right, title, charters and deeds (as valid in law, and not made void or null), and may be again admitted to the actual possession, upon satisfaction given to the state; and a huge difference there is between sequestration and forfeiture, or outlawry. There is again a proxime right, or a right *in actu secundo*, which rendereth a person actually and presently capable of that thing which he is entitled unto. If Mr Prynne's *major* be understood of the first kind of right, I deny it; if of the second kind of right, I admit it, and it doth not help his opinion, nor hurt mine.

Thirdly, Yea himself must needs admit an exception from his *major* proposition, for by his own principles, those that have a true right to the sacrament, as visible members of the visible church, may be excommunicated, and so deprived, not only of the sacrament, but of all other public ordinances. When he tells us here, that "nothing but an actual excommunication can suspend them from this their right," he doth but beg that which is in question. And if his argument conclude against a lesser suspension from their right, why not also against the greater?

Fourthly, He hath not proved his *minor*, especially being understood of the second kind of right, which renders men actually and presently capable of the thing. He saith that the sacraments were bequeathed by Christ, "to his visible church on earth, and all visible members of it," which he hath not proved, and I deny it, except it have this limitation: All visible members of the visible church, which are (visibly, or in external profession and conversation) qualified according to the rule of Christ, and against whose admission to the sacrament there is no just exception.

Fifthly, When he concludeth that no unexcommunicated Christians, who are able to examine themselves (that is, as himself hath explained, who are not naturally disabled, as children and fools, though he shall find it a very hard task to prove that all other unexcommunicate Christians besides these are able to examine themselves), ought, in justice or conscience, to be deprived of the sacrament by any minister or presbytery, he doth upon the matter conclude, that the ordinances of parliament, Oct. 20, 1645, and March 14, 1645, authorising presbyteries to suspend from the sacrament scandalous persons unexcommunicated, are contrary to all justice and conscience. *Nota bene.*

Sixthly, As touching that limitation yielded by himself, that they must be such as are able to examine themselves, I ask, 1. Are persons grossly ignorant able to examine themselves? 2. Are drunken persons able to examine themselves? 3. Are men of corrupt minds, and erroneous, yea, profane principles, who call evil good, and pervert Scripture to the defending of some gross sins, are these able to examine themselves? 4. Are those who are known that they had never any work of the law upon their consciences to convince or humble them ("for by the law is the knowledge of sin"), able

to examine themselves? If the answers be affirmative, then surely this self-examination is not rightly apprehended what it is. If the answers be negative, then those who, in their addresses to the Lord's table, are found ignorant, or drunk, or defenders of sin, or presumptuous and unconvinced, and do manifestly appear such, though they be not excommunicated, and being professed Christians and desiring the sacrament, yet ought not to be admitted.

I proceed to his second conclusion, the strength whereof (so far as I am able to gather from his discourse) may be drawn together into this argument: Such as in all ages, yea, by the very apostles themselves, have been deemed fit to receive, and could not be denied, the sacrament of baptism, ought to be (being baptized and unexcommunicated, and willing to communicate) admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. But in all churches, from Christ's time till this present, all external professors of Christ, even carnal persons, "only upon a bare external profession of faith and repentance," were deemed fit to receive, and were never denied, the sacrament of baptism (yea, saith he, "we read in the very apostles' times, that a mere external slight confession of sin, and profession of the Christian faith, was sufficient to enable sinners to be baptized"); therefore, all external professors of Christ, &c., ought to be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Ans. 1. I retort the argument thus: Such as have been deemed by the apostles, and by all well-constituted churches, unworthy to be admitted to baptism, ought also to be deemed unworthy, though baptized, to be admitted to the Lord's supper. But all known wicked and profane livers, how able and willing soever to make confession of the true Christian faith, have been, by the apostles and all well-constituted churches, deemed unworthy to be admitted to baptism; therefore, all known wicked, &c. More of this afterward, chap. xiii. and xv.

Secondly, I answer directly, I distinguish the *major*, I deny the *minor*. I distinguish the *major*: Those who have been admitted to baptism ought to be admitted to the Lord's supper, *ceteris paribus*, if the proportion hold in the particulars, and if they be as free of scandalous sins now, when they desire to receive the Lord's supper, as they were when they desired to receive baptism, he needed not to make so great a matter of

our suspending from the sacrament a person formerly deemed fit to receive baptism. For why? The person is a scandalous person now, which he was not then. My limitation of *ceteris paribus* he himself must admit, otherwise how will he defend his own principle, that the flagitious, abominable and obstinate sinners, who cannot be reduced by admonitions, may and ought to be excommunicated, and so to be cut off from the Lord's supper and all other public ordinances, although formerly deemed fit to receive baptism? The *minor* I utterly deny as most false, and as a reproach cast upon the apostles themselves. Mr Prynne's rule is so large, that Turks or pagans, who practically live in idolatry, common swearing, adultery, drunkenness, murdering, stealing, or the like, and are known to live in those abominable scandalous sins, ought, nevertheless, "upon a mere external slight confession of sin, and profession of the Christian faith," be baptized. When I expected his proof from the apostles' times, he only tells us, that Philip baptized "Simon Magus, though he were in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity," Acts viii. "Yea (saith he), many others who turned wolves, apostates, heretics, were baptized by the very apostles," Acts xx.; 2 Tim. 3. If he had proved that Simon Magus was known to be in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity when Philip did baptize him, or that the apostles did baptize any (upon a slight external profession) who were then known to be wolves, apostates, and heretics, he had said more for his cause than all his book saith beside. But to tell us that some persons baptized (he might as well have said that some persons who received the Lord's supper), did appear to be afterward in the gall of bitterness, wolves, apostates, heretics, is as much as to travail and to bring forth nothing. For how shall ever this reach the admission of known profane persons to the Lord's supper? That which he had to prove was the admission (not of hypocrites, but) of known scandalous profane persons to baptism.

His third conclusion, "That it is the ministers' bounden duty to administer the sacraments to their people, as well as to preach and pray;" no man will deny it, so that the ministers do it *debito modo*, and according to the rule of Christ. They are "stewards of the mysteries of God; moreover it is required in stewards that a man be found faithful," 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. It is the bounden duty of

stewards to give the children's bread to children, and not to dogs and swine. It is not the duty of ministers to preach peace to the wicked, and much less to seal it to them who are known to be such.

The fourth conclusion, That the word and sacraments are set accidentally for the fall and ruin, as well as for the salvation of men, maketh nothing to the purpose in hand; whatever the secret intention of God be, and his unsearchable judgment upon the soul of this or that man, it is no rule of duty to the minister or eldership. "To the law and to the testimony." "Secret things belong to God."

The fifth, "That God only infallibly knows the hearts and present state of all men," is no whit nearer the point. The eldership judgeth of *words* and *works*, *professions* and *practices*. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The sixth, "That no minister's private judgment or conscience ought to be the rule of his admitting any to, or suspending them from, the sacrament," is also wide from the controversy in hand, which is concerning the eldership's (not the minister's) power. Of the minister's personal duty I have spoken before.

These six conclusions premised, Mr Prynne proceeds to prove, "that a minister, in delivering the sacrament to a scandalous unexcommunicated person, who after admonition of the danger, doth earnestly desire to receive it, &c., becomes no way guilty of his sin or punishment, in case he eat or drink judgment by his unworthy receiving of it." His first reason, Because this receiver "hath a true right to this sacrament, as a visible member of the visible church," is the same thing which I have already answered. His second reason, Because he (the minister) hath no commission from Christ to keep back such a person," doth not conclude that the minister "becomes no way guilty," &c. He had to prove that a minister hath no commission touching this business, but only to admonish the person of the danger. I hold there are other five duties incumbent to the minister. Of which before. If any of these duties be neglected, the minister is guilty: whether such a person ought to be kept back is the point in controversy, and therefore he ought not have taken the negative, *pro confesso*.

His third reason, p. 33, is the same which was used by Erastus, as one of his arguments

against excommunication: That the Apostle saith, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup," 1 Cor. xi. 28.¹ Therefore a man's fitness or unfitness for the sacrament is not to be judged by others, but by himself only; and if he judge himself fit, the eldership hath no power to exclude him. The same scripture is here pressed against us by Mr Prynne, to prove that if a man "judge himself fitly prepared, joins with others in the public confession of his sins, and promiseth newness of life, the minister (he should say the eldership) ought in point of charity to deem him so, and hath no commission from Christ to exclude him, &c. Let a man therefore examine himself, not others, or others him."

I answer, 1. The self-examination there spoken of, is not mentioned as exclusive; for it is not said, "Let a man examine himself only." 2. Yet I can grant it to be exclusive, it being understood of that judging of a man's self which prevents the judgment of God, ver. 31. No man's examining of another can do this, but his examining of himself. That which can give us confidence and boldness before God, and "assure our hearts before him," 1 John iii. 10, is not the examination or approbation of others, but of our own conscience; "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him?" 1 Cor. ii. 11. The pastors and elders of Corinth had admitted some to the Lord's table, whom they judged to be fit and worthy communicants, but God judged otherwise of them. Therefore saith the Apostle, let a man make a narrow search of his own conscience, and not rest upon the judgment of others. 3. If it be enough for a man to examine himself, by what warrant doth Mr Prynne require more, namely, that a man join with others in the public confession of his sins, and promise newness of life? 4. It is not enough for a notorious scandalous sinner to judge himself, nor yet to join with others in public confession; but he must publicly and particularly confess his own sin, which he must do personally, or for his own part, and others cannot do it with him. 5. Augustine²

¹ 1 Confirm. Theas., p. 120.

² Tom. 10, hom. 50.—Et cum in se protulerit severissimæ medicinæ sententiam, veniat ad antistites, per quos illi in ecclesia claves ministrantur, et tanquam bonus incipiens jam esse filius maternorum membrorum ordine custodito, a præpositis sacrorum

tells us, when a man hath examined himself, he must also edify the church (which before he scandalised) by a public declaration of repentance for his scandalous sin. 6. Mr Prynne himself, *Vindic.* p. 50, will not have an excommunicated person to be again received and admitted to the Lord's supper "till public satisfaction given for the scandal, and open profession of amendment of life, accompanied with external symptoms of repentance." And why all this examination should not be required for a prevention of excommunication, yea, of suspension, I know not.

Mr Prynne's fourth reason is, Because the minister administers the sacrament to that scandalous unexcommunicated person, "as to a person outwardly fitted and prepared, the inward preparation of whose heart, for aught he knows, may be sincere towards God, and really changed from what it was before." I appeal to every godly minister, whether this can pacify or secure his conscience, that a scandalous unexcommunicated person, living in known profaneness and wickedness, is or may be esteemed a person outwardly fitted and prepared for the sacrament, yea, that the inward preparation of his heart, while he is living in gross scandalous sins, may be sincere towards God, and really changed from what it was before; and that therefore he (the minister) "in delivering the sacrament to a scandalous unexcommunicated person, who, after admonition of the danger, doth earnestly desire to receive it, as conceiving himself in his own heart and conscience meet to participate of it, becomes no way guilty?" &c. The Lord save me from that divinity which holds that a scandalous person in the church may be admitted to the Lord's supper as a person outwardly fitted and prepared for that sacrament.

Fifthly, He argueth from the holiness and lawfulness of administering the sacrament, and the minister's good intention to benefit all, and hurt none by it.

Ans. The first part of this reason is a fallacy *ab ignoratione elenchi*. The point he had to prove was, that the administration of

the sacrament to a scandalous person is a holy lawful action. The latter part doth not conclude. A good intention cannot justify a sinful action.

Sixthly, "Because (saith he) such a person's unworthy receiving is only contingent and casual; no minister or creature being able infallibly to judge whether God at this instant may not, by the omnipotent working of the Spirit, &c., change both his heart and his life."

Ans. 1. By this principle the minister shall become no way guilty, if he deliver the sacrament to an heathen, to an excommunicated person, for the same reason will have place in that case as much as in this, viz., God may at the very instant, before or in the act of receiving, change the heart and life of such an heathen or excommunicate person. 2. A scandalous profane person's unworthy receiving, is casual and contingent *in sensu diviso*, but not in *sensu composito*, that is, peradventure God will give him repentance, and change his heart and his life, which done, he shall come worthily and receive worthily; but while he is yet scandalous, and neither heart nor life yet changed, his receiving in that estate will certainly be an unworthy receiving; for it implies a contradiction and impossibility, to say that a man's life can be changed while it is not changed, *in sensu composito*, or that a man can be worthy while he is unworthy. 3. It is a most sinful tempting of the Almighty to cast his word behind us, and then expect the working of omnipotency, for that whereof we have neither promise nor example in the word.

Sevently, He argueth from our concessions, that ministers may administer the sacrament to masked hypocrites, and yet are not guilty of their unworthy receiving. This he saith is a yielding our objection false in the case of scandalous persons too. But his reason is just as if he had said, Ministers are not guilty when they give the sacrament to those who are not scandalous; therefore they are not guilty when they give the sacrament to those that are scandalous. Or as if he had argued thus: He that harboureth a traitor, whom he doth not nor cannot know to be such, is not guilty; therefore he that harboureth a known traitor is not guilty.

Eighthly (for he hath given his seventh already), He tells us, that "the minister only gives the sacrament, and the unworthy

accipiat satisfactionis suae modum, ut in offerendo sacrificio cordis contribulati devotus et supplex, id tamen agat, quod non solum illi prosit ad recipiendam salutem, sed etiam cæteris ad exemplum. Ut si peccata ejus non solum in gravi ejus malo, sed etiam in scandalo est aliorum: atque hoc expedire videtur utilitati ecclesiae, antistiti in notitia multorum, vel etiam totius plebis agere pœnitentiam non recuset.

receiving is the receiver's own personal act and sin alone."

Ans. 1. He begs again and again what is in question. 2. There is an unworthy giving, as well as an unworthy receiving. The unworthy giving is a sinful act of the minister, which makes him also accessory to the sin of unworthy receiving, and so partake of other men's sins.

The ninth, concerning Christ's giving of the sacrament to Judas, is answered before.

The tenth I have also answered before, in his fourth conclusion. The minister is a sweet savour of Christ, as well in those that perish by the sacrament, as in those that are benefited by it, with this proviso, that he hath done his duty as a faithful steward, and that he hath not given that which is holy to dogs, else God shall require it at his hands.

Finally, He argueth from 1 Cor xi. 29, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh (not condemnation but) *κριμα*, judgment (meaning some temporal judgment) to himself" (not to the minister or communicants).

Ans. 1. Whatever be meant by judgment in this place, certainly it is a punishment of sin, and such a thing as proceedeth from God's displeasure; and it is as certain that unworthy receiving maketh a person liable to a greater judgment than that which is temporal. 2. If *to himself* be restrictive and exclusive in the case of close hypocrites, such as are by church officers (judging according to outward appearance) admitted to the sacrament; yet how will it be made to appear that the Apostle meant those words as restrictive and exclusive in the case of scandalous and known unworthy communicants. 3. Such a scandalous person doth indeed eat and drink judgment to himself; but this can neither in whole nor in part excuse, but rather greatly aggravate, the sin of the minister; for when a wicked man dieth in his iniquity, yet his blood God will require at the hands of the unfaithful minister, who did strengthen his hands in his sin.

CHAPTER XII.

WHETHER THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER BE A CONVERTING OR REGENERATING ORDINANCE.

I had, in answer to Mr Prynne's third query, given this reason why profane and scandalous persons are to be kept off from the sacrament, and yet not from hearing the word: because the word is not only a confirming and comforting, but a converting ordinance, and is a mean appointed of God to turn sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; whereas the sacrament is not a converting, but a confirming and sealing ordinance, which is not given to the church for *the conversion of sinners*, but for *the communion of saints*. It is not appointed to put a man in the state of grace, but to seal unto a man that interest in Christ and in the covenant of grace which he already hath. Mr Prynne doth with much eagerness contradict me in this, and argues at length the contrary (which is the marrow and fatness, if there be any, in his debate concerning the eighth point of difference), whereby he doth not only contradict me but himself too, as shall appear, yea, and join not only with the more rigid Lutherans, but with the Papists themselves, against the writers of the Reformed churches. For the very same thing which is controverted between him and me, is controverted between Papists and Protestants. The Papists hold that the sacraments are instrumental to confer, give, or work grace; yea, *ex opere operato*, as the schoolmen speak. Our divines hold that the sacraments are appointed of God, and delivered to the church as sealing ordinances,—not to give, but to testify what is given,—not to make, but confirm saints. And they do not only oppose the Papists' *opus operatum*, but they simply deny this instrumentality of the sacraments, that they are appointed of God for working or giving grace where it is not. This is so well known to all who have studied the sacramentarian controversies, that I should not need to prove it. Yet that none may doubt of it, take here some few, instead of many, testimonies:—

Calvin holds plainly, against the Papists, that the sacraments do not give any grace, but do declare and show what God hath given. He clears it in that chapter thus:

The sacraments are like seals appended to writs, which of themselves are nothing, if the paper or parchment to which they are appended be blank. Again, They are like pillars to a house, which cannot be a foundation, but a strengthening of a house that hath a foundation;—we are built upon the Word, the foundation of the prophets and apostles. Again, Sacraments are to us from God that which messengers are which bring good news to men,—they declare what is, but do not so much as instrumentally make it to be.¹ These are Calvin's similies.

Bullinger confuteth the popish doctrine concerning the sacraments' conferring of grace, by this principle, that the saints are justified and sanctified before they are sealed and confirmed by the sacraments.²

Ursinus speaks so fully and plainly for us that none can say more.³ He distinguisheth between the word and sacraments, as between converting and confirming ordinances, and argueth that the sacraments do not confer grace, because we receive not the thing by receiving the sign, but we get

the sign because it is supposed we have the thing; yea, he speaks of it as a principle known to children.

Musculus, in his *Common Places*, saith thus, "Who seeth not what manner of persons we must be when we approach to this mystical table of the Lord? to wit, not such as do therein first of all seek the fruition of the body and blood of the Lord, as if we were yet destitute thereof, but such as, being already before partakers thereof by faith, do desire to corroborate more and more in our hearts the grace once received by the sacramental communication of the body and blood of the Lord, and by the remembrance of his death, and to give thanks to our Redeemer."¹

Martin Bucerus, upon Matt. xviii. 17, puts this difference between the word preached and the Lord's supper, that the word may be preached to the unconverted, but the Lord's supper may not be given to any who by their lives do declare that they are out of communion with Jesus Christ:² which is the very point now in controversy.

Festus Honnius, disp. 43, thes. 3, confuting the popish opinion of the sacraments' working or giving grace, brings this reason against it, They that receive the sacraments have this grace before they receive them, neither are any to be admitted to the sacraments who may be justly supposed not to be justified and sanctified.³

Arelius, *Comment. in Mark xiv.*, loc. 3, observeth, *Qui admitti sint ad istam cenam? discipuli solum*: Who were admitted to that (eucharistical) supper? The disciples

¹ Instit. p. 301, edit. 1539.—Cum hoc tantum in ministerio habeant (sacramenta) testificari nobis ac confirmare Dei in nos benevolentiam, &c. Ut quæ non largiantur quidem aliquid gratiæ, sed renuncient et ostendant quæ divina largitate nobis data sunt.

² Decad. 5, serm. 7.—Docuit vulgus sacerdotum et monachorum sacramenta novæ legis non tantum esse signa gratiæ, sed simul etiam gratiæ causas, hoc est quæ habeant virtutem conferendi gratiam. And after: Sancti et electi Dei non tum primum gratia Dei donisque celestibus, participant, cum sacramenta percipiunt. Et enim rebus prius quam signis participant. And after: Proinde in cena illa non primum accipiuntur divina beneficia, sed pro acceptis aguntur gratiæ. Effecti his opinor, evicique sacramenta non conferre gratiam.

³ Ursinus, Tract. Theol., p. 350.—Sicut verbum est conversionis et confirmationis organum: sic et sacramenta sunt organa confirmationis, &c. Non res accipimus ideo quia signum accipimus: sed signum nobis tribuitur quia res habemus: idque ita, ut non cur habeamus causam, sed quod eas habeamus testimonium sit. Ibid. de Sacram. Defens. quinti Arg. p. 557.—Nos vero supra hoc discrimen verbi et sacramentorum non dissimulavimus, quod fides per verbum inchoatur: Sacramentorum usu autem confirmatur, exercetur, fovetur, augetur jam inchoata. Sacramenta enim ne doceant quidem, nedum confirmant, nisi præeunte verbo et addente explanatione typorum. Idcirco etiam sacramenta illis instituta sunt, quos Deus jam pro membris ecclesiæ a nobis vult agnoscere. Inchoatio igitur fidei ordinaria verbi propria est; confirmatio inchoatæ, sacramentis cum verbo communis est. Judicium de Disciplina Ecclesiastica ad finem, tom. 3, p. 89.—Quasi non pueris jam notum, verbum et conversis et non conversis esse annuntiandum, quo illi quidem confirmantur, hi vero convertantur. Sacramenta autem illis esse instituta qui jam sunt conversi et membra populi Dei facti.

¹ De Cœna Dom. p. 350.—Quis non videt quales nos ad mysticam hanc Domini mensam accedere oporteat? nempe non tales qui fruitionem corporis ac sanguinis Domini primum in ea queramus, tanquam illius adhuc expertes: sed qui per fidem illius jam antea participes, gratiam semel acceptam, communicatione hac sacramentali corporis ac sanguinis Domini, et mortis ipsius rememoratione, in cordibus nostris magis ac magis corroborare, redemptorique gratias agere cupiamus.

² Ad hæc prædicandum illis quoque est, qui nondum audierunt, aut certe nondum perceperunt. Attamen utenque feratur impurius conventum ubi verbum prædicatur, quam Christus et Apostoli quoque tulerunt: Cœnæ tamen communio (ut dixi) purior esse debet. Nam publica est eorum qui palam se Christianos profitentur, de redemptione gratiarum actio: ideo circa hanc, ut communionem Christi solemniter sancti percipiunt, ita excludendi inde sunt qui vita sua se extra hanc communionem esse, manifesto probant.

³ Fideles enim ante usum sacramentorum hanc gratiam omnino habent: neque ad sacramentorum usum accedere debent qui eam gratiam pro ætatis modo non habent, neque admittendi sunt qui eam non habere merito præsumunt.

only. Hence he inferreth, *Quare mysteria hæc ad solos fideles pertinent*: Wherefore these mysteries do pertain to the faithful alone; that is, to those who are supposed to be converted and believers.

Vossius, *disp. de Sacramen. effic. part. poster.*, after he hath observed two respects in which the sacraments do excel the word,—

1. That infants who are not capable of hearing the word are capable of the sacrament of baptism, and are brought to the laver of regeneration; 2. That the sacraments do visibly and clearly set before our eyes that which is invisible in the word,—he adds, thes. 49, other two respects in which the word doth far excel the sacraments:¹ 1. That the word can both beget and confirm faith,—the sacraments cannot beget faith in those that are come to age, but only conserve and increase it. 2. That without the word we cannot be saved, for he that believes not is condemned; now faith cometh by hearing; but the sacraments, through profitable means of grace, yet are not simply necessary,

The *Confession of the Faith of the Church of Scotland*, in the article entitled, "To whom sacraments appertain," saith thus: "But the supper of the Lord we confess to appertain to such only as be of the household of faith, and can try and examine themselves as well in their faith as in their duty towards their neighbours." The *Belgic Confession*, art. 33, saith of the sacraments in general, that God hath instituted them to seal his promises in us, to be pledges of his love to us, and to nourish and strengthen our faith. And, art. 35, they plainly hold that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is intended and instituted by Christ for such as are already regenerate, and are already quickened with the life of grace.²

The Synod of Dort, in their judgment of the Fifth Article of the Remonstrants, sect. 14, ascribeth both the inchoation and conservation of grace to the word, but ascribeth

only to the sacraments the conserving, continuing, and perfecting of that begun grace.¹

In the Belgic form of the administration of the Lord's supper (see *Corpus Disciplina*, lately published by the ministers and elders of the Dutch Church at London, p. 16) it is said thus: "Those who do not feel this testimony in their hearts (concerning their examining of themselves touching their repentance, faith, and purpose of true obedience), they eat and drink judgment to themselves; wherefore we also (according to the commandment of Christ and the apostle Paul) do admonish all who find themselves guilty of these ensuing sins, to refrain from coming to the Lord's table, and do denounce unto them that they have no part in the kingdom of Christ." (Here follows an enumeration of divers scandalous sins, concluded with this general, "and all those which lead a scandalous life.") "All these, as long as they continue in such sins, shall refrain from this spiritual food (which Christ only ordained for his faithful people) that so their judgment and damnation may not be the greater." Which plainly intimates that they hold this sacrament to be a sealing, not a converting ordinance. And this they also signify, *Ibid.*, p. 17, "And to the end we may firmly believe that we do belong to this gracious covenant, the Lord Jesus in his last supper took bread," &c.

Paræus puts this difference between the word and sacraments: that the word is a mean appointed both for beginning and confirming faith,—the sacraments means of confirming it after it is begun: that the word belongs both to the converted and to the unconverted,—the sacraments are intended for those who are converted and do believe, and for none others.²

And, though the Lutherans make some

¹ Quem admodum autem Deo placuit opus hoc suum gratiæ per predicationem evangelii in nobis inchoare, ita per ejusdem auditum, lectionem, meditationem, adhortationes, minas, promissas, nec non per usum sacramentorum, illud conservat, continuat et perficit.

² Explic. Catech., quest. 67.—Verbum est instrumentum Spiritus sancti, per quod inchoat et confirmat in nobis fidem ideoque verbum debet præire. Sacramenta sunt organa Spiritus sancti per quæ fidem inchoatam confirmat: ideoque sacramenta debent sequi. *Ibid.* quest. 81, art. 1.—Sacramenta tantum sunt instituta fidelibus et conversis, ut his promissionem evangelii obaignent, et fidem confirmant. Verbum quidem est conversis, et non conversis commune, ut conversi confirmantur, nondum conversi convertantur: Sacramenta vero ad solos fideles pertinent.

¹ Quemadmodum autem sacramenta duplici nomine præstant verbo, idem verbum duobus nominibus præferendum sacramentis. Uno quod verbum in adultis et generet fidem, et genitam foveat atque alat: Sacramenta vero eam non gignant, sed tantum genitam conservent atque augeant. Altero quod absque verbo non salvemur, &c.

² Credimus et confitemur Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum sanctæ cænæ sacramentum ordinasse et instituisse, ut ea nutriat et sustentet eos, quos jam regeneravit, &c. At vero, ad conservationem vitæ spiritualis et cælestis, quam fideles jam habent, Deus illis panem vivificum misit, &c.

controversy with us about the effect of the sacraments, yet J. Gerhardus doth agree with us in this point,—that the Lord's supper is not a regenerating, but a confirming and strengthening ordinance; and this difference he puts between it and baptism.¹

Walsæus asserteth, both against Papists and against some of the Lutherans, that sacraments do instrumentally confirm and increase faith and regeneration, but not begin nor work faith and regeneration where they are not.²

Petrus Hinkelmannus, *de Anabaptismo*, disp. 9, cap. 1, error 6, disputeth against this as a tenet of the Calvinists. *Fideles habent Spiritum sanctum habent res signatas ante sacramenta*: The faithful have the Holy Spirit, they have the things which are sealed, before they receive the sacraments. Brochmand, *System, Theol.*, tom. 3; *de Sacram.*, cap. 2, quest. 1, condemneth this as one of the Calvinian errors: *Sacramenta non esse gratias conferendæ divinitus ordinata media*: That sacraments are not instituted and appointed of God to be means of conferring or giving grace. Which, he saith, is the assertion of Zuinglius, Beza, Daneus, Musculus, Piscator, Vorstius. The Lutheran opinion he propounds, *Ibid.*, quest. 6, that the sacraments are means appointed of God to confer grace, to give faith, and, being given, to increase it. Esthius, in *Sent.*, lib. 4, dist. 1, sect. 9, stateth the opinion of the Calvinists (as he calls us) thus: *Justificationem usu sacramenti esse priorem, obtentam nimirum per fidem qua homo jam ante cre-*

didit sibi remitti peccata; sacramentum vero postea adhiberi, ut verbo quidem promissionis fides confirmetur: elemento vero seu sigillo quodam diplomati appenso eadem fides obsignetur; atque ita per sacramentum declaretur testatumque fiat hominem jam prius esse per fidem iustificatum. This, he saith, is contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, from which, saith he, the Lutherans do not so far recede as the Calvinists. Gregorius, *de Valentia in tertiam partem Thomæ*, disp. 3, quest. 3, punct. 1, thus explaineth the tenet which he holdeth against the Protestants concerning the sacraments' giving of grace: *Sacramenta esse veras causas qualitatis gratiæ, non principales, sed instrumentales: hoc ipso videlicet, quod Deus illis utitur ad productionem illius effectus, qui est gratia, tamet si supra naturam seu efficacitatem naturalem ipsorum*.

The Papists dispute, indeed, what manner of casualty or virtue it is by which the sacraments work grace, whether *physica* or *ethica*, whether *instita* or *adsita*. In which questions they do not all go one way. See Gamacheus, in *tertiam partem Theol.*, quest. 62, cap. 5. But that the sacraments do work or give grace to all such as do not *ponere obicem*, they all hold against the Protestants. They dispute, also, whether all the sacraments give the first grace, or whether baptism and penance only give the first habitual grace, and the other five sacraments (as they make the number) give increase of grace. But in this they all agree, that habitual grace is given in all the sacraments of the New Testament; the Thomists hold further, that the very first grace is *de facto* given in any of the sacraments. See for the former, Becanus;¹ for the latter, Tannerus.²

¹ Loc. Com. tom. 5, p. 1.—Per baptismam regeneramur ac renovamur: per sacramentum cœnæ alimur ac nutrimur ad vitam æternam. In baptismo præsertim infantum, per Spiritum sanctum fides accenditur: in usu sacræ cœnæ augetur, confirmatur, et obsignatur. Per baptismum Christo inferimur, in quo spirituale incrementum salutari cœnæ usu accipimus.

² Tom. 1, p. 477.—At an non per sacramenta etiam fides et regeneratio exhibetur? Resp.—Distinguendum inter primum fidei et resipiscentiæ initium, et confirmationem ejus ac augmentum. Nemo admittitur ad sacramenta nisi pro fidei et penitente habeatur; quemadmodum verba clara sunt, Quisquis crediderit et baptisatus fuerit. Infantes habentur pro fœderatis, ac proinde etiam pro iis qui Spiritum fidei acceperunt, sed de hac re postea. Sic in cœna requiritur, ut homo probet se an sit in fide, et ut digne manducet: infidelibus enim vel nondum credentibus nullæ sunt promissiones, ac proinde nec obsignantur. Perperam ergo statuunt ipsa sacramenta esse causas primæ regenerationis aut justificationis, tum Pontifici, tum Lutherani quidam. Sed si fidei et regenerationis confirmatio et augmentum spectetur, recte tribuitur sacramentis ut causis instrumentalibus.

¹ Becanus, Theol. Schol., part. 4, tract. de Sacram., quest. 7.—Omnia sacramenta novæ legis semper conferunt gratiam habitalem seu justificantem, non ponentibus obicem, ac proinde gratia habitualis est communis quidam effectus omnium sacramentorum: Est communis sententia.

² Tannerus in Thomam. tom. 4, disp. 3, quest. 3, dub. 5.—Imo omnia sacramenta de facto nonnunquam possunt ex opere operato (how much more if there be also opus operantis) conferre primam gratiam. Hæc est sententia magis pia et probabilior; quam docet S. Thomas, &c. eandem communiter sequuntur Thomistæ. He confirms it thus: Quia quædam sacramenta per se proprie solum instituta ad dandam primam gratiam, possunt conferre secundam. Ergo etiam per se instituta ad hanc poterunt conferre primam, &c. Atque hoc etiam sensu admitti potest quod nonnulli dixerunt, omnibus

and those that eat and drink unworthily, and applieth the Apostle's words of eating and drinking unworthily, to all who come with polluted souls, such as all unconverted have. And Guakther, Martyr, and other interpreters upon the place, the Centurists also in the place last cited, reckon those to eat and drink unworthily, who come without the wedding garment, and without faith and holiness of conversation, which intimateth that they who live unworthily, do also eat the Lord's supper unworthily, which is most plainly intimated in the *Directory*, p. 50, where ignorant, scandalous, and profane persons, are warned not to come to that holy table, upon this reason, because he that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself, which necessarily implieth, that unworthy persons and profane livers, if they come to the sacrament, are not converted, but sin more in eating and drinking unworthily. I conclude, therefore, that the prohibition of eating and drinking unworthily, doth necessarily imply a prohibition of unconverted, unregenerate, impenitent persons, to come to the Lord's table, and, by consequence, that it is no converting ordinance.

Eleventhly, That ordinance, which is eucharistical and consolatory, supposeth that such as partake of it, have part and portion in that thing for which thanks are given, and are such as are fit to be comforted. But the Lord's supper is an ordinance eucharistical and consolatory; therefore, the proposition needs no other proof but the third commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." Shall a man be called to give thanks for redemption, reconciliation, and remission of sins, and to take comfort in Jesus Christ, even while he is such an one of whom God hath said, "There is no peace to the wicked: high talk becometh not a fool." Psal. xxxi. 1, "Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous; for praise is comely for the upright;" Psal. l. 14, 16, "Offer unto God thanksgiving, &c. But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?" The assumption is acknowledged among all;¹ for as it hath the name

εὐχαριστία, so is the nature of it. It is also a consolatory ordinance, in which we are called to spiritual joy and gladness, it being a feast of fat things full of marrow, and of wines on the lees well refined. At this ordinance of the holy supper, Christ spake many a sweet and consolatory word to the disciples, and did not rebuke them nor chide them, as he had done at other times. Is it not, then, a healing slightly of the malady of impenitent unconverted sinners, yea, a betraying of their souls, to bring them to joy, and comfort, and thanksgivings, and songs of praise, to eat of the marrow and fatness, and to drink of the rivers of pleasure which are in the house of God, when we ought rather call them to weeping and to mourning, to make their peace with God, and to flee from the wrath to come?

Twelfthly, That ordinance unto which Christ calleth none but such as have spiritual gracious qualifications, is not a converting but a sealing ordinance. But the Lord's supper is an ordinance unto which Christ calleth none but such as have spiritual and gracious qualifications; therefore, the proposition, I hope, needs no proof, because unconverted persons, dead in sins and trespasses, have no spiritual gracious qualifications. The assumption may be proved by many scriptures. If of any ordinance, chiefly of this, it holds true that Christ inviteth and calleth none but such as labour and are heavy laden, Matt. xi. 28; such as are athirst for the water of life, John vii. 37; Isa. lv. 1; such as have the wedding garment, Matt. xxii. 12; such as examine themselves, 1 Cor. xi. 28; such as are Christ's friends; Song of Sol. v. 1, "Eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved."

Thirteenthly, That ordinance which is instituted for the communion of saints, is intended only for such as are saints, and not for unconverted sinners. But the Lord's supper is an ordinance instituted for the communion of saints, and of those who are members of the same body of Christ, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, compared with 1 Cor. i. 2; therefore, Martin Bucerus, *de Regno Christi*, lib. 1, cap. 7, conceiveth that this sacrament doth so far belong to the communion of saints, that wicked and unworthy persons are not only to be kept back from partaking, but from the very beholding or being present in the church at the giving of the sacrament, which yet is more than we have affirmed.

Fourteenthly, If baptism itself (at least

¹ Zuinglius, tom. 2, De Vera et Falsa Religione, cap. de Sacramen.—Cœna Dominica damus experimentum, quod morte Christi fidamus, quum gratulantes et læti adsumus in eo cœtu, qui Deo gratias agit pro beneficio redemptionis.

when ministered to those that are of age) is not a regenerating or converting ordinance, far less is the Lord's supper a regenerating or converting ordinance. But baptism itself (at least administered to those that are of age) is not a regenerating or converting ordinance; therefore, the ground of the proposition is, because baptism hath a nearer relation to regeneration than the Lord's supper, and therefore hath the name of the laver of regeneration. The assumption I prove thus: 1. Because we read of no persons of age baptized by the apostles, except such as did profess faith in Christ, gladly received the word, and in whom some begun work of the Spirit of grace did appear (I say not that it really was in all, but somewhat of it did appear in all). 2. If the baptism of those who are of age be a regenerating ordinance, then you suppose the person to be baptized an unregenerated person (even as when a minister first preacheth the gospel to pagans, he cannot but suppose them to be unregenerated); but I believe no conscientious minister would adventure to baptize one who hath manifest and infallible signs of unregeneration. Sure we cannot be answerable to God if we should minister baptism to a man whose works and words do manifestly declare him to be an unregenerated, unconverted person; and if we may not initiate such an one, how shall we bring him to the Lord's table?

Fifteenthly, If the baptism even of those who are of age must necessarily precede their receiving of the Lord's supper, then the Lord's supper is not a converting but a sealing ordinance. But the baptism even of those who are of age must necessarily precede their receiving of the Lord's supper. Therefore, the assumption is without controversy, it being the order observed by Christ and by the apostles, and by all Christian churches. The proposition I prove thus: 1. What better reason of the necessity of this precedency of baptism, than that baptism is the sacrament of regeneration, the Lord's supper the sacrament of our spiritual nourishment,¹ and one must be born before he

eat and drink. 2. The Apostle saith, Gal. iii. 27, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ;" Rom. vi. 4, "We are buried with him by baptism into death;" Col. ii. 12, "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also you are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God." Therefore if the sacrament of the Lord's supper be intended only for the baptized, then it is intended only for such as are supposed to have put on Christ, are buried and raised again with him through faith, and consequently, it is not intended for unconverted persons to convert them, but for converted persons to confirm them.

Sixteenthly, The method of the parable of the forlorn son maketh very much against Mr Prynne's opinion. The Lord is indeed ready to forgive, and hath compassion upon the poor sinner, and falls on his neck and kisseth him, and saith to his servants, "Bring forth the best robe and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet, and bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat and be merry," Luke xv. 20—23. And this is done in the sacrament of the Lord's supper more especially and more manifestly than in any other ordinance. But when? Not while the man it yet playing the prodigal, wasting his substance with riotous living, nor yet while he is filling his belly in a far country with the husks which the swine did eat. But it was "when he came to himself,"—when he "came to his father," and said, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." Then, and not till then, doth the father bestow upon him the best robe and the fatted calf; "For this my son was dead (saith the father) and is alive again, was lost and is found." Had the best robe and the fatted calf been given him before he repented and came to himself, he had, probably, been so much the more careless of coming home to his father. But we see these love tokens, this feast, and this mirth, is for entertaining a poor penitent, not for converting an impenitent sinner.

Seventeenthly, I shall draw another argument both out of the *Directory* for the public worship of God throughout the three kingdoms, and out of Mr Prynne himself. Thus it is: That ordinance from which the minister, in the name of Christ, ought *concionally*, or doctrinally, to excommunicate all impenitent profane persons, is not a

¹ Hutterus, disp. 17, de Cœna Dom., thes. 1.—Sacramentum initiationis Novi Test. puta baptismum, ordine convenientissimo excipit sacramentum confirmationis, quod est sacratissima cœna Domini et servatoris nostri Jesu Christi: tum ob causas alias, tum quod ea est fidei nostræ, in baptismo nobis collata, respectu nostri infirmitas, ut nisi subinde confirmetur, mox penitus fatiscat et intereat.

converting but a sealing ordinance. But the Lord's supper is an ordinance from which the minister ought, in the name of Christ, *concionally*, or doctrinally, to excommunicate all impenitent profane persons; therefore the proposition ariseth from this ground, we ought not to dehort impenitent profane men from converting ordinances, but rather exhort them to come and partake thereof. The assumption I prove, First, From the *Directory*, in the head of the Lord's supper, which speaketh of the minister thus, "Next, he is, in the name of Christ, on the one part to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table, showing them that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself; and on the other part he is in especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table." Is it not here held forth as the will of Christ, that no profane, impenitent, unconverted person, ought or may come to the Lord's table, but only such as have somewhat of the work of grace in them? But let us hear Mr Prynne himself. The seventh difference which he stateth between his antagonists and himself, p. 28, is this, "Whether the minister hath not fully discharged his duty and conscience if he give warning to unworthy communicants of the danger they incur by their unworthy approaches to the Lord's table, and seriously dehort them from coming to it, unless they repent, reform, and come prepared."

If this be a right stating of that difference (and if it be true which Mr Hussey, in his *Epistle to the Parliament*, p. 7, saith, that "it is a very great and dangerous sin, if they come without repentance, faith, and charity, wherein the minister must instruct his people publicly and privately"), then, I suppose that Mr Prynne will not deny that a minister ought in duty and conscience to do all this, to admonish a scandalous unworthy person, and seriously dehort, &c.; only he contends that the minister is not bound in duty and conscience after all this to keep back such from the sacrament. Well, I take for the present what he grants, and even by that I prove the Lord's supper is no converting ordinance; for if it were,

1. How dare any minister seriously dehort any unworthy person from approaching to it? May we forbid sinners to use the means of their conversion, especially if they be such as are not excommunicated nor cast out of the church, and do desire to receive the sacrament (which are the cases often put by Mr Prynne)? 2. How can the minister warn such persons not to come to the sacrament, "unless they repent, reform, and come prepared?" If it be not a sealing ordinance intended only for such as do repent and reform, the minister may not say so. 3. And otherwise the sense were this, that such persons ought not to come to a converting ordinance, unless they be converted; for to repent, reform, and come prepared, are things which none can do who are not converted. Finally, By Mr Prynne's principles, we may as well, yea rather, dehort men from coming to hear the word unless they repent and reform. For, p. 44, he saith, that the sacrament is "as converting, yea a more humbling, regenerating, converting ordinance than the word;" which if it be so, then we may more warrantably, and with less danger to the souls of those who do not repent and reform, dehort them from coming to the word, than from coming to the sacrament.

Eighteenthly, That ordinance which is not communicable to heathens or pagans, nor to excommunicated Christians, for their conversion from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God, from the state of sin to the state of repentance, is not a converting ordinance. But the Lord's supper is such: Therefore, the reason of the proposition is, because converting ordinances are communicable to heathens; and thence proceeded the general commission to preach the gospel to every creature, and to teach all nations, Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; which accordingly the apostles did, Rom. x. 18; Col. i. 6. And if the sacrament be a converting ordinance for known impenitent, scandalous, profane persons within the church, what reason is there imaginable why it is not also a converting ordinance for heathens, pagans, Turks, Jews? Or where have we the least hint in Scripture that an ordinance which may convert the profanest unexcommunicated person within the church, cannot convert both heathens and excommunicated Christians?

The assumption I prove from Mr Prynne's own acknowledgment, p. 38, "Though the sacrament (saith he) must not be adminis-

tered to heathens, to whom the gospel may and must be preached, before they believe and profess Christ, yet it must be administered to them as well as baptism, after their belief and profession of Christ." Where he clearly grants both sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper, to be only sealing and confirming (not converting) ordinances to heathens, and therefore not communicable to them till after they believe and profess Christ.

Nineteenthly, That ordinance which is not communicable nor lawful to be administered to any known impenitent sinner under that notion, but only as penitent sinners, truly repenting of their sins past, is not a converting but a sealing ordinance. But the sacrament of the Lord's supper is such, therefore the proposition I prove thus: A converting ordinance may be administered to known impenitent sinners under that notion, or looked upon as such, wallowing in their blood and filthiness. Yea a converting ordinance *qua* converting, is not (nor indeed can be) administered to penitent sinners *qua* penitent, or looked upon as truly converted; for as every effect is in order of nature posterior to its cause, so a converting ordinance, being the instrumental cause of conversion, regeneration, and repentance, it must needs be supposed that conversion and repentance doth not in order of nature precede but follow after the administration of the converting ordinance.

The assumption is granted by Mr Prynne, p. 37: "The minister (saith he) doth not (I suppose he will also say *ought not*) administer the sacrament to any known impenitent sinners under that notion, but only as penitent sinners, truly repenting of their sins past, and promising, purposing to lead a new life for the future." Therefore yet again, by some of his own principles, the sacrament is not administered as instrumental to the first conversion of scandalous unworthy persons in the church; for where there is in any ordinance an instrumental casuality toward the conversion of a scandalous person, that ordinance must needs be administered to that person under the notion of an unconverted person, and the effect of conversion looked upon as consequent, not as antecedent.

The twentieth argument, and the last, is this: As I have before shewed that Mr Prynne in holding the sacrament to be a converting ordinance, unto which unregenerate, impeni-

tent, and unbelieving persons (not being excommunicated) ought to be admitted, doth join issue with Papists, and dissenteth from the Protestant writers in a very special point, and that the controversy draweth very deep; so I will now make it to appear that he dissenteth as much from the ancients in this particular. Dionysius Areopagita, *de Eccles. Hierarch.*, cap. 3, part. 3, speaking of the nature of this ordinance of the Lord's supper, tells us, that it doth not admit those scandalous sinners who were in the condition of penitents, before they had fully manifested their repentance, much less profane and unclean persons in whom no sign of repentance appeareth; *τὸν μὴ παντελὲς ἱερῶτατον ὁ προσλαμβάνειν*: not admitting him who is not altogether most holy. Justinus Martyr, apol. 2, lets us know that in his time the Lord's supper was given to none but to such a person as was looked upon as a believer, and washed in the laver of regeneration, and lived according to the rule of Christ. Chrysostom, hom. 83, in Matt.; Augustine, *de Fide et Operibus*, cap. 18; Isidorus Pelusiota, lib. 1, epist. 143, and others, might be here added. But I shall bring their full testimonies, chap. xvii., where I will show antiquity to be for the suspension of scandalous persons unexcommunicated. Beside these, I add also Beda upon 1 Cor. xi., who tells us, both out of Augustine and Prosper, that none ought to come to the Lord's table but a justified person, and such an one as abideth in Christ and Christ in him.¹ Isidorus, *de Ecclesiast. offic.*, lib. 1, cap. 18, citing the Apostle's words, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily," addeth, "For this is to receive unworthily, if any man receive at that time in which he should be repenting."² The same words hath Rabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleric.*, lib. 1, cap. 31, which plainly sheweth us, that in their judgment the sacrament of the Lord's supper doth suppose conversion and repentance to be already wrought, and if it be not wrought, the receiving is an unworthy receiving.

Moreover, that the Lord's supper was not anciently esteemed a converting ordinance, but a sealing ordinance, supposing conver-

¹ Si itaque in me manet, et ego in illo, tunc manducat tunc bibit. Qui autem non in me manet, nec ego in illo, et si accipit sacramentum, magnum acquirit tormentum. *Et infra.* Ad altare Dei invisibile (quo non accedit injustus) ille pervenit, qui ad hoc præsens justificatus accedit.

² Hoc est enim indigne accipere, si eo tempore quis accipiat, quo debet agere penitentiam.

sion, is more than apparent by the distinction of *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa fidelium*; and by that proclamation in the church before the sacrament, *sancta sanctis*, the sense whereof Durantus, *de Ritibus*, lib. 2, cap. 55, num. 15, giveth out of Chrysostom and Cyril, that *sancta sanctis* was as much as to say, *Si quis non est sanctus, non accedat*: If any man be not holy, let him not approach. Or as if it had been said to them, The sacrament is an holy thing, *sancti et vos cum sitis Sancto Spiritu donati*, and seeing you also are holy, the Holy Spirit being given unto you; *atque ita sancta sanctis convenient*, and so holy things agreeing to holy persons. If the Lord's supper be a holy thing intended only for holy persons, then, sure, it is no converting ordinance.

I might also cite divers schoolmen against Mr Prynne in this particular. I shall instance but in two for the present. Scotus, in lib. 4, sent. dist. 9, quest. 1, proveth from 1 Cor. xi. 27, that it is a mortal sin for a man to come to the sacrament at that time when he is living in a mortal sin; and that he who is not spiritually a member of Christ, ought not to receive the sacrament, which is a sign of incorporation into Christ. Alex. Alensis, part. 4, quest. 11, mem. 2, art. 2, sect. 2, saith thus, "As there is a double bodily medicine (*curativa et conservativa*), one for cure, another for conservation, so there is a double spiritual medicine, to wit (*curativa et conservativa*), one for cure, another for conservation; repentance for the cure, the eucharist for conservation," &c.

CHAPTER XIV.

MR PRYNNE'S TWELVE ARGUMENTS, BROUGHT TO PROVE THAT THE LORD'S SUPPER IS A CONVERTING ORDINANCE, DISCUSSED AND ANSWERED.

It shall be now no hard business to answer Mr Prynne's twelve arguments, brought by him to refute my assertion, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is no converting ordinance. See *Vindic.*, p. 41—45.

First, He tells us we grant that moral carnal Christians, and all such as are not convicted of scandalous sins, are to be admitted to the sacrament. "Therefore, doubtless (saith he), it is and was intended

by Christ for a converting ordinance to all such as these, to turn them from their evil ways, and work saving grace within their hearts, since it can have no other proper primary effect in such. Certainly God and Christ bestow no ordinances upon men in vain; therefore, their intentions in instituting this supper, even for such visible, moral, unregenerate Christians, as well as real saints, must necessarily be for their conversion, not their confirmation and sealing only."

Ans. Lapsus in initio mali augurii est. He confoundeth here things most different.

1. He confoundeth our admitting of communicants, with God's intention to do good to their souls; and his argument runs upon this mistake, that God intendeth good to the souls of all who come to the Lord's table, though wicked close hypocrites; and since this good cannot be sealing only, it must be conversion. But it is neither sealing nor conversion, nor any good at all which God intends by that ordinance to them that perish, yet it is not in vain; for he himself tells us, p. 34, that even in these, the minister administering the sacrament is a sweet savour to God, who hath appointed the sacrament "secondarily and contingently, to be a means of aggravating men's sins and condemnation, to magnify his justice."

2. There is a most dangerous mistake in that which he saith of the intentions of God and of Christ. If he mean of what God intendeth or purposeth in the counsel of his own will, that, in this sense, God intendeth the conversion of those that perish, is to make void and frustraneous, the degree, will, and intention of God, which is gross Arminianism and Jesuitism. But if he mean *finis operis*, the proper end for which the sacrament was instituted, and the good which the word of God tells us we ought to seek, and may, through the grace of God, find in the sacrament, then, in that sense, to say that Christ's intention, in instituting this sacrament, was for conversion of moral unregenerate Christians, is merely a begging of what is in question. The like I say of that proper primary effect of the sacrament in such. If he mean the proper primary effect decreed in the secret counsel of God, he mires himself in Arminianism; if he mean the proper primary effect of the sacrament, in respect of its own nature, this is but *petere principium*. 3. All who pretend right to the sacrament, are either visible saints,

qualified according to the rule of Christ, and such as the eldership (examining their profession and practice according to the rules of the word) judgeth fit to be admitted to the sacrament; or they are not such. If they be such, then the end and use of the sacrament in reference to them, is to be a sealing ordinance; for the eldership judgeth and supposeth them fit to be sealed and confirmed, so far as they can understand, and in that capacity do admit them, God only being able to judge close hypocrites. If they be not qualified, as I have said, then we do not grant that they ought to be admitted.

His second argument hath no strength at all. All ordinances which strengthen grace, do more or less begin or beget it, and the *Directory* itself calls the sacraments means of grace, p. 52. What then? The *Directory* calls this sacrament a means of grace, because by it "Christ and all his benefits are applied and sealed up unto us," and we "are sealed up by his Spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life." But, saith he, why may not the sacraments convert as well as confirm? I have given many reasons for it. If he could prove that what confirms doth also convert, why did he not do it? If he could not prove it, why brings he a strong affirmation instead of an argument? As for that which he addeth, that the Lord's supper is received not once, as baptism, but frequently, "for this very end, that those who often fall into sin through infirmity, may likewise, by this supper, often rise again, be refreshed, comforted, and get strength against their corruptions and sins; and is it not then a converting as well as confirming ordinance?" What a wavering is here! Is the raising, refreshing, and comforting of those who often fall through infirmity, the conversion or first grace which now we dispute of? or whether doth he not here yield the cause? For the refreshings and comforting, and strengthening of those who fall through infirmity, is the effect of a confirming, not of a converting ordinance. And, in this sense, divines have given a reason why we are but once baptized, but do often receive the Lord's supper, because baptism is the sacrament of our initiation, the laver of regeneration (I mean not that which hath been called *baptismal regeneration*, fancied to be common to all the baptized, but I mean that which is wrought in and sealed to the elect baptized); the Lord's supper is the

sacrament of our spiritual nourishment and strengthening; and it is enough to be once born, once regenerate, but we must be often nourished and strengthened.

His third argument is this: The very receiving of the sacrament, "even in unregenerate persons," is accompanied with such things "as are most effectual to convert." As, 1, "With a previous external serious examination of their own hearts and estates between God and their own consciences. 2. A solemn searching out of all their open or secret sins and corruptions, past or present, accompanied with a serious, particular, private confession of them, &c. 3. Pious, soul-ravishing meditations, &c., which make deep temporary impressions on their hearts. Flexanimous exhortations, admonitions, comminations, directions, prayers by the ministers in the congregations, before, in, and after this duty." Whereupon he leaveth it to every man's conscience to judge whether this sacrament is not "more likely to regenerate and change their hearts and lives, than the bare word preached, or any other ordinance.

Ans. 1. Here is a lump of wild, uncouth, and most erroneous divinity. Who ever heard of an external examination of men's hearts between God and their own conscience? or, 2. That unregenerate persons can and do seriously examine their own hearts, and search out all their sins, with a hearty contrition and humiliation for them? &c.; or, 3. That "deep temporary impressions on their hearts" are most effectual to convert and regenerate (for he doth enumerate all these as particulars most effectual to convert); or, 4. That in the very receiving of the sacrament, men hear the minister's prayers in the congregation; 5. That this sacrament "is more likely to regenerate than the bare word preached (I suppose he means not the word without the Spirit, for nobody holds the bare word in that sense to regenerate, but preaching without other concurring ordinance), or any other ordinance," which if it be, he cannot choose but allow to give the sacrament of the Lord's supper to excommunicated persons, and to the unbaptized, whether heathens or Jews, being of age and desiring to receive it.

Secondly, If all the whole antecedent part of his argument were granted, the consequence is nought; for this must be the consequence: If examination of men's hearts, the searching out of all their sins, confes-

sion, contrition, prayers, vows, meditations, exhortations, which do accompany the sacrament, be most effectual to convert and to beget grace, then the sacrament is a converting ordinance. Which consequence he will never prove. Put the case, that self-examination, confession, prayers, vows, meditations, exhortations, at the calling of a parliament, at the going out of an army, at the choosing of magistrates or ministers, at the death of parents, friends, &c., prove effectual to conversion, shall we therefore say that the calling of a parliament, the going out of the army, the choosing of ministers or magistrates, the death of parents or friends, are converting ordinances?

His fourth argument alone is syllogistical (I wish all his arguments throughout his whole book had been such, that the strength or weakness thereof might the sooner appear): "That ordinance wherein we most immediately converse with God and Christ, and have more intimate, visible, sensible communion with them than in any other, is certainly the most powerful and effectual ordinance of all others, to humble, regenerate, convert, and beget true grace within us, &c. But the sacrament of the Lord's supper, by our antagonist's own confession, is such;" therefore,

Ans. 1. I retort his argument against himself. That ordinance wherein we most immediately converse with God and Christ, and have more intimate communion with them than in any other, is a sealing, confirming, but not a converting ordinance. For they who are converting have not such intimate communion and immediate conversing with God and Christ, as they who are already converted, and do walk with God, as Enoch did, and are filled "with all joy and peace in believing," Rom. xv. 13; even with "joy unspeakable and full of glory," 1 Pet. i. 8. The daughters of Jerusalem being sick of love for Christ, yet are far from that communion with him which his spouse, longer acquainted with him, did enjoy, therefore they ask at her, whither her beloved was gone, that they might seek him with her, Song of Sol. vi. 1. Hath the child, fed with milk, more communion and conversing with his father than the son come to years, who eateth and drinketh at his father's table? Do we not see often a fervent convert like Apollos, whom an Aquilla and Priscilla must take and expound unto him the way of God more perfectly? Acts xviii. 25, 26.

2. I deny his proposition as he frames it, for the plain English of it is this: If it be a sealing, comforting, confirming ordinance, then it is a converting ordinance; which I clear thus: He takes his *medium* from his antagonist's concession, for they accord, saith he, that we have more immediate communion with God in this ordinance than in any other; for as much as, in this sacrament, Christ is "more particularly applied, and the remission of our sins more sensibly sealed to us than in any other ordinance: from whence I thus infallibly conclude against these opposites." Then follows his argument, which is no other than a putting of the converted in the condition of the unconverted, or the unconverted in the capacity of the converted; or to prove it converts, because it seals.

3. If this sacrament be "the most powerful and effectual ordinance of all others, to humble, regenerate, convert, and beget true grace," it will follow that we ought (at least may) give the sacrament not only to the most ignorant and scandalous within the church, but to Turks, pagans, Jews, and to excommunicated persons, as I said before.

4. He challengeth his antagonists for crying up and magnifying this sacrament above the word preached, and by way of opposition tells them, that he hath, in some former tractates, proved "God's presence and Spirit to be as much, as really present, in other ordinances as in this," *Vindic.*, p. 37. Yet now I see no man who doth so much as himself magnify the sacrament above the word.

5. Whereas he brings this proof for his *major* proposition, "Because the manifestation, revelation, and proximity of God and Christ to the soul, is that which doth, most of all, humble and convert it." If this hold true in the generality, as he propounds it, then the spirits of just men made perfect and glorified, are converted by the revelation and proximity of God and of Christ, whereof they have inconceivably more than the saints on earth. But neither in this world doth the manifestation and revelation of God and of Christ, prove conversion and regeneration to be *in fieri*, at that instant, when God so manifesteth and revealeth himself, which is the thing he had to prove. I give instances in divers of those scriptures cited by himself: God's revealing of himself to Job, chap. xxxviii. 42; to Isaiah, chap. vi.; Christ's manifesting of his power to

Peter, Luke v., was after, not at, their conversion; so that, Psal. cxlviii. 14. But heterogeneous impertinent quotations of Scripture are usual with him, I am sorry I have cause to say it. Some other scriptures, which here he citeth, may be expounded of God's proximity to us, and ours to God, in conversion: Isa. lv. 6; Zeph. ii. 17; Eph. ii. 17; James iv. 7. But that this kind of proximity which doth convert, is in the sacrament, he hath supposed but not proved.

His fifth argument is taken from the converting power of the word. That which makes conversion by the word, is the particular application of Christ and the promises. Now, the sacrament doth most particularly and effectually apply Christ and the promises "unto every communicant's eyes, ears, heart, and soul, far livelier than the word preached."

Ans. 1. This is a mere fallacy, & dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter, and easily discovered. The sacrament applieth Christ, but to whom? Not to the unconverted and unbelievers (for that were to give a seal without a charter), but to those that are supposed to be converted, and believers. He had this to prove, that the sacrament doth apply Christ's death, passion, and merits to unconverted persons, and to unbelievers, yea, to their heart and soul. 2. That the sacrament doth apply the death, passion, and merits of Christ, to the communicant's ears, and that far livelier than the word preached, is to me a riddle, which, I think, will trouble Mr Prynne himself to expound. 3. A great controversy there hath been about the oral or corporal manducation of the of body Christ in the sacrament; but Mr Prynne outrunneth here all Ubiquitaries in the world, for he hath said no less than that every communicant eateth spiritually, and by faith, the body of Christ, even unconverted persons; for he saith, that this sacrament "Doth most particularly, fully, lively, and sensibly, apply the promises; yea, the death, passion, and merits of Christ, unto every communicant's eyes, ears, heart and soul;" which is, plainly, universal grace to all who ever received this sacrament (and so to Judas, according to his principles), and to all who ever shall receive it. 4. Whereas he would confirm this which he saith by his antagonist's confession, I do not think he can give any conscientious account of that word. Who said it, or where? He must needs hold univer-

sal grace, hold it who will. 5. Here lies the strength of his argument: The word converts by applying Christ; therefore the sacrament, which doth more lively apply Christ to every communicant, must be a converting ordinance; which necessarily implieth, that all who receive the sacrament are converted. Yea, if application infer conversion, as the effect of the application, the saints and believers themselves must be again constituted in the first article of conversion, and transition from the estate of nature and unregeneration. 6. The application of Christ in the word unto conversion, is a thing of another nature than the sacramental application of Christ, and therefore, like effects, ought not to be ascribed unto these ordinances; for the application of Christ, made in the word preached to the unconverted to convert them, is *per influxum physicum*, by a most efficacious life-giving influence, as when Elisha applied himself to the Shunnamite's dead child, or like that, Ezek. xvi. 6; John v. 25; xi. 43. But this manner of influence or causality is denied to the sacrament by many of the schoolmen and Papists themselves. So much of his fifth argument, which I thought to answer in two words, if the many absurdities in it had given me leave.

His sixth argument is this: All grant that God doth as effectually convert by the eye, as by the ear. *All grant.* I deny it; and, I verily believe, he can produce very few authors (if any) for it. He ought not to speak so great words without good warrants, which here, I am sure, he hath not. Well; but he will prove the thing itself. 1. He tells us of the book of nature, and of the creatures, by which we are instructed, &c. But either he means that the very book of nature can and doth effectually and savingly convert to faith in Christ, and to true sanctification, or not. If the affirmative, then the heathens who lived and died in paganism, had sufficient means and helps to conversion and faith in Christ (for those pagans had the book of the creatures to instruct them, as is expressed in some scriptures cited by himself); and so there may be salvation, and the means thereof, without the church. If this be not his meaning, but that the book of nature instructeth us concerning many things of God, yet doth not teach us to know Christ and all things necessary to salvation, far less doth effectually and savingly convert, then he hath said no-

thing to that point which he had to prove. 2. He saith that all the sacrifices of the old law, and circumcision, and the passover, did teach God's people who participated of them, or were present at them, by the eye, and were converting ordinances, "as all do and must acknowledge."

Ans. 1. Here is another tinkling cymbal. Do all acknowledge that the sacraments of the Old Testament were converting ordinances? There can be no rational account given hereof. Certainly our writers before cited, and divers others who deny the sacraments of the New Testament to be converting ordinances, never meant to admit that the sacraments of the Old Testament were converting ordinances. 2. How circumcision did teach, by the eye, those who did participate of that ordinance, and so infants, is another riddle. 3. If sacrifices under the law had been converting ordinances, yet that cannot be a just parallel to sacraments, except seeking to make the Lord's supper a converting ordinance we convert itself into a sacrifice for sin, as Papists do; but neither doth he offer the least colour of reason to prove that all the external sacrifices of the old law were converting ordinances, which here he affirmeth. The Apostle speaketh otherwise of the legal sacrifices, which he saith "could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience," Heb. ix. 9; and, therefore, calls all those rites "cardinal ordinances," ver. 10; for though they were spiritual, in respect of their signification and typifying of Christ, and sealing the covenant of grace to the faithful in the Old Testament, yet they were not spiritual in regard of their giving of grace, or working conversion, or purging the conscience, for they had no such operation nor effect.

Fourthly, Mr Prynne confirms his present argument by the miracles of the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, which, saith he, "converted thousands without preaching, did convert and regenerate men by the eye without the ear," for proof whereof he cites abundance of texts of Scripture, which do not prove what he saith; nay, some of them prove the contrary.

Some of the scriptures cited do not prove conversion and regeneration by miracles, but either confirmation, as John ii. 11,—after the miracle, it is added, "And his disciples believed on him,"—or some preparatory initial work before regeneration, as that, John

iii. 2. Mr Prynne will hardly prove that Nicodemus was already regenerated at that instant, when he knew not what regeneration was; or that those, John ii. 23, who believed on Christ when they saw his miracles at the feast, had any more than a temporary faith, it being said of them, that "Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men," Acts ii. 12. Luke v. 25, 26, tells us of some who, at the sight of miracles, were stricken with fear and amazement, and gave glory to God, which proves not that miracles did convert, but convince. The like I say of 1 Kings xviii. 38, 39. Other texts cited by him make express mention of the word as a mean of the conversion which was wrought, as John iv. 50, "The man believed the word that Jesus had spoken;" and this was before the miracle, John vii. 31; many believed, but they heard Christ preach, ver. 14. So, John xi. 45, those Jews who believed on Christ after they had seen the miracle, did also hear that which Christ said; yea, their believing is mentioned as an effect of their hearing, ver. 41, 42. So, Acts vi. 8, Stephen did, indeed, great miracles; but the multiplying of the number of the disciples is referred to the word, ver. 7. Acts vi. 8, it is expressly said, "And the people, with one accord, gave heed unto those things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which he did." *Quâ fide* hath Mr Prynne cited this very text to prove that men were converted by miracles without the word, by the eye, without the ear. Some other scriptures by him quoted, prove only a popular confluence and the multitude's following of Christ, having seen his miracles, as John vi. 2; xi. 47, 48; Matt. xv. 30, 31. For "the people were inclined to hearken to doctrine by miracles, which moveth natural men to flock together to see strange things," saith Mr Hussey's *Plea for Christian Magistracy*, p. 30, which he is pleased to clear by people's flocking to a mountebank. Other texts which he citeth speak of miracles, but not a syllable of conversion or regeneration wrought by miracles, as Acts xv. 12; xix. 11, 12. Among the rest of the texts, he citeth John vi. 26, "Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled." And hence, forsooth, he will prove that miracles did convert and regenerate men. I had not touched these particulars, were it not that I desire Mr Prynne himself,

in the fear of God, may be convinced of his making too bold with the Scripture, in citing and applying it very far amiss, and that, for the future, his reader may be wary, and not take from him, upon trust, a heap of scriptural quotations, such as often he bringeth.

In the fourth place he tells us, That "the things we see with our eyes do more affect and beget deeper impressions in our hearts than the things we hear." He means (I think) do more effectually convert, for so he makes the application, that "the very beholding of Christ's person, passion, without the word, were the most effectual means of working contrition, conversion," &c. Well: What is his proof? He citeth Christ's words to his disciples, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see" (without adding the rest, "and your ears, for they hear"); and Simeon's words, "Mine eyes have seen thy salvation," as if, forsooth, either Simeon or the apostles had been converted and regenerated by the seeing of Christ's person. He cites also Luke xxiii. 46—48, as if all who (beholding Christ's passion and death) smote upon their breasts, had been, by that sight, converted and regenerated. That the things we behold with our eyes, if they be great or strange things, work deep impressions, there can be no doubt of it; but that the hearing of great things may not work as deep impressions, or that seeing without hearing doth convert and regenerate, hath been strongly affirmed by Mr Prynne, but not yet proved.

I proceed to his seventh argument, which is this: The most melting, soul-changing meditation, is the serious contemplation of Christ's death and passion. No meditation comparable to this, to "regenerate and convert a carnal heart." And is not this "effectually represented to our eyes, hearts, in this very sacrament, in a more powerful, prevailing manner, than in the word alone?"

Ans. That which he had to subsume and prove is, that this sacrament worketh in an unregenerate carnal heart, such soul-changing meditations of the death and passion of Christ, as it never had before (the soul having never before been regenerate), which being the point to be proved, why did he not prove it, if he could? No doubt the sacrament is a most powerful mean to beget, in the hearts of believers and regenerate persons, most humbling and melting meditations concerning the death of Christ; but

that it begetteth any soul-changing or regenerating meditations in those in whom the word hath never yet begun the work of regeneration and conversion, I do as much disagree in this as I agree in the other.

The eighth argument which he brings is from comparing the sacrament with afflictions. "Our own corporal external afflictions are many times, without the word, the means of our repentance and conversion unto God, &c. Then much more the sacrament, wherein the afflictions of Christ himself are so visibly set forth before our eyes."

Ans. 1. It is a very bad consequence, for the strength resolves into this principle, An unregenerate carnal man will be more affected and moved with the representation of Christ's afflictions, than with the feeling of his own corporal afflictions. 2. Affliction doth not convert, without the word either going before or accompanying it (unless we say that pagans or Turks may be converted savingly by affliction before ever they hear the word): Psal. xciv. 12, "Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, and teachest him out of thy law." Job xxxvi. 8—10, "And if they be bound in fetters, and holden in cords of affliction; then he showeth them their work, and their transgression that they have exceeded. He openeth also their ear to discipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity." Behold conversion by afflictions, but not without the word. While Mr Prynne goeth about to prove that afflictions convert without the word, the first text he citeth is Psal. cxix. 67, 71, where express mention is made of the word. 3. As for Manasseh's conversion, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 12, it was wrought by the means of affliction setting home upon his conscience that word of God mentioned in the verse immediately preceding, which saith, "And the Lord spake to Manasseh and to his people, but they would not hearken." Let him show the like instance of the conversion by the sacrament of such as would not hearken to the word, and I shall yield the cause. The word is express, that affliction is one special powerful mean of conversion, but it no where saith any such thing of the sacrament. 4. It was also incumbent to him to prove that afflictions do convert without the word, not only at such times and in such places as do sequester a person from the liberty of hearing the word preached, but also when and where the word is freely enjoyed; otherwise

how far is he from concluding by analogy the point he had to prove? which is, that an unregenerate person living under the ministry of the gospel, and being an ordinary hearer, never converted by the word, may nevertheless (according to the dispensation of the grace of God revealed in Scripture) be converted by the sacrament received?

His ninth argument is this, "That ordinance whose unworthy participation is a means of our spiritual obduration, must, by the rule of contraries, when worthily received, be the instrument of our mortification, conversion, salvation. But the unworthy receiving of the sacrament is a means," &c.

Ans. 1. This argument doth necessarily suppose, that an unconverted, unmortified, unworthy person, while such, may yet worthily receive (and so by that means be converted) the contrary whereof I have demonstrated in my tenth argument. 2. If the sacrament be not worthily received, without repentance, faith, and self-examination (for which cause men are dehorted to come, except they repent, &c.), then there is perfect nonsense in the argument; for to say that the sacrament, when worthily received, is the instrument of conversion, is as much as this,—The sacrament is an instrument of conversion to those who are already converted. 3. That rule of contraries is extremely misapplied. The rule is *Oppositorum, quatenus talia, opposita sunt attributa*: contraries have contrary attributes. The comparison must be made *secundum differentias quibus dissident*,¹ otherwise that old fallacy were a good argument, A single life is good, therefore marriage is evil; virginity is pure, therefore marriage is impure: whereas marriage and single life are not opposed in the point of good and evil, purity and impurity, but in the point of immunity from worldly cares and troubles. So it is a bad consequence (at least against us), unworthy receiving of the sacrament is an instrument of obduration, therefore worthy receiving of it is a mean of conversion. For we hold that worthy receiving and unworthy receiving are not opposed in point of conversion, but in point of sealing: the worthy receiving seals remission and salvation; the unworthy receiving seals judgment. But Mr Prynne still takes for granted what he had to prove; viz., that this particular is one

of those *differentiæ quibus dissident ista opposita*.

Come on to his tenth argument. It is taken from the ends for which this sacrament was ordained: 1. The keeping in memory Christ's death. 2. The ratification and sealing of all the promises, and covenant of grace, unto the receivers' souls. 3. To be a pledge and symbol of that most near and effectual communion which Christians have with Christ, and that spiritual union which they enjoy with him. 4. To feed the communicants' souls in assured hope of eternal life. 5. To be a pledge of their resurrection. 6. To seal unto them the assurance of everlasting life. 7. To bind them as it were by an oath of fidelity to Christ. Whereupon he asketh how it is possible that this sacrament "should not, both in God's intention and Christ's ordination, be a converting as well as a sealing ordinance, since that which doth seal all these particulars to men's souls, &c., must needs more powerfully persuade, pierce, melt, relent, convert an obdurate heart and unregenerate sinner, than the word itself?"

Ans. 1. His argument may be strongly retorted against himself, divers of these ends of the sacrament being such as are incompetent and inapplicable to obdurate and unregenerate sinners. How did he imagine that even to such as these, the sacrament doth ratify and seal to their souls all the promises and covenant of grace, they not having yet closed with Christ in the covenant? Or how will he make it to appear that this sacrament is a pledge of a most near union and communion with Christ, even to those who are yet far from any union with Christ? Or how shall they be fed in hope and sealed in assurance of everlasting life, who are yet under the curse of the law and state of condemnation? Surely Mr Prynne, granting here that the sacrament is ordained of Christ to seal, and that it "doth seal all these particulars to men's souls," doth thereby yield the whole cause. For that which doth seal all these particulars to men's souls, most certainly doth not convert, but presuppose conversion. 2. If this sacrament be by God's intention a converting ordinance, and God's intention being by him distinguished from Christ's ordination, whether doth it not necessarily follow both from this and from his first argument (unto which this gives more light), that God did, in the secret counsel of his will, intend and

¹ Vide Kekerm. System. Log., lib. 3, cap. 20.

decree the conversion of "the flintiest heart and obduratest spirit," as he speaketh; and that either this effect is wrought by the sacrament in the flintiest heart and obduratest spirit (which I believe he dare not say), or that God's decree and intention is frustrate? 3. And if the sacrament "must needs more powerfully persuade, pierce, melt, relent, convert an obdurate heart and unregenerate sinner than the word itself" how then can he either exclude pagans, or dehort impenitent unworthy persons from the sacrament?

His eleventh argument is the grossest and most palpable *petitio principii* of any that ever I met with, and to be offered to none except such as cannot distinguish between that which is affirmed, and that which is proved. First, He tell us what true conversion is, and then asks if anything be so prevalent to effect this as the sacrament. This, therefore, I pass.

His twelfth and last argument is an appealing to the experience of Christians. But a part of his appeal is of no use; that is, whether this sacrament doth not strengthen against corruptions and temptations; which doth not touch this present controversy. It is as little to the purpose which he saith of conversion by preparations to the sacrament, which may be by the word, prayer, &c. But that many thousands of converted Christians will experimentally affirm, that the receiving of the sacrament was the first effectual means of their conversion, "yea, that they had not been converted had they been debarred from it for their former scandalous sins," I do as confidently deny it as he affirmeth it; and if any who hath been a scandalous liver, whose heart was never yet turned, humbled, broken, changed by the word, nor by any other mean of grace, should affirm that his very receiving of the sacrament did effectually convert him, I durst not herein give credit to him; for "to the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." And whereas he concludes, "For shame, therefore, disclaim this absurd irreligious paradox, for which there is not the least shadow of Scripture or solid reason;" I shall wish him for shame to disclaim this, and many such like expressions, more bold and arrogant than either prudent or conscientious. And the intelligent reader who considereth my twenty arguments for that which he calls so absurd, and my answers to

all his twelve arguments, will easily judge where the shame and irreligiousness will lie. If at his door let him look to it. *Alba li-gustra cadunt, vaccinea nigra leguntur.*

All that he addeth, p. 45—47, being at best rhetorical, not rational, and a superstructure upon that foundation, that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance, it needs no battering, but falls of itself, the foundation being taken away. And as we ought not nor cannot, without sin, suspend scandalous sinners from the sacrament, if it be a converting ordinance (upon which supposition also both the advice of the Assembly of Divines, and the ordinance of parliament concerning suspension from the sacrament, were most sinful and unlawful), so if it be not a converting but a sealing ordinance (which I hope is now *luce clarius*) there needs no other argument for the suspension of scandalous sinners living in gross reigning sins, but this, that the end and use for which this sacrament was instituted, is not conversion, which these need, but sealing and confirmation, of which they are incapable, they being such as ought to be kept back *à signis gratiæ divinæ*, as divines speak. For how shall these that in words profess God, but in their works deny him, be sealed with the seals or marked with the marks of the favour and grace of God? Most certainly this question concerning the nature, end, and use of the sacrament, casts the balance of the whole controversy concerning suspension; which I have therefore been the larger upon.

And whereas Mr Prynne concludeth, p. 47, with a large citation out of Lucas Osiander, *Enchir. contra Anabapt.*, cap. 6, quest. 3, for that he shall have this return: First, All that Osiander there saith, is brought to prove this point against the Anabaptists, *Quod etsi unum aut alterum videamus in ecclesia aliqua flagitiosum, propterea neque secessionem faciendam, neque à sacris congressibus, aut cena Domini Christiano abstinendum*: That although in some church we see some one or other flagitious person, yet a Christian is not therefore either to make a separation, or to abstain from the sacred assemblies or the Lord's supper; which is not the question now agitated between us. Secondly, After that passage cited against us, Mr Prynne might have taken notice of another passage which maketh against himself: Where the Anabaptists did object to the Lutheran

churches' admitting of scandalous persons to the sacrament, Osiander denieth it; for, saith he, although we cannot help hypocrites coming to the Lord's table, *nos tamen scienter neminem admittimus, nisi peccatores pœnitentes, &c.*, yet we admit none willingly, except penitent sinners who confess their sins and sorrow for them. Thirdly, Osiander, *Ibid.*, quest. 2, holdeth excommunication to be an ordinance of God, and groundeth it upon Matt. xviii. 15—17. Therefore Mr Prynne must seek another patron than Osiander.

And now, the nature of the ordinance being cleared, there needeth no more to confute Mr Prynne in that which he makes the eighth thing in controversy between him and his antagonists, namely, "Whether ministers may not as well refuse to preach the word to such unexcommunicated, gross, impenitent, scandalous Christians, whom they would suspend from the sacrament." Certainly it is not only lawful, but commanded as a duty, to preach both to the converted and to the unconverted, without excluding the most scandalous impenitent sinners whosoever. But the Lord's supper being (according to its institution and the mind of Jesus Christ) a sealing or confirming ordinance only, it cannot without a violation of the institution be given to known impenitent scandalous persons. Other particulars in his debate concerning this eighth point of difference, which do require an answer, I will take occasion to speak unto them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

WHETHER THE ADMISSION OF SCANDALOUS AND NOTORIOUS SINNERS TO THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, BE A POLLUTION AND PROFANATION OF THAT HOLY ORDINANCE; AND IN WHAT RESPECTS IT MAY BE SO CALLED.

Mr Hussey, in his *Plea*, p. 2, doth very much mistake his mark, when, in opposition to what I had said concerning the polluting of the sacrament by the admission of the scandalous, he tells me out of Beza, that the sacraments remain effectual to the good, though evil men come to them; and thereupon concludeth, that the sacrament is holy and pure to the believer, notwithstanding the unpreparedness of the wicked; which is

not the thing in question, much less is it the question, Whether there be any such thing as a pollution of the sacrament; for this Mr Coleman hath yielded (though before he quarrelled that phrase of polluting the ordinances), giving instance in the using of cheese instead of bread, *Male Dicis*, p. 12; but the true state of the controversy may be laid open in these few distinctions:—

First, As Scotus, in lib. 4, sent. dist. 3, quest. 2, distinguisheth two sorts of things which may be called necessary to a sacrament, *necessarium simpliciter*, and *necessarium aliquoties*,—the former he calls that without which the sacrament is no sacrament; the latter, that without which they that give the sacrament cannot avoid sin, or the want whereof maketh the minister guilty,—so do I distinguish two sorts of pollution of the sacrament, one which makes the sacrament no sacrament, but a common or unhallowed thing to those that do receive it; as, for instance, if the sacrament were given by those that are no ministers, or to those that are no church, or without the blessing and breaking of bread; another which makes the ministration of the sacrament *hic et nunc*, and with such circumstances to be sinful, and those that do so administer it to be guilty; and so whatsoever is done in the ministration of the sacrament contrary to the revealed will of God, is a pollution of that ordinance. The present question is of the latter, not of the former.

Secondly, Some wicked men, by their receiving the sacrament, do only draw judgment upon themselves, and these are close hypocrites; others by their receiving of the sacrament do involve not themselves only, but others also, into sin and God's displeasure, and these are scandalous notorious sinners.

Thirdly, The sin of those who pollute the sacrament, by using it contrary to the nature and institution of it, may be the sin of others, and those others accessory to such pollution of the sacrament two ways: either it is the sin of the whole church, none excepted, so that none that communicateth then and there can be free of the sin, as where the bread is elevated and worshipped, all the communicants are *eo ipso* that they join in the sacrament then and there, partakers of the sin of bread-worship, though perhaps some of them do not join in the act of worshipping the bread, but have done what they could to prevent or hinder it;

or it is the sin only of so many as have not done what they ought and might have done for observing the institution, rule and example of Jesus Christ; and of this sort is the sin of communicating with scandalous and profane men. If private Christians have interposed, by admonitions given to the offender, and by petitions put up to those that have authority and power for restraining the scandalous from the Lord's table, they have discharged their consciences, and may without sin communicate, though some scandalous members be admitted; for such persons sin in taking the sacrament, but worthy communicants are not partakers of their sin. But if church officers, who have a charge and authority from Jesus Christ to receive none whom they know to be unworthy, profane and scandalous, shall notwithstanding admit such persons, they are thereby partakers of their sin; so that their receiving, or rather polluting of the sacrament, is imputed not to themselves only, but to the church officers who had authority to keep them back, and did it not.

Fourthly, The suffering of a mixture of known wicked persons among the godly in the church, doth sometime defile us with sin, sometime not. It doth not defile us when we use all lawful and possible remedies against it, and, namely, when we exercise the discipline of excommunication and other church censures, saith Augustine, *lib. contra Donatistas, post Collationem*, cap. 4, tom. 7. But it doth defile us, and we do incur sin and wrath, when the means of redressing such known evils are neglected, *indisciplinata patientia* (it is Augustine's word); so, to bear with wicked men as not to execute discipline against them, that certainly makes us partakers of their sin, I mean, in a reformed and well-constituted church, where the thing is practicable. But where it cannot be done, because of persecution, or because of the invincible opposition either of authority or of a prevalent profane multitude, in that case we have only this comfort left us, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness;" and, *in magnis voluisse sat est*.

Fifthly, Neither doth this question concerning the pollution, or profanation, or abuse of the sacrament, concern those *peccata quotidiane incursionis*, such sins of infirmity as all the godly, or at least the generality of the godly, are subject unto and guilty of, as long as they are in the

world, (for then the sacrament should be polluted to all; for, "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sins?") but only gross and scandalous sins, such as make the name of God, and the profession of religion, to be evil spoken of and reproached, those roots of bitterness which spring up, whereby many are like to be defiled; those that are guilty of such sins, and have given no evidence of true repentance, if they be received to the sacrament, it is a profaning of the ordinance.

Now, that the admission of scandalous and notorious sinners to the sacrament, in a reformed and constituted church, is a profanation or pollution of that ordinance, may be thus proved:—

First, Paræus upon question 82 in the *Heidelberg Catechism*, where it is affirmed, that by the admission of scandalous sinners to the sacrament, the covenant of God is profaned, giveth this reason for it: Because, as they who, having no faith nor repentance, if they take the seals of the covenant, do thereby profane the covenant; so they who consent to known wicked and scandalous persons' taking of the seals, or to their coming to the sacrament, do, by such consenting, make themselves guilty of profaning the covenant of God (for the doer and the consenter fall under the same breach of law), yea, so far do they sin by such consenting, as that they do thereby acknowledge the children of the devil to be the children of God, and the enemies of God to be in covenant, and to have fellowship with God. He distinguisheth these two things, who ought to come to the sacrament, and who ought to be admitted. None ought to come except those who truly believe and repent; none ought to be admitted except such as are supposed to be believers and penitent, there being nothing known to the contrary. If any impenitent sinner take the sacrament, he profanes the covenant of God; if the church admit to the sacrament any known to live in wickedness, without repentance, the church profaneth the covenant of God.

Secondly, That ordinance which is not a converting but a sealing ordinance, which is not appointed for the conversion of sinners, but for the communion of saints, is certainly profaned and abused, contrary to the nature, institution, and proper end thereof, if those who are manifestly ungodly, profane, impenitent, and unconverted, be admitted to

the participation thereof. But the sacrament of the Lord's supper is not a converting but a sealing ordinance, &c., which I have proved by infallible demonstrations; therefore, &c.

Thirdly, That use of the sacrament which is repugnant and contradictory to the word, truly and faithfully preached in the name of Christ, is a profaning of the sacrament. But to give the sacrament to those who are known to live in gross sins without repentance, is an use of the sacrament which is repugnant and contradictory to the word, truly and faithfully preached in the name of Christ; therefore, &c.

I suppose no man will deny, that if we truly and faithfully preach the word, we may and ought to pronounce and declare such as live in sin, impenitent and unconverted, to be under God's wrath and displeasure as long as they continue in that estate. "Be not deceived (saith the Apostle), neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God," 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10; see the like, Ephes. v. 5—7. Whence it is, that doctrinally we warn the ignorant and scandalous, and all such as live in known sins without repentance, that they presume not to come and profane that holy table, of which ministers are appointed by the *Directory* to give warning. How then can we, by giving the sacrament to such as these, give the lie to the word? For what other thing shall we do,¹ if those whom the word pronounceth to have no part in the kingdom of God, nor of Christ, shall be admitted, as well as the godly, to eat and drink at the Lord's table, while known to continue in the committing of their damnable sins, or while it is known that "they have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed," 2 Cor. xii. 21,—what is this but to absolve in the sacrament those who are condemned in the word, and to open the kingdom of heaven in the sacrament unto those on whom the word shutteth it?

¹ Zach. Ursinus, *Judicium de Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, tom. 3, p. 806.—Hæc enim Dei voluntas non erit in æternum, ut ecclesia Christiani alicui gratiam Christi et remissionem peccatorum, annunciatione verbi divini denegat, et eidem exhibitione sacramentorum spondeat.

Fourthly, That use of the sacrament which strengtheneth the hands of the wicked, so that he turneth not from his wickedness, is an abuse and profanation of the sacrament. But the giving of the sacrament to any known profane impenitent person, is such an use of the sacrament as strengtheneth the hands of the wicked, so that he turneth not from his wickedness; therefore,

I appeal to the experience of all godly and faithful ministers, whether they have not found it a great deal more difficult to convince or convert such profane men as have been usually admitted to the sacrament, than to convince or convert such as have been kept back from the sacrament? No marvel that such profane ones as have usually received the seals of the covenant of grace, and joined in the highest act of church communion, live in a good opinion of their soul's estate, and trust in lying words, "Have we not eaten and drunken at thy table?" *The sacrament, the sacrament*, as of old, *The temple, the temple*. Mr Prynne thinks that the minister hath fully discharged his duty and conscience, if he give warning to unworthy communicants of the danger they incur by their unworthy approaches to the Lord's table, *Vindic.*, p. 28, 29. But he may be pleased to receive an answer from himself, p. 43, "The things we see with our eyes do more affect and beget deeper impressions in our hearts than the things we hear." The word preached is *verbum audibile*; the sacrament is *verbum visibile*. How shall profane ones be persuaded, by their ears, to believe that whereof they see the contrary with their eyes? They will give more credit in Mr Prynne's own opinion to the visible word than to the audible word.

Fifthly, If it were a profanation of the sacrament of baptism to baptize a catechumen, a Jew, or a pagan, professing a resolution to turn Christian, he being manifestly under the power of abominable reigning sins, and being still a profane and wicked liver, although he were able to give a sound and orthodox confession of faith, then it is also a profanation of the Lord's supper to admit unto it abominable and profane livers. But it were a profanation of the sacrament of baptism, &c. Augustine, *lib. de Fide et Operibus*, cap. 18, tells us, that the church did not admit whores, and such other scandalous persons, to baptism. *Et nisi egerint*

ab his mortuis operibus pœnitentiam, accedere ad baptismum non sinuntur: And except they repent, saith he, from these dead works, they are not suffered to come unto baptism. Divers arguments he brings in that book for this thing, as, 1. That Peter saith, Acts ii. 38, "Repent and be baptized." 2. That the Apostle, Heb. vi. 1, 2, joineth repentance from dead works with baptism. 3. That John preached the baptism of repentance. 4. That fornicators, adulterers, thieves, &c., shall not inherit the kingdom of God; therefore, such as are known to live in these sins without repentance, ought not to be baptized. 5. He argueth from 2 Cor. vi. 14—16, &c. Now, I offer this query, Shall an abominable wicked life, murder, adultery, swearing, cursing, lying, or the like, keep back a man from so much as entering into the visible church by the door of baptism, and shall not the like abominations keep back a man from fellowship with the saints at the Lord's table? Is there more evidence of saintship required in those who come to be baptized, than in those who come to the Lord's table? If there be, let our opposites speak it out, and open up the riddle; if there be not, then how can their tenet avoid the profanation of the Lord's table?

Sixthly, That ordinance which is profaned by admitting infants and idiots, who can make no good use of it, is much more profaned by admitting abominable and known profane persons, who make a very bad use of it. But the Lord's supper is profaned by admitting infants and idiots, who can make no good use of it; therefore, &c.

Mr Prynne, p. 29, yieldeth that children, fools, and distracted men, are, by a natural disability, made incapable of receiving the Lord's supper, because unable to examine themselves, to which, saith he, notwithstanding, they have been admitted in some churches. In what churches fools and distracted men have been admitted to the Lord's supper, I should have willingly learned from him; for, as yet, I know not any such thing. Children, I know, were sometime admitted by the ancients, who did afterward discover their own great error in that particular. However, he yields, as I take it, children and fools to be incapable of the Lord's supper. And why? Because unable to examine themselves, in regard of natural disability. But where there is no disability in the natural faculties, may not a sin-

ful disability, which a man hath drawn upon himself (as ignorance, drunkenness, corrupt and atheistical opinions, presumptuous excusing or defending of sin), make him unable to examine himself? Shall men that are unable to examine themselves be admitted to the sacrament, because not disabled by any natural disability? Sure this was far from Paul's thoughts, when he delivered that rule concerning examining ourselves before the sacrament. Whoever they be who are unable to examine themselves, whether naturally or sinfully, much more they who manifestly appear unwilling to examine themselves, if they be admitted and allowed to come to the Lord's supper, it is a high and heinous profanation of that ordinance. Wherefore, to prosecute my argument, Why do we exclude infants and idiots? Because the Apostle saith, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup;" but infants and idiots cannot examine themselves. Now, a positive profanation of the sacrament is worse than a negative profanation of it: *abuti* is more than *non bene uti*. We know that profane impenitent sinners will not only make no good use of the sacrament, nor examine themselves aright, but will abuse it to the worst use that can be, even to flatter themselves in their wickedness, and to harden themselves in sin and impenitency. Mr Prynne will tell us, We know not but God may convert such at the sacrament; but there is not the least hint, in all the word of God, of any impenitent sinner converted by the sacrament. And, beside, it is as easy for God to give an idiot, or distracted man, his right wits, and to illuminate him with a self-examining knowledge and light, in the very instant of approaching to, or sitting down at, the table; and if a *possibility*, a *peradventure* it may be, and *who knoweth but it may convert and do them good*, be a warrantable ground for ministers to administer the sacrament to profane and scandalous persons, as Mr Prynne holds, p. 47, why shall not the same ground be as warrantable for admitting idiots?

Seventhly, If the temple was polluted and profaned by the coming of profane and abominable persons into it, then is the sacrament of the Lord's supper also profaned by such persons' participation of it; but the temple was polluted and profaned, &c. The reason of the consequence in the proposition is, because, as the temple had a sacramental

signification of Christ, and a certain ceremonial holiness, as well as the Lord's table, so it will be *durus sermo* (and, I presume, none of our opposites will adventure to say it), that such profaneness as did of old keep back men from the temple, cannot now exclude them from the sacrament.

The assumption is largely proved in the first book, both from Scripture and from Jewish writers. That one place, Ezek. xxiii. 38, 39 (beside divers others), cleareth it: "Moreover, this they have done unto me: they have defiled my sanctuary in the same day, and have profaned my sabbaths. For, when they had slain their children to their idols, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to profane it." You see the temple was profaned and polluted, not only by those that were ceremonially unclean, but by idolaters and murderers, when any such presumed to come into the temple.

Eighthly, I desire the scope of that place, Hag. ii. 11—14, may be considered. The Lord is teaching his people, that a thing legally holy, could not, by the touch thereof, sanctify that which, by the law, was common and not holy, yet he which was legally unclean, did defile whatsoever he touched, yea, though it were legally holy. "So is this people, and so is this nation before me, saith the Lord, and so is every work of their hands, and that which they offer there is unclean." The legal holiness and uncleanness were significant ceremonies to teach the people the necessity of moral holiness, and the evil or danger of moral uncleanness. Hence God himself argues from the significant ceremony to the morality, so as the place holds forth; by necessary plain consequence, these three propositions: 1. The ceremonial uncleanness did signify the moral uncleanness, and the effect of the former did signify the effect of the latter. 2. Unholy persons are not sanctified by their approaching to, or joining in holy ordinances; but he that is filthy will be filthy still, and he that is unjust, unjust still. If God do not give them his Spirit to sanctify them, the ordinances cannot do it. 3. Yet unholy persons, while such, do defile holy ordinances, and that by moral as well as by ceremonial uncleanness; therefore the people themselves, and every work of their hands, being evil, the Lord, for that cause, reckoneth their sacrifices to be unclean. Did profane persons defile the sacrifices of old, and do they not defile our sacraments? Nay, I

should think this much more than that, there being more of the communion of saints in our sacraments than in their sacrifices.

The ninth argument, which alone may conclude the point, shall be taken from Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine." If the sacrament be a holy thing, and if profane, scandalous, impenitent sinners be dogs and swine, then to give the sacrament to such, is to profane and pollute the sacrament, and, indeed, no better, but worse, than to give pearls to swine. Mr Prynne's reply, *Vindic.* p. 39, doth not take off this argument; for, without any proof, he restricteth to certain particulars that which the text saith generally, both of the things and of the persons. First, for the things, he saith, The text is principally intended of not preaching the gospel to such, so that we must seclude them from the word, as well as from the sacrament. But I ask, Is it meant only of the word? He hath not said so, nor will (I think) say so. Erastus himself, p. 207, confesseth it is meant also of the sacraments. The text saith not, *the holy thing and the pearl*, but "*holy things, pearls.*" It must, therefore, be understood *respective*. Some are so vile, and so abominably, prodigiously profane, blasphemous, mockers, persecutors, that I ought not to preach to such, but to turn away from them to others, according to Christ's direction, and the Apostle's example. Others are such as I may preach unto, yet ought not to pray or give thanks with them, nor to admonish them (and much less give them the sacrament). Others I may admonish and pray with them, yet ought not to give them the sacrament; and all these, by reason of that rule, "Give not that which is holy to dogs," &c. So that we are not bound up by this text, either to seclude men from the word, or otherwise from no holy thing. Next, the argument holds *a fortiori* from the word to the sacrament; for, saith Pareus,¹ if Christ said this of the word, which is common to the converted and to the unconverted, how much more must it be said of the sacraments,

¹ Explic. Catech. quest. 84.—Si enim Christus hoc dixit de verbo audibili, quod tamen institutum est conversis et non conversis vel convertendis: multo magis hoc dicitur de verbo visibili hoc est de sacramentis, quæ tantum conversis sunt instituta.

which are instituted only for such as are converted.

As for that sort of persons which the text speaks of, Mr Prynne (following Erastus, lib. 3, cap. 3) saith, that these dogs and swine are only such infidels and heathens, who refused to embrace the gospel, and harbour the preachers of it; or persecutors of the gospel, and of the ministers of it; or open apostates from the Christian faith, which they once embraced. And he citeth divers scriptures, which, he saith, do expressly determine it. But he observes not, that the most which those scriptures prove is, that such men as he speaks of are dogs and swine, which is not the question. That which he had to prove is, that the dogs and swine which Christ speaks of, are *only* infidels, or persecutors, or apostates from the Christian faith. This *only* he hath boldly averred, but shall never prove it. It is one thing to prove that infidels, persecutors and apostates, are dogs and swine; another thing to prove that there are no other dogs and swine. That which the apostle Peter saith of such as, having escaped the pollutions of the world, and known the way of righteousness, do afterward turn aside from the holy commandment, namely, that such do, with the dog, return to the vomit, and with the sow that was washed to the wallowing in the mire, 2 Pet. ii. 18, 20, 22, doth belong to all scandalous and backsliding Christians, whether they be such in doctrine or in life only; and is generally so applied by divines. Erastus himself, p. 207, understandeth that vomit and puddle, 2 Pet. ii., to be the sinful pleasures of the world, *relabuntur* (saith he, glossing upon the place) *ad voluptates moresque hujus seculi*. And Solomon saith the same thing generally of an ungodly wicked person, Prov. xxvi. 11, "As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly." Nor is it to be forgotten that the Apostle, using the words of Epimenides, calls the Cretians evil beasts, Tit. i. 12, because they professed to know God, but in their works denied him, being impure, disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate. Wherefore the precept, Matt. vii. 6, is rightly applied by Isidorus Pelusiota, lib. 1, epist. 143, to the denying of the sacrament to all persons of an unclean conversation, as well as to Jews and heretics. So Chrysostom doth apply this text to the excluding of known unworthy men from the sacrament, and this he doth, *Homil. 1, de*

compunctione cordis, as I remember. And, *Hom. 83 in Matt.*, he hath these words to the same purpose, "If thou hadst a clear fountain committed to thy keeping, to be kept clean by thee, wouldest thou let filthy swine come and puddle in it, how much more the fountain of the blood of Christ?" Where, by *filthy swine*, he understandeth all unworthy and scandalous persons whatsoever, as is evident by that which follows, and by that also which went before, where he gives instance of the scandals in life and conversation. And upon the text itself, Matt. vii., he applieth it to a suspension of all such as were not acknowledged for visible saints, not only from receiving, but from beholding, the sacrament. Hence was that in the ancient church, *sancta sanctis*, at which word all others were dismissed before the receiving of the sacrament, who were not accounted visible saints; hence came the distinction of *duplex missa*, that is, *duplex dimissio*. *Missa catechumenorum, et missa fidelium*. When the catechumens were dismissed, then also together with them were dismissed all scandalous persons who had scandalized the church, except such penitents as (having now, in a great measure, satisfied the church discipline, and manifested their repentance publicly, according to certain usual degrees of public declaration of repentance) were permitted to behold the giving and receiving of the sacrament, after the catechumens were gone (which yet, themselves, were not admitted to partake of, till they had gone through all the degrees, and finished the whole course of publicly manifesting repentance, only in the danger of death, they were permitted to receive the sacrament, before that course was finished, if they should desire it). Then, last of all, after the sacrament, was the *missa fidelium*, the dismissal of the faithful.

Augustine, *lib. de Fide et Operibus*, cap. 6, so applieth the prohibition of giving holy things to dogs, that he thence argueth against the administration of baptism to persons living in adultery (although such as have embraced the orthodox doctrine), which is also the scope of that whole book. Now, if persons of a profane conversation, though orthodox in their judgment and profession, be such dogs as ought to be refused baptism when they desire it, surely they are also such dogs as ought to be refused the Lord's supper.

Moreover, the only seeming advantage which Mr Prynne catcheth is from the word *dogs* (which yet is no advantage; for that is applied generally to wicked and profane persons in the Scriptures above cited, and so Rev. xxii. 15), but he shall do well to observe the word *swine* too; for (as Grotius upon the place, following Chrysostom, doth make the distinction) the dogs are such as bark and contradict,—the swine such as do not bark and contradict, but, by an impure life, saith he, declare how little esteem they have of the holy things: which difference, as he conceives, the text itself doth hint; for it mentioneth not only the turning again to rend, which is the dog's part, but the trampling of pearls under feet, which is the swine's part.

Finally, This argument from Matt. vii. hath gained so much upon Erastus himself¹ (lib. 3, cap. 3), that he restricteth himself to the admission of such only to the sacrament as acknowledge and confess their fault, promise amendment, and desire to use the sacraments rightly with the rest, so far as we are able to judge: which concession will go far.

CHAPTER XVI.

AN ARGUMENT OF ERASTUS (DRAWN FROM THE BAPTISM OF JOHN) AGAINST THE EXCLUDING OF SCANDALOUS SINNERS FROM THE LORD'S SUPPER, EXAMINED.

The strongest arguments of Erastus drawn from the Old Testament I have already discussed. Another argument of his which deserveth an answer (for I take him in his greatest strength) is this: John Baptist, saith he, did baptize all, none excepted, who came to him to be baptized; yea, even the Pharisees and Sadducees, whom yet he called "a generation of vipers."

Ans. 1. They that were baptized by John did confess their sins and profess repentance; and Erastus himself (p. 12) brings in John Baptist speaking to those Pharisees on this manner: I do not see into your hearts, but he that cometh after me hath his fan in his hand, and will separate the chaff from the

wheat; so that, though ye may deceive me with a feigned repentance, yet you cannot deceive him. Hereupon Erastus concludeth that the ministers of the gospel ought not to deny the sacraments to those that profess repentance, and ought not take upon them to judge of men's hearts whether they do truly and unfeignedly repent. Now all this maketh for the suspension from the sacrament of all such as do not confess their sins, nor profess repentance for the same:¹ the drunkard that will not confess his drunkenness, the unclean person that will not confess his uncleanness, the Sabbath-breaker that will not confess his breach of the Sabbath, are, by this ground, to be excluded; and so of other scandalous persons. We are not to judge of men's hearts, but we are to judge of the external signs of repentance, whether sin be confessed, and repentance declared, by some hopeful signs, or not.

2. Neither doth his arguments fully reach admission to the Lord's table, where some further and more exact proof must be had of one's fitness and qualification for the communion of saints. Even those that are of age when they are baptized are but *incipientes*,—when they come to the Lord's table they are *proficientes*. There is some more required in proficientes than in novices and beginners, as there is more required to fit one for strong meat than for milk.

3. It is also a question whether those Pharisees that came to the baptism of John were indeed baptized of him. Tostatus tells us some think they were not baptized,² and they prove it from Luke vii. 29, 30, "And all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him." There is a controversy whether these be the words of our Saviour Christ, or of the evangelist Luke; but there can be no controversy of this,—that the Pharisees and law-

¹ Medina in tertiam partem, quest. 38.—Verum cum non sit idem, agnoscere se peccatorem, et confiteri peccata sua, recte intelligimus eos sua peccata saltem majora indicasse, et confessos esse D. Johannem, sicut et Act. xix. multi credentium dicuntur venisse ad Paulum confitentes et annuntiantes actus suos.

² Tostatus in Matt. iii., quest. 64. So Salmeron, tom. 4, part. 1, tract. 5.—Narrantur venisse ad Johannem et ad baptismum suum. Non constat autem an baptisati fuerint: nam Luke vii. dicuntur sprevisse consilium Dei in semet ipsos, non baptisati a Johanne.

¹ P. 107.—Sermo noster de illis est, qui crimen agnoscent et confitentur: qui emendationem promittunt: qui sacramentis recte cum cæteris uti, quantum judicare nos possumus, desiderant.

yers were not baptized of John, but the people and the publicans were : which may very well be extended to those Pharisees of whom we read Matt. iii. 7; for the Holy Ghost having said of the people, that they were baptized of John in Jordan, confessing their sins, he saith no such thing of the Pharisees, but only that they came to his baptism (whether to see the fashion and the new ceremony, or whether with an intention to be baptized); after which we read no more but that John gave them a most sharp admonition, and called them a generation of vipers, and told them that they should not glory in being Abraham's children; whereupon it may seem they went away displeased and unbaptized. But when I compare the evangelists together, that which appears to me to be meant Matt. iii. 7, concerning many of the Pharisees coming to the baptism of John, is, that they were sent from Jerusalem with a message to ask John, "Who art thou?" for they who were sent upon that message were of the Pharisees, John i. 24, and they were sent to Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing, John i. 28; and a part of John's answer to them was, "I baptize with water, but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not," &c. John i. 26. In both passages John speaks of him that was to come after him, whom he preferred before himself; in both, he professeth he could do no more but baptize with water, or ministerially; in both, he saith he was not worthy to unloose the latchet of Christ's shoe. So that many of the circumstances do agree with the story, Matt. iii., and the other circumstances are not inconsistent. In the other evangelists it is, "I baptize you with water;" but that proves not that the Pharisees who were sent to John were baptized, for Luke doth plainly apply those words to the people, Luke iii. 15, 16, 18, but when the Pharisees asked John, "Why baptizest thou?" &c. the answer to them was not, "I baptize you with water," but "I baptize with water." The Centurists (cent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 10) think that the Pharisees who were sent from Jerusalem to John, to ask him, "Who art thou?" John i., were not sent from any good esteem which was had of John, but from malice, and an intent to quarrel with him. This they prove because John saith to them, "O generation of vipers, who hath forewarned you to flee from the wrath to come?" which insinuateth a coincidence of

these two stories related Matt. iii., John i. Salmeron (tom. 4, part. 1, tract. 15) thinks that message was sent to John out of honour and respect to him, and he endeavours to confute the Centurists, but among all his answers he doth not aver (which had been his best reply, if he had thought it probable) that those words, "O generation of vipers," were not spoken to the Pharisees that were sent from Jerusalem to John. Yea, Salmeron (*ibid.*, tract. 6) himself doth in another place observe divers coincidences between the story of that which passed between John and the Pharisees that came to his baptism, and the story of that which passed between John and the Pharisees that were sent to him from Jerusalem.

4. Erastus argueth from the admission of a generation of vipers to baptism, to prove the lawfulness of admitting a generation of vipers to the Lord's table. But I argue contrariwise. Such persons as desire to be received into the church by baptism, if they be profane and scandalous persons, ought not to be baptized, but refused baptism, as Augustine proveth in his book, *De Fide et Operibus*; therefore profane and scandalous persons ought much less to be admitted unto the Lord's supper. Of which argument more before. I conclude with the Centurists:¹ "John did not cast pearls before swine; he did not admit rashly any that would to baptism, but such as confessed their sins, that is, only such as were tried and did repent; but the contumacious and the defenders of their impieties or crimes he did reject."

CHAPTER XVII.

ANTIQUITY FOR THE SUSPENSION OF ALL SCANDALOUS PERSONS FROM THE SACRAMENT, EVEN SUCH AS WERE ADMITTED TO OTHER PUBLIC ORDINANCES.

Mr Prynne, in his first query, would have us believe that in the primitive times scandalous sinners were ever excommunicated and wholly cast out of the church, and se-

¹ Cent. 1, lib. 1, cap. 10.—Nequaquam margaritas ante porcos project: non quolibet temere ad baptismum admisit, sed confitentes peccata sua, hoc est, exploratos, et agentes poenitentiam tantum: contumaces vero, ac defensores suarum impietatum aut scelerum, reprobavit.

questered from all other ordinances, as well as from the sacrament. "And since (saith he), in the primitive times (as is evident by Tertullian's *Apology*, cap. 39, *de poenitentia lib.*, and others), scandalous persons were ever excommunicated and wholly cast out of the church (*extra gregem dati*), not barely sequestered from the sacrament. But for further clearing of the ancient discipline concerning suspension, I have thought good here to take notice of the particulars following:—

First, That great antiquary, Albaspinæus,¹ proving that church communion or fellowship was anciently larger than partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he proves it by this argument, because many of those who had scandalously fallen, were admitted to communion with the church in prayer and all other ordinances, the eucharist only excepted.

Next, It is well known to the searchers of antiquity, that there were four degrees of public declaration of repentance, *πρόσκλησις*, *ἀκρόασις*, *ὑπόπρωσις*, *σύστασις*; which the Latins call *fletus*, *auditio*, *substratio*, *consistentia*: after all which followed *μέθεξις*, the participation of the sacrament, which they were at last admitted unto, and is therefore mentioned by some as the fifth degree, though (to speak properly) it was not penal, nor any degree of censure, as the other four were. First, The penitent was kept weeping at the church door, beseeching those that went in to pray for him; thereafter he was admitted to hear the word afar off among the catechumens; in the third place, there was a preparatory reconciliation or reception into the church, with prayer and imposition of hands, which being done, the man was in some sort admitted into Christian fellowship, and acknowledged for a brother, yet after the word and prayer he went forth with the catechumens before the sacrament. But there was a fourth degree after all this, he might stay in the church, and see and hear in the celebration of the sacrament, after the catechumens and the three first sort of penitents were dismissed, yet still he was suspended from partaking of

the sacrament, for a certain time after he was brought to this fourth and last step; so cautious were those ancients in admitting of men to the sacrament, till they perceived lasting, continuing, clear, and real evidences of true repentance.¹ Three of the degrees above mentioned are found in the canons of the council of Ancyra, and of the council of Nice, namely, the three last. The first, which did not admit a man so much as into the church to the hearing of the word, as it was afterwards added, so it is not so justifiable as the other three. But here is the point I desire may be well observed, that of old, in the fourth and fifth, yea in the third century, men were admitted not only to the hearing of the word, but to prayer with the church, who yet were not admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper.²

The council of Ancyra, held about the year 308, can. 16, appointeth some scandalous persons to show public signs of repentance for fifteen years, before they be admitted to fellowship with the church in prayer; and for five years thereafter to be kept off from the sacrament.³

The council of Nice doth plainly intimate the same thing, that some were admitted to prayer, but not to the sacrament.⁴ The different steps of the reception of those that had fallen may be likewise proved from the council of Arles.⁵

¹ Albaspinæus, *Observ. lib. 2, observ. 25*.—Quod si quaeratur quam ob rem antiqui quantum illum gradum posuerint, &c. Nulla potest congruentior commodiorque afferri ratio, quam quæ ex reverentia ac religione petitur, qua adversus sanctam eucharistiam ferebantur: detestabile quippe Deo et hominibus, non solum existimabant hominem, vel levissima macula inquinatum, aut maculas nebula offusum, ad eucharistiam accedere, sed etiam periculosum absolutos poenitentes eam tangere et attrahere, quod non satis sancti et sanctificati censebantur, quibus tanta res committeretur.

² Causabon, *Exerc. 16, p. 397*, edit. Francof. 1615. *Σίγουσις* igitur e mysteriis Gentium vox accepta, appellabatur statio inter fideles: ibi poenitentes duos persepse annos agebant; quod ad cætera ejusdem conditionis cum fidelibus; neque jam cum catechumenis exhibant; sola participatione mysteriorum cæteris fratribus inferiores.

³ Conc. Ancyra. can. 16.—De his qui irrationabiliter versati sunt sive versantur. Quotquot ante vicesimum statum suum annum, tale crimen commiserint, quindecim annis exactis in poenitentia, communionem mereantur orationum. Deinde quinquennio in hac communione durantes, tunc demum oblationis sacramenta contingant. Discutiatur autem vita eorum, quales tempore poenitendinis extiterint, &c.

⁴ Conc. Nicæn. can. 11.—Duobus autem annis iidem sine oblatione in oratione sola participant populo.

⁵ Conc. Arelat. 2, can. 11.—Si qui vero dolore victi

¹ *Observat. lib. 1, cap. 1*.—Nam eorum in lapsos judicium ad eucharistiam referri nequit, quibus post aliquod tempus omnia cum cæteris fratribus volunt esse communia, præter eucharistiam, cui enim cum fidelibus supplicationes facere et orare liceret, is ad omnia quæ erant in societate Christiana, una excepta eucharistia, jus habere censebatur.

J. Mich. Dillherrus, lib. 2, *Electorum*, cap. 1. After the mention of those *τότοις τέσσαρες ἐπιτιμῶν*, doth observe, that as antiquity did go too far, so the latter times have fallen too short. "And this is a chief cause why Christian religion doth hear very ill among many, because ecclesiastical discipline hath waxed cold."¹ So much by the way.

This of the several degrees of penitents. I shall yet further insist upon, because this alone will prove that we have antiquity for us. Gregorius Thaumaturgus,² in his *Canonical Epistle* concerning those who, in the time of the incursion of the barbarians, had eaten things sacrificed to idols, and had committed other scandalous sins, doth plainly distinguish these five things thus: "Ἡ πρόσ-κλαυσις, The weeping is without the gate of the church, where the sinner must stand, beseeching the faithful that come in to pray for him: Ἡ ἀκρόασις, The hearing is within the gate in the porch, where the sinner may come no nearer than the catechumens, and thence go out again, &c.: Ἡ ὑπόπρωσις, The substration is, that standing within the church door, he go forth with the catechumens: Ἡ σύστασις, The consistency is, that he stand still together with the faithful, and do not go forth with the catechumens: Τελευταίον ἡ μέθεξις τῶν ἀγιασμάτων, In the last place, the participation of the holy mysteries or sacrament." He that will read the epistles of Basilus Magnus to Amphilochius will find these five degrees more particularly distinguished, applied to several cases, and bounded by distinct intervals of time. It

et pondere persecutionis negare et sacrificare compulsi sunt, duobus annis inter catechumenos: triennio inter penitentes habeantur a communione suspensi. Of these *penitentes* we read also in *Codice Canonum Ecclesie Africanae*, can. 43, 102. And it is certain they were admitted to the word, and some to prayer, but not to the sacrament, till the church was abundantly satisfied with the signs and proofs of their true repentance.

¹ Et causa non est postrema cur apud multos pessime andiat Christianismus: quod disciplina ecclesiastica refrixerit.

² Vide apud Theod. Balsam. can. Greg. Thaum. can. 11.—Fletus seu luctus est extra portam oratorii: ubi peccatorem stantem oportet fideles ingredienti orare ut pro se precetur. Auditio est intra portam in porticu, ubi oportet eum qui peccavit stare, usque ad catechumenos, et illinc egredi. Audiens enim, inquit, scripturas, et doctrinam, ejicitur, et precatione indignus censeatur. Subiecto autem seu substratio est, ut intra templi portam stans cum catechumenis egrediatur. Congregatio seu consistentia est, ut cum fidelibus consistat, et cum catechumenis non egrediatur: postremo est participatio sacramentorum.

were too long to transcribe all; I shall only give you some most plain passages to prove that there was in Basil's time a suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's supper alone, or that a man was suspended from the sacrament, when he was not suspended from hearing and praying among the faithful.¹

For further confirmation of the same thing, read *Conc. Ancyra*, can. 4—9, *Conc. Nicaen.*, cann. 11—14. I do not mean to approve the too great severity of this ancient discipline, nor do I hold it agreeable to the will of Christ, that such as give good signs of true repentance, and do humbly confess and really forsake their sin, having also made public declaration of their repentance to the church for removing the public scandal, ought notwithstanding of all this to be suspended from the sacrament when they desire to receive it; for the word doth not warrant the suspending of scandalous sinners from the sacrament, until such a set determinate time be expired, but only till they give sufficient evidence of repentance. But setting aside this and such like circumstances, the thing itself, the suspending of a scandalous person from the sacrament, who is not nor ought not to be suspended from assembling, hearing, and praying with the church, is the will of Christ, as I have proved, and was the commendable practice of the ancient church, which is the point I now prove against Mr Prynne.

The council of Ancyra, can. 5, 16, doth also appoint the time of suspension from the sacrament to be made shorter or longer, according as the signs of true repentance should sooner or latter, more or less, appear in the offender. So doth the council of Nice, can. 12, and the council of Carthage,

¹ Vide apud Theod. Balsam. *Canonic. Epist. Basilii* ad Amphil., can. 4.—Oportet autem non eos (Trigamos) omnino arcere ab ecclesia, sed dignari auditione duobus vel tribus annis: et postea permitti quidem consistere, seu in fidelium esse congregatione, a boni tamen communione abstinere, et sic postquam penitentiae fructum ullum ostenderint, communionis loco restituere. *Ibid.* can. 61.—Ἐναντιὸν κωλυθήσεται μόνῃς τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἀγιασμάτων, anno a sola sacramentorum communione arcebitur. *Ibid.* can. 82.—Qui autem sine necessitate suam fidem prodiderunt: cum duobus annis deflexerint, et duobus annis audierint, et in quinto in substratione fuerint, et in duobus aliis, ἀνευ προσφωρᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς προσευχῆς παραδεχθέντες sine oblatione in orationis communionem suscepti extiterint, ita tandem condigna scilicet penitentia ostensa, in corporis Christi communionem recipiuntur. The like see can. 56, 64, 66, 80.

held under Honorius and Theodosius the Lesser, can. 46.

If any man shall object against me, and say, Peradventure the penitents before spoken of, were only such as did manifest their repentance after excommunication, and these several degrees afore-mentioned, were but the degrees of their reception or admission into the church, so that all this shall not prove the suspension from the sacrament of persons not excommunicated: I answer, he that will think so, will be found in a great mistake; and my argument from antiquity will yet stand good, for suspending from the sacrament persons not excommunicated. For first, neither do the canons of the councils of Ancyra, and Nice, nor of Gregorius Thaumaturgus and Basilius Magnus, nor yet the commentators Zonaras and Balsamon, apply these five degrees above mentioned to persons who had been excommunicated, but they speak generally of persons who had committed scandalous sins, and afterward were converted and appeared penitent; for instance, those who did backslide and fall in time of persecution, as multitudes did under Licinius and other persecutors, when they converted and professed repentance, they were received again into the church by certain steps and degrees, some more, some fewer, according to the quality of their offence. No man that hath searched antiquity will say, that all who did fall in time of persecution were excommunicated for that offence, nor yet that they were all put to the *πρόκλινσις*, to the weeping at the church door, but yet all of them, even those whose offence was least (as the *Libellatici* who had taken writs of protection from the enemy or persecutor) were put to the *σύστροφαις* or *consistentia*, which was a suspension or abstention from the sacrament, even when the person was admitted to hear and pray with the church. Wherefore the degrees afore-mentioned were degrees of receiving into the communion of the church scandalous persons professing repentance.

Secondly, The sixty-first canon of Basil to Amphilochius, speaketh thus: "He that hath stolen, if repenting of his own accord he accuse himself, shall be for a year restrained from the communion of the holy mysteries only; but if he be convict, the space of two years shall be divided to him unto substration and consistency; then let him be thought worthy of the communion." Will any man imagine that a penitent thief

accusing himself, was excommunicated? It is more than manifest that here was a suspension of an offender not excommunicated. For as soon as the offence was known by the offender's accusing of himself, he was suspended from the sacrament alone for a year, and then admitted to the sacrament. Yea, he that was convict of theft, was not by this canon excommunicated, nor yet put either to the *πρόκλινσις*, or to the *ἀκρόασις*, but only to the third and fourth degrees.

Thirdly, By the thirteenth canon of Basil to Amphilochius, he that had killed another, though in a lawful war, was (for the greater reverence to the sacrament) suspended for three years; and by the fifty-fifth canon, he also that killed a robber was suspended from the sacrament. I do not justify these canons, but only I cite them to prove, that by the ancient discipline, persons not excommunicated were suspended from the sacrament; for no man can imagine that a soldier shedding blood in a lawful war, or a man killing a robber on the highway, was therefore excommunicated.

Fourthly, The eighth General Council, called *Synodus prima et secunda*, held about the year 869, in the thirteenth canon, speaking of certain turbulent schismatics (not being of the clergy, as the canon speaketh, but laics or monks), appointeth this censure, *ἀφορίζεσθωσαν παντελῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας*: Let them be totally or altogether separated from the church,—which intimateth that there was a lesser degree of being separated or suspended from communion with the church. Zonaras upon that canon doth so understand it, and distinguisheth a double *ἀφορισμός*: "For it is also a separation (saith he) to be excluded or restrained from the receiving of the divine mysteries only; but there is another separation, which is to be cast out of the church, which the canon calleth a total separation, as being the heavier or greater censure¹—which is the very same distinction with that which was afterward expressed under the terms of *major* and *minor*, the greater and lesser excommunication. For which also I shall give you another proof, as clear and older too, taken from the sixty-first canon of the sixth General Council, where it is decreed, that those who resort to magicians,

¹ Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀφορισμός, καὶ τὸ μόνον εἶργεσθαι τῆς μεταλήψεως τῶν δέσμων μυστηρίων, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἶναι, ὀνπαντελῆ ὀνόμασαν ὡς βαρύτερον.

charmners, fortune-tellers, and such others who profess curious and unlawful arts, shall fall under the canon of six years' separation. "But as for those who persist in such things, and do not turn away, nor flee from these pernicious and heathenish studies, *παντάπασις ἀπορίπτεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀρίζομεν*, we appoint them to be altogether cast out of the church." Mark the gradation in the canon, and the *παντάπασις*, and hear Balsamon's explanation upon it: "Note from this present canon (saith he), that he who sinneth and converteth, obtaineth favour, *καὶ μετρίως κολάζεται*, and is punished in a lesser measure; but he who persevereth in the evil, and is not willingly reduced to that which is better, *μεγάλως κολάζεται*, is greatly punished. For here also, he that cometh and confesseth the sin, is to be punished with six years' segregation; but he that persevereth in the evil, *ἐκκήρυκτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας γενήσεται*, is to be cast out or expelled from the church." Add what he had said before, *καὶ οὐκέτι μετὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων συναυλισήσεται*: And shall not, thenceforth, converse with the orthodox,—which intimateth as plainly as anything can be, that there was an *ἀφορισμός*, a segregation or sequestration used in the ancient church, which was a lesser censure than casting out of the church, and from the company of church members. Zonaras seemeth to understand the canon otherwise, for he saith nothing of the offender's converting and confessing his sin before the six years' segregation; but that for the offence itself (committed, not confessed), a man was segregated six years, and afterward, if he did not repent, but continue in the offence, that then he was to be cut off and cast out of the church, wherein, as I take it, he did explain the mind of the council better than Balsamon. However, in that point which I now prove, they are most harmonious, namely, concerning a greater and lesser excommunication. "Wherefore, also, the fathers of this synod (saith Zonaras) did ordain those who do such a thing, *ἐνὶ ἑξαετίαν ἀπορίζεσθαι*, to be segregated for six years, &c., *ἐπιμένοντας δὲ τοῖς αἵματι, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκόπτεσθαι*, but if they continue therein, to be also cut off from the church."

Fifthly, To suppose that there were no *pœnitentes* in the ancient church but such as were *excommunicati*, were a greater error than that it should need any confutation. Yea, there were some penitents who did, of their own accord, confess their of-

fences, which could not have been otherwise known, but by such voluntary confession; and those, saith Zonaras, *Annot in Conc. Carth.*, can. 46, were most properly called penitents, I hope no man will imagine that such were excommunicated. But so it was, that all the penitents (even such as had neither been excommunicated, nor yet forensically convict by proof of scandal, but did voluntarily confess and convert) were, for some season, kept back from the sacrament, as is manifest by that instance given out of Basilius Magnus, of theft voluntarily confessed, for which, notwithstanding, the offender was, for a year, suspended from the sacrament.

Sixthly, It is manifest that there were several degrees of censure upon bishops and presbyters: They were sometime suspended from giving the sacrament, and, as it were, sequestered from the exercise of their ministry, which suspension or sequestration is sometimes called *ἀπορίζεσθαι*, to be separate; sometimes *ἀκοινωνήτων εἶναι*, to be sequestered from communion, to wit, in the exercise of the ministry; or *μὴ λειτουργεῖν*, not to minister. There was a higher censure than this, which was deposition or degradation, called *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*: The honour or degree of presbytership to be taken away. Basil's phrase is, *Τῷ βαθμῶν καθαιροῦνται*: They are deposed from their degree. These two censures, a suspension or sequestration from the ministry, and a total deposition from the ministry, are distinguished by the eighteenth canon of the council of Ancyra, and the sixteenth canon of the council of Nice, compared with the fifteenth canon of those called the Apostles (which certainly were not the apostles, yet are ancient). See also Zonaras in can. 11., *Apost.*; likewise both him and Balsamon in *Conc. Nice.*, can. 16. Again, there was something beyond all this, which was excommunication, or to be wholly cast out of the church, a censure sometime not inflicted, when the former were; for a minister might be suspended, yea, deposed from his ministry, yet permitted to communicate or receive the sacrament among the people, as is plainly determined, can. 15, *Apost.*, and can. 32, *Basilii ad Amphil.* If there were such degrees of censure appointed for bishops and presbyters, how shall we suppose that there was no less censure for church members than excommunication? For *καθαίρεσις* to a minister, and *ἀφορισμός*

to one of the people, were parallel,—whence it is that you will often find in the ancient canons, and, namely, of the Sixth General Council, He that committeth such a fault, if he be one of the laity, let him be segregated; if one of the clergy, let him be deposed. As, therefore, a further censure after *καθαίρεσις* might fall upon a minister, so a further censure after that *ἀφορισμός* might be inflicted upon one of the people.

I have now made it to appear that the practice, discipline, and canons of the ancient church, are for us in this present controversy about suspension from the sacrament. In the next place I will produce particular testimonies of fathers. I shall take them as they fall to my hand, without any curious order. I begin with Isidorus Pelusiota, who flourished about the year 431 or (as others say) 440. In the first book of his *Epistles*, epist. 143, to Thalelæus, he dissuadeth from giving the sacrament to three sorts of persons. 1. To Jews. 2. To heretics, of both which he saith, that they had once received the doctrine of truth, but did after return with the dog to the vomit. 3. To persons of a profane and swinish conversation. Unto all or any of these, he holds it unlawful to give the sacrament, and that because of a divine prohibition, “Give not holy things to dogs, neither cast ye pearls before swine.” And he concludeth thus: ‘*Ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν μυστηρίων μετάδοσις ῥήτις ἐστὶν ἀνέγεργος τοῖς καταφρονητικῶς μεταδιδούσιν*.’ For, saith he, the giving of the mysteries to such persons, is unto those who contemptuously give them, a breach out of which they are not awaked.

Dionysius Areopagita (whom I do not take to be that Areopagite converted by Paul, Acts xvii.; but certainly he is an ancient writer, as is manifest by the *scholia* upon him, written by Maximus, who flourished about the year 657. He is also cited by the Sixth General Council, and by some ancient writers), *de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, cap. 3, part 3, sect. 6, 7, having spoken of the exclusion of the catechumens, energumens and penitents, from the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, though all these

hear the word read and preached, he addeth, that unclean, carnal, profane persons, in whom Satan reigneth by sin, are worse, and ought much less to be admitted to the sacrament than those who were bodily possessed of the devil: “These, therefore (unclean and profane persons), as the first, and much rather, then, those (energumens), let them be suspended or sequestered by the judicial or discriminating voice of the minister; for it is not permitted unto them to partake of any other holy thing but the ministry of the word, by which they may be converted. For if this heavenly celebration of the divine mysteries refuse or repel even penitents themselves (although they were sometime partakers thereof) *τὸν μὴ παντελῶς ἱερώτατον οὐ προσαιμένην*, not admitting him who is not altogether most holy, &c. (for that most pure voice doth also restrain those who cannot be joined and knit together with such as do worthily communicate in those divine mysteries), surely the multitude of those in whom vile lusts and passions do reign, is much more profane, and hath much less to do with the sight and communion of these holy things.” The old scholiast Maximus, upon that place, saith thus: “Note that he reckoneth together with the energumens those that continue without repentance in the allurements of bodily pleasures, as fornicators, lovers and frequenters of unlawful plays, such as the divine Apostle, having mentioned, doth subjoin, ‘with such an one no not to eat.’” Where Mr Prynne may also note, by the way, how anciently 1 Cor. v. 11 was applied, so as might furnish an argument against the admission of scandalous persons to the sacrament. Let us also hear the paraphrast Pachymeres upon the place: “For if the celebration of the divine mysteries refuse even those who are in the very course of repentance, not admitting such, because they are not thoroughly or wholly purified and sanctified, as it were proclaiming itself invisible and incommunicable unto all who are not worthy to communicate, *πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον ἀπειρῶνται ταύτης οἱ ἐν ἀμετανόητοι*, much more they who are yet impenitent are to be restrained from it.”

If you please to search further, take but one passage from Cyprian, which speaks plainly to me for suspension from the sacrament; for he sharply reproves the receiving to the sacrament such persons as were not excommunicate (for if they had, most cer-

¹ Margaritas item ne autē porcos projiciamus, divino interdicto prohibemur, hoc est ante eos qui in vitiosis affectibus voluntarij, ac porcinum vitæ genus sequuntur: ne forte conculcent eas pedibus, nimirum in sceleratis suis studiis divino nomini contumeliam inferentes: et conversi dirumpiant vos.

tainly he had mentioned that as the most aggravating circumstance), but having committed smaller offences, had not made out the course of the public manifesting their repentance, according to the discipline of the church.¹

If we shall require more, we have a most plain testimony of Justine Martyr, telling us, that at that time they admitted none to the Lord's supper, except those only who had these three qualifications: 1. They must receive and believe the doctrine preached and professed in the church. 2. They must be washed or baptized unto the remission of sins and regeneration. 3. They must be such as live according to the rule of Christ.

His words are these:² "This food is with us called the eucharist, which is lawful for none other to partake of, but to him that believeth those things to be true which are taught by us, and is washed in the laver for remission of sins and for regeneration, and liveth so as Christ hath delivered or commanded."

Walafridus Strabo³ (a diligent searcher of the ancients which were before him, and of the old ecclesiastical rites, who died about

the year 849, mentioneth this suspension from the sacrament, as an ecclesiastical censure received from the ancient fathers; and he gives three reasons for it, to prove that it is for the sinner's own good to be thus suspended. 1. That he may not involve himself in greater guiltiness. 2. That he may not be chastened of the Lord with sickness and such other afflictions as the profanation of that sacrament brought upon the Corinthians. 3. That being terrified and humbled, he may think the more earnestly of repenting and recovering himself.

It was truly said, that this discipline was received from the ancient fathers, which, as it appeareth from what hath been already said, so the testimony of Chrysostom must not be forgotten. He, in his tenth Homily upon Matthew, expounding these words, Matt. iii. 6, "And were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins," noteth that the time of confession belongeth to two sorts of persons:—To the profane not yet initiated, and to the baptized. To the one, that, upon their repentance, they might get leave to partake in the holy mysteries; to the other, that, being washed in baptism from their filthiness, they might come with a clean conscience to the Lord's table. His meaning is, That neither the unbaptized, nor scandalous livers, though they were baptized, might be admitted to the Lord's table, whereupon he concludeth: "Let us, therefore, abstain from this lewd and dissolute life." The Latin Translation, rendering the sense rather than the words, speaketh more plainly. But there is a most full and plain passage of Chrysostom in his eighty-third Homily upon Matthew, near the end thereof, where he saith of the Lord's supper, "Let no cruel one, no unmerciful one, none any way impure, come unto it. I speak these things both to you that do receive, and also to you that do administer. Even to you this is necessary to be told, that with great care and heedfulness, you distribute these. There doth no small punishment abide you, if you permit any whose wickedness you know, to partake of this table; for his blood shall be required at your hands. If, therefore, any captain, if the

¹ Cypr. lib. 3, epis. 14.—Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores penitentiam justo tempore, et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant; Nunc crudo tempore, persecutione adhuc perseverante, nondum restituta ecclesiæ ipsius pace, ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum, et nondum penitentia acta, nondum exomologesi facta, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur, cum scriptum sit, Qui ededit panem aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.

² Just. Martyr, Apol. 2, Καὶ τροφή αὐτῇ καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξὸν ἐστίν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δειδιδραγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρῶν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ χριστὸς παρέδοκεν.

³ De Rebus Eccles. cap. 17.—Unde etiam criminum feditate capitalium, a membris Christi deviantes, ab ipsa sacramentis ecclesiastico suspenduntur iudicio. Et infra. Sciendum enim a sanctis patribus ob hoc vel maxime constitutum, ut mortaliter peccantes a sacramentis Dominicis arceantur, ne indigne ea percipientes, vel majore reatu involvantur, ut Judas, &c. Vel ne (quod apostolus de Corinthiis dicit) infirmitatem corporis et imbecillitatem, ipsamque mortem præsumptores incurrant. Et ut a communione suspensi, terrore ejus exclusionis, et quodam condemnationis anathemate compellantur, studiosius penitentiae medicamentum appetere, et avidius recuperandæ salutis desideris inhiare.

¹ Tempus quidem confessionis, æque et lotis baptismate, et illotis profanisque incumbit: illis quidem ut post patentia criminum vulnera penitentia inter veniente curentur, et ad sacra mysteria redire mereantur: his vero ut ablutis in baptismo maculis, ad Dominicam mensam munda jam conscientia accedant.

consul, if he himself that wears the crown come unworthily, restrain him, which to do thou hast more authority than he hath." And after: "But if you say, How shall I know this man and that man? I do not speak of those that are unknown, but of those that are known. I tell you a horrible thing, it is not so ill to have among you those that are bodily possessed of the devil, as these sinners which I speak of, &c. Let us, therefore, put back, not only such as are possessed, but *all, without distinction, whom we see to come unworthily, &c.*¹ But if thou thyself darest not put him back, bring the matter to me, I will permit no such thing to be done. I will sooner give up my life, than I will give the body of the Lord unworthily; and sooner suffer my blood to be poured out, than give the Lord's blood unworthily, and contrary to my duty (*παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον*), to such as are horribly scandalous." He concludeth that this discipline is medicinal and profitable in the church, and that the keeping back of the scandalous is the way to make many worthy communicants.

Can any man imagine that all such unworthy persons were excommunicate and wholly cast out of the church? Do not all Chrysostom's arguments militate against the admission of any scandalous and unworthy person known to be such? Saith he not, that all simply or without distinction whom they perceived to come unworthily were to be put back? If only excommunicate persons were kept back from the sacrament, what needed all this exhortation to those that did administer the sacrament to be so careful, cautious and heedful whom they would admit? And if none were to be excluded from the sacrament but those that were branded with the public infamy of excommunication, what needed this objection to be moved, How shall I know such?

Moreover, both Cyprian and Ambrose do most plainly and undeniably hold forth different degrees of church censures, and Cyprian is most full and clear concerning

a suspension from the sacrament of persons not excommunicated nor cast out of the church; for, answering a case of conscience put to him concerning certain young women whose conversation and behaviour with men had been scandalous and vile, he resolveth that so many of them as did profess repentance, and forsake such scandalous conversing and companying together, if they were still virgins, were to be again received to communicate with the church (namely, in the sacrament, from which they had been kept back) with premonition given to them, that if they should after relapse into the like offence, they should be cast out of the church *graviore censura*, with a heavier censure; but that if they were found to have lost their virginity, they should make out the whole course of public declaration of repentance, and so not be so soon admitted to, but longer suspended from the sacrament.

Add hereunto a passage in Augustine² plainly intimating that at that time, beside reprehension, degradation, and excommunication, there were other censures daily used in the church, according to the Apostle's commandment, 1 Thes. iii. 14, 15. He is speaking of the mixture of good and bad in the church, and that wicked men may be in some sort suffered in the church, provided, saith he, that the discipline of excommunication, and the other usual censures in the church be not neglected, but duly executed where it is possible. But what were those other censures, if not the suspension of scandalous and profane persons (not excommunicated) from the sacraments? I appeal for further proof hereof to one passage more of Augustine, *de Fide Operibus*, cap. 18; "Whores, stage-players, and others, whosoever they be, that are professors of public

¹ *Μὴ τοίνυν τοῦτοις ἐλαύνωμεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπλῶς οὓς ἂν ἴδωμεν ἀναξίως προσύνατας.*

² Ambros. lib. 2, de offic. cap. 27, cui titulus: De benignitate et quod excommunicatio tardius sit excrenda; saith thus, Sic episcopi affectus boni est ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentina auferri ulcera, *adverere aliqua non abscindere*: postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscindere.

¹ Cypr. lib. 1, epist. 11, or, according to Pamelius's edition, epist. 62.—Quod si pœnitentiam hujus illiciti concubitus sui egerint, et a se invicem recesserint, inspiciantur interim virgines ab obstetricibus diligenter, et si virgines inventæ fuerint, accepta communicatione ad ecclesiam admittantur, hac tamen interminatione ut si ad eosdem masculos postmodum reversæ fuerint, aut si cum eisdem in una domo et sub eodem tecto simul habitaverint, *graviora censura* ejiciantur, nec in ecclesiam postmodum facile recipiantur. Si autem de eis aliqua corrupta fuerit deprehensa, *agat pœnitentiam plenam.*

² August. lib. contra Donatist. post collationem, cap. 4.—Ita sane ut nec emendationis vigilantia quiescat, corripiendo, degradando, excommunicando, cæterisque coercionibus licitis atque concessis, quæ salva unitatis pace in ecclesia quotidie fiunt, secundum præceptum apostolicum charitate servata, qui dixit, Si quis autem non obaudit verbo nostro, &c.

filthiness, except such bonds (of wickedness) be loosed and broken, are not permitted to come unto the sacraments of Christ; which, forsooth, according to their judgment (that is, such as would have profane persons baptized as well as others), should be all admitted, unless the holy church should retain the ancient and vigorous custom, which cometh from the most clear truth, by which she hath it for certain, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.¹

Whence it will certainly follow, that all who were excluded from the Lord's table were not excommunicated persons. For, First, The church did keep back such scandalous persons upon this ground, because those who are known to live without repentance in any of those sins of which the Apostle saith, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God, are not fit to be admitted unto the sacrament (for this were to give the seals of salvation to those whom the word pronounceth to be in a state of damnation). Secondly, Augustine is there confuting the opinion of some (whom he calls *Fratres qui aliter sapiunt*, brethren who otherwise understood themselves well) whose principles did admit to the sacraments all unclean and scandalous persons, which cannot be meant of excommunicated persons; for there was never any such opinion maintained in the church, that all excommunicated persons ought or may be received to the sacrament. Lastly, Lest his meaning should be restricted to the sacrament of baptism only (of which principally and purposely he treateth in that book), he speaketh in the plural of the sacraments of Christ.

Observe also these passages of Gregory, called the Great, epist., lib. 2, cap. 65, *Sicut exigente culpa, quis à sacramento communionis digne suspenditur, ita insonitibus nullo modo talis debet irrogari vindicta. Ibid., cap. 66.—Et si in vestra cognitione cujusquam eum facinorosi criminis reum esse patuerit, tunc ex nostra auctoritate non solum Dominici corporis et sanguinis*

communione privatus sit, verumetiam in monasterium ubi penitentiam agere debeat, retrudatur. And so much for antiquity in this question.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A DISCOVERY OF THE INSTABILITY AND LOOSENESS OF MR PRYNNE'S PRINCIPLES, EVEN TO THE CONTRADICTING OF HIMSELF IN TWELVE PARTICULARS.

I shall not need to insist upon his tenth point of difference, *Vindic.* p. 49, nor upon his four following queries and conclusion, in all which there is no new material point, but a repetition of divers particulars spoken to and debated elsewhere. As touching that hint of a new argument, p. 56, "Consider the parable of the king's son, where the king sent forth his servants to invite guests to the wedding supper, who gathered together *all* they found, both *bad* and good, that the wedding might be furnished with guests," Matt. xxii. 1—11: I answer, 1. Some understand here by the *bad*, ver. 10, those who had formerly (before they were called and brought home by the gospel) been the worst and most vicious among the heathens, so that the words "both bad and good," make not a distinction of two sorts of Christians or church members, but of two sorts of heathens not yet called, some of them were good, some of them bad, comparatively, that is, some of them much better than others, some of them much worse. So Grotius, and long before him Jerome and Theophylact upon the place. 2. Others (as Bucerus, Tossanus, Cartwright, Gomarus¹) understand by the *bad*, close hypocrites, who appear good so far as the minister and officers of the church are able to judge of them. These, by a synecdoche of the *genus* for the *species*, may be understood by the *bad*. And so the text will not comprehend scandalous

¹ Gomarus in Matt. xxii.—Neque enim apertos ac palam malos, Apostoli aut ulli sancta evangelii præcones congregare, et ecclesiæ communioni per sacramenta agregare poterunt aut congregarunt, quod tales a communione ecclesiæ tanquam pestes illius sicut arcendi, sed congregarunt opertos ac tectos, quos quis sub ovina pelle sunt lupi et sub externa fidei et vitæ Christianæ specie, internam fraudem ac impietatem tegunt (atque ita vere bonis exterius pares, imo interdum superiores apparent) ideo ab Apostolis aliisque evangelii præconibus dignosci non potuerunt, &c.

¹ Meretrices et histriones et quilibet alii publicæ turpitudinis professores, nisi solutis aut diruptis talibus vinculis, ad Christi sacramenta non permittuntur accedere: qui utique secundum istorum sententiam omnes admitterentur, nisi antiquum et robustum morem sancta ecclesia retinerit, ex illa scilicet liquidissima veritate venientem, qua certum habet, quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.

and known profane persons. That *synecdoche generis* is often used in Scripture, is proved by Sal. Glassius, *Philolog. Sacrae*, lib. 5, tract. 1, cap. 14. 3. I throw back an argument from the same parable against himself, for the king sheweth his servants that he will have unworthy persons kept back from the marriage feast, ver. 8, "Then saith he to his servants, the wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy;" Luke xiv. 24, "For I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper." The king makes it also known that he alloweth none to come into this marriage feast, except such only as have the "wedding garment" (or, as the Syriac, *wedding garments*) upon them. All which is consistent with Mr Prynne's principles concerning the admission of known, scandalous, unworthy persons to the sacrament, as to a converting ordinance. 3. And if all must be brought in or let in to the Lord's supper, both bad and good promiscuously and without distinction, then it should follow that the ordinances of parliament concerning the suspension "of all sorts of scandalous persons" from the sacrament are contrary to the will of Christ, and that Mr Prynne himself in yielding, p. 50 and elsewhere, that scandalous, impenitent, obstinate persons ought to be not only suspended but excommunicated, doth yield what his argument concludes to be unlawful. And so I come to that which I have here proposed, viz., the instability and looseness of Mr Prynne's principles in this controversy.

By comparing divers passages together, I find that he doth profess and pretend to yield the question, which yet he doth not yield really and indeed.

1. It is to be observed that he deserteth Erastus and that party in the point of excommunication. For in the *Vindication of his Four Questions*, p. 2, he readily yieldeth "that gross, notorious, scandalous, obstinate sinners, who presumptuously persevere in their iniquities, after private and public admonitions, without remorse of conscience or amendment, may be justly excommunicated from the church, the society of the faithful, and all public ordinances, after due proof and legal conviction of their scandalous lives; and that 1 Cor. v. 13 warrants thus much." The *Antidote Animadverted*, in the first page, yieldeth that excommunication is an ordinance of God. And indeed

1 Cor. v. 13, doth not only warrant excommunication as lawful, but enjoin and command it as necessary; for the Apostle's words are preceptive and peremptory: "Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person." The thing was not indifferent, but necessary, and such as could not without sin be omitted. However, Mr Prynne's asserting from that place that it may be, is a deserting of the Erastian party.

2. In p. 50 of his *Vindication*, he professeth that his antagonists do contend for that which he granteth them with advantage. They would have scandalous sinners suspended from the sacrament: he will have them not only suspended from the sacrament, but excommunicated from all other public ordinances.

3. He confesseth, *Ibid.*, that in some cases a person not excommunicated may be suspended from the sacrament.

But whatever his concessions may seem to be, they are really as good as nothing: For, 1. He will have none to be suspended from the sacrament except such as are ripe for excommunication, and against whom the sentence of excommunication is ready to be pronounced, as persons incorrigible. 2. He admitteth no suspension from the sacrament till after several solemn previous public admonitions, reprehensions, rebukes, contemned or neglected: see both these, p. 50. Whence you see, that with Mr Prynne's consent, all the votes of parliament concerning several causes of suspension from the Lord's table, shall be of no use to presbyteries, until after a long process of time, and after many previous public admonitions. So that if one in the congregation commit a notorious incest or murder a day or two, or a week, before the celebration of the sacrament, and the thing be undeniably certified and proved before the eldership, yet the eldership cannot suspend such an abominable scandalous sinner from the sacrament, *hac vice*, but must first go through all those preparatory steps which are necessary and requisite before excommunication.

Well, but after all those public previous admonitions, shall the sentence of excommunication follow? Nay, here also he will have presbyteries to go through a very narrow lane; for in the same place he thus describeth the persons whom he would have to be excommunicated; they are "scandalous, obstinate, peremptory, incorrigible, notorious sinners, who desperately and professedly

persevere in their gross scandalous sins," &c. But I beseech you, what if they persevere in their gross scandalous sins, neither desperately nor professedly? Must they not then be excommunicate? Shall not the offender be cast out of the church after clear proof of the offence, and several previous public admonitions contemned or neglected? Must we wait till the adulterer profess that he will persevere in his adultery; and till the blasphemer profess that he will persevere in his blasphemy? Nay, further, what if the offender do neither professedly nor actually persevere in his gross scandalous sin? Put the case: He that hath blasphemed once do not blaspheme the second time; and that he who grossly and scandalously profaned the Lord's day, did it but once, and hath not done it again since he was reprov'd. Must this hinder the sentence of excommunication, when that one gross scandal is not confessed, nor any sign of repentance appearing in the offender?

Moreover, whereas Mr Prynne in his fourth query, and in several places of his *Vindication*, seemeth to allow none to be admitted to the Lord's table except such as profess sincere repentance for sins past, and promise newness of life for time to come: if we expound his meaning by his own expressions in other places, that which he granteth bordereth upon nothing; for, p. 13, speaking of scandalous sinners' admission to the sacrament, if they profess sincere repentance for their sins past, and reformation of their lives for time to come, he addeth, "as all do, at least in their general confessions before the sacrament, if not in their private meditations, prayers," &c.; and a little after he saith, that "all who come to receive, do always make a general and joint confession of their sins before God and the congregation," &c. And then he addeth, p. 14, "Yea I dare presume, there is no receiver so desperate, that dares profess when he comes to receive, he is not heartily sorry for his sins past, but resolves to persevere impenitently in them for the future, though afterward he relapse into them, as the best saints do to their old infirmities," &c. I know the best saints have their sinful infirmities, but whether the *best* do relapse to their *old* infirmities may be a question. And, however, he doth open a wide door for receiving to the sacrament all scandalous sinners not excommunicated, if they do but tacitly join in the general confession of sins made by the

whole church, or do not contradict those general confessions, and profess impenitency and persevering in wickedness, though in the meantime there be manifest real symptoms of impenitency, and no confession made of that particular sin which hath given public scandal. Wherefore I say plainly with the Professors of Leyden, *Synops. Pur. Theol.*, disp. 48, thes. 35, the administration of this censure of suspension from the Lord's table hath place in these two different cases, "either when one that is called a brother hath given some heinous scandal of life or doctrine, who after admonition doth indeed by word of mouth profess repentance, but yet doth not show the fruits meet for repentance, that so the scandal might be taken away from the church; or when he doth not so much as in words promise or profess repentance," &c. Martin Bucerus hath a notable speech to this purpose, *de Regno Christi*, lib. 1, cap. 9: "To hold it enough that one do profess by word only repentance of sins, and say that he is sorry for his sins, and that he will amend his life, the necessary signs and works of repentance not being joined with such profession, it is the part of Antichrist's priests, not of Christ's."

In the next place it is to be taken notice of, how palpably and grossly Mr Prynne contradicteth himself in divers particulars; which being observed, may peradventure make himself more attentive in writing, and others more attentive in reading such subitane lucubrations. The particulars are these which follow:—

1. *Vindic.*, p. 17, he saith, the confession of sin which was made at the trespass-offerings, was "not to the priest, classis, or congregation, but to God alone."

In the very same page he saith, "None were kept off from making their atonement by a trespass-offering, if they did first confess their sins to God, though, perchance, his confession was not cordial, or such as the priests approved, but external only in show." I beseech you, how could it be at all judged of whether it was external and only in show if it was made to God alone? Nay, if it was made to God alone, how could it be known whether he had confessed any sin at all, and so, whether he was to be admitted to the trespass-offering or not?

2. *Vindic.*, p. 50, he freely granteth "that all scandalous, obstinate, peremptory, incorrigible, notorious sinners, who desperately and professedly persevere in

their gross scandalous sins, to the dishonour of Christian religion, the scandal of the congregation, the ill example and infection of others, after several solemn previous public admonitions, reprehensions, rebukes, condemned or neglected, and full conviction of their scandal and impenitency, may and ought to be excommunicated, suspended," &c.

Vindic., p. 57, "Certainly the speediest, best and only way to suppress all kinds of sins, schisms, to reform and purge our churches from all scandalous offences, will be for ministers not to draw out the sword of excommunication and suspension against them, which will do little good, but the sword of the Spirit, the powerful preaching of God's word, and the sword of the civil magistrate." If this be the best and only way to suppress sin, and to reform and purge the churches, how is it that some scandalous sinners may and ought to be excommunicated?

3. *Vindic.*, p. 50, "Where the fact is notorious, the proofs pregnant, the sentence of excommunication ready to be pronounced against them as persons impenitently scandalous and incorrigible, perchance the presbytery or classis may order a suspension from the sacrament, or any other ordinances, before the sentence of excommunication solemnly denounced, if they see just cause."

Yet all along he disputes against the suspending from the sacrament of a person unexcommunicated, and not suspended from all other public ordinances and society of God's people. And, p. 50, arguing for the right of all visible members of the visible church to the sacrament, he saith, that "nothing but an actual excommunication can suspend them from this their right."

4. *Vindic.*, p. 17, he saith, that "a particular examination of the conscience, and repentance for sin, is nowhere required in Scripture of such as did eat the passover." And herein he distinguisheth the trespass-offerings and the passover: that in bringing a trespass-offering men came "to sue for pardon, and make atonement," and that therefore confession of sin was necessary; "but in the passover there was no atonement, &c., but only a commemoration of God's infinite mercy in passing over the Israelites' first-born when he slew the Egyptians."

Vindic., p. 24, he saith, that the passover was "the same in substance with the

eucharist under the gospel, wherein Christ was spiritually represented and received as well as in the Lord's supper." But how can this be if repentance for sin was not necessary in the passover, and if it was only a commemoration of a by-past temporal mercy in sparing the first-born of the Israelites?

5. *Vindic.*, p. 18, he saith, that immediately before the institution of the sacrament, Christ told his disciples that one of them should betray him, and that Judas was the last man that said, Is it I? "immediately before the institution." And, p. 27, he saith that the other disciples did eat the sacrament with Judas, "after Christ had particularly informed them, and Judas himself, that he should betray him."

Yet, p. 25, he reckoneth that very thing to have been after the institution of the sacrament; for to that other objection, that Judas went out before supper ended, immediately after he received the sop, whereas Christ did not institute the sacrament till after supper, he makes this answer, That the dipping of the sop (at which time Judas said, "Is it I?") was at the common supper, which, saith he, succeeded the institution of the sacrament, so that the sacrament was instituted after the paschal, not after the common supper. And, p. 19, he argues that Judas did receive the sacrament, upon this ground, "that all this discourse, and the giving of the sop to Judas, was after supper ended; but Christ instituted and distributed the sacrament (at least the bread) as he sat at meat, as they were eating," before supper quite ended.

6. *Vindic.*, p. 42, speaking of ungodly scandalous sinners, he plainly intimateth that the receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's supper is "more likely to regenerate and change their hearts and lives" than the word preached. And in that same page he holdeth, that this sacrament is "certainly the most powerful and effectual ordinance of all others to humble, regenerate, convert." The like see p. 44, 45; and p. 52, "Yea, no doubt many debauched persons have been really reclaimed, converted, even by their access and admission to the sacrament."

Vindic., p. 57, he ascribeth the power of godliness in many English congregations to powerful preaching, and saith, that this sword of the Spirit, the powerful preaching of God's word, and the sword of the civil magistrate, "are only able to effect this

work," to suppress all kinds of sins, schisms, to reform and purge the churches. If this be "the speediest, best, and only way to suppress all kinds of sins, schisms, to reform and purge our churches from all scandalous offences," as he there saith, and if the word and the magistrate are only able to effect this work, how is it that the Lord's supper doth change men's hearts and lives, and that more effectually than any other ordinance? Again, p. 37, he saith, he hath in other treatises of his proved "God's presence and Spirit to be as much, as really present in other ordinances, as in this" of the Lord's supper. How then makes he this sacrament to be the most powerful and effectual ordinance of all others, to humble, regenerate, convert?

7. *Vindic.*, p. 40, he makes the sacrament to be a seal to the *senses* of unworthy persons, but not to their *souls*. In this latter sense he saith it is a seal "only to worthy, penitent, believing receivers."

Yet, p. 44, 45, the strength of his tenth argument lies in this, that the sacrament sealeth unto the communicants' souls, yea, to the flintiest heart and obduratest spirit, the promises, an union with Christ, assurance of everlasting life, and therefore, in regard of the sealing of all these particulars unto men's souls, must needs convert an obdurate unregenerate sinner: which argument were nonsense if it did not suppose the sacrament to seal all these particulars even to the souls of unregenerate sinners. Mark but these words of his own: "Since that which doth seal all these particulars to men's souls, and represent them to their saddest thoughts, must needs more powerfully persuade, pierce, melt, relent, convert an obdurate heart and unregenerate sinner," &c.

8. *Vindic.*, p. 28, he admitted that a minister ought in duty and conscience to give warning to unworthy persons of the danger of unworthy approaching to the Lord's table, "and seriously dehort them from coming to it unless they repent, reform, and come prepared."

Vindic., p. 46, He tells us of an old error in forbidding drink to those who were inflamed with burning fevers, which physicians of late have corrected, by suffering such to drink freely. He desires that this old error of physicians may not enter among divines; for as drink doth extinguish the unnatural heat, which else would kill the

diseased, so "feverish Christians, burning in the flames of sins and lusts" ought to be permitted freely to come to the Lord's table, because they "need it most to quench their flames." Do these now repent, reform, and come prepared? Yet here he makes it a sin to forbid them to come to the Lord's table. Though he applieth it against suspension, yet the ground he goeth upon makes it a soul-murdering sin so much as to dehort them from that which they need most to quench the flames of their lusts.

9. *Vindic.*, p. 37, "I answer, First, That the minister doth not administer the sacrament to any known impenitent sinners under that notion, but only as penitent sinners, truly repenting of their sins past." The meaning of which words cannot be that the minister gives the sacrament to known impenitent sinners, while known to be impenitent, and yet he gives the sacrament to those known impenitent sinners, not as impenitent, but as penitent,—which were a mighty strong bull. But the meaning must needs be, that the minister gives the sacrament to such as have been indeed formerly looked upon as impenitent sinners, and known to be such, but are now, when they come to the sacrament, looked upon under the notion of penitent sinners, and that the minister gives the sacrament to none except only under the notion and supposition that they are truly penitent.

This, as it casts down what himself hath built, in point of the converting ordinance (for if the sacrament be not administered to any known impenitent sinners, under that notion, but "only as penitent," then it doth not work, but suppose, repentance and conversion in the receivers, and so is not a converting ordinance to any receiver), so also it is inconsistent with what himself addeth in the very same place. Secondly, saith Mr Prynne, "He (the minister) useth these words, 'The body of Christ which was broken, and the blood of Christ shed for you,' &c., not absolutely, but conditionally only, in case they receive the sacrament worthily, and become penitent and believing receivers, as they all profess themselves to be, just so as they preach repentance and remission to their auditors; therefore the case is just the same in both (the word preached and the sacrament) without any difference." Here Christ is offered in the sacrament as well as in the word, and accordingly the sacrament administered to known impeni-

tent sinners under that notion, and as still known to be impenitent, upon condition that they become penitent.

10. *Vindic.* p. 52, "It being only the total exclusion from the church and all Christian society (not any bare suspension from the sacrament) which works both shame and remorse in excommunicate persons, as Paul resolves, 2 Thess. iii. 14; 1 Cor. v. 13, compared with 1 Cor. v. 1—11."

Yet, p. 4 and 10, he denieth that either 1 Cor. v. 9, 11; or 2 Thess. iii. 14, can amount to any excommunication or exclusion from the church, and expounds both these places of a private withdrawing of civil fellowship, without any public judicial act or church censure.

11. In his "Epistle to the reader," before his *Vindication*, he disclaimeth that which some conceived to be his opinion, viz., that the ministers and elders of Christ's church "ought not to be trusted with the power of church censures, or that all of them are to be abridged of this power;" and professeth that these debates of his tend only to a regular orderly settlement of the power of presbyteries, "not to take from them all ecclesiastical jurisdiction due by divine right to them, but to confine it within certain definite limits."

Diotrefhes Catechised, p. 7, "It is the safest, readiest way to unity and reformation, to remit the punishment of all scandalous offences to the civil magistrate, rather than to the pretended, disputable, questioned authority of presbyteries, classes, or congregations."

12. *Vindic.*, p. 2, He agreeth with his opposites, that scandalous obstinate sinners, after proof and conviction, "may be justly excommunicated from the church, &c.; and that 1 Cor. v. 13, warrants thus much, &c. So that thus far there is no dissent on either part." Remember the present controversy which he speaks to is concerning excommunication in England, and so under a Christian magistracy.

Diotrefhes Catechised, p. 9, 10, He plainly intimateth that 1 Cor. v. 13, is no satisfactory argument "for the continuance and exercise of excommunication" in all churches, and where "the magistrates be Christian." And that those who press this text, may as well conclude from the very next words, 1 Cor. vi. 1—9, "that it is unlawful for Christians to go to law before any Christian judges now," &c. Where by the way

it is also to be noted, that he should have said "before any heathen judges." Otherwise the argument cannot be parallel.

I shall now close with four counter queries to Mr Prynne.

1. Since *diu deliberandum quod semel statuendum*, which is a received maxim approved by prudent men, and God himself, as his epistle to the reader saith, whether was it well done to publish his *subitane lucubrations* (as himself in that preface calls them), and upon so short deliberation to engage, in this public and litigious manner, against the desires of the reverend and learned Assembly, especially in a business wherein it is well known the hearts of godly people do generally go along with them?

2. Whether Mr Prynne's language be not very much changed from what it was in the Prelate's times, seeing, *Vindic.* p. 7, he hath these words: "Our opposites generally grant," &c., citing only Cartwright? And are the old nonconformists, of blessed memory, now opposites? Where are we? I confess, as he now stands affected, he is opposite to the old nonconformists, and they to him. For instance, Mr Hildersham, lect. 5 on Psal. li., holdeth, that all open and scandalous sinners should do open and public repentance, and acknowledge their scandalous sins in the congregation, otherwise to be kept back from the holy communion. And while Mr Prynne pleadeth that Matt. xviii. 15—17 is not meant of a presbytery or of any church censure, he manifestly dissenteth from the nonconformist, and joineth issue with Bishop Bilson, *de Gubern. Eccl.* c. 4, and Sutlivius, *de Presbyterio*, cap. 9, pleading for prelacy against presbytery.

3. Seeing the business of excommunication and sequestration from the sacrament, now in public agitation, is a matter of great moment, much difficulty, and very circumspectly to be handled, established, to prevent profanation and scandal on the one hand, and arbitrary, tyrannical, papal, domineering power over the consciences, the spiritual privileges of Christians, on the other (these are his own words in the preface of his queries), whether hath he gone in an even path to avoid both these evils? Or whether hath he not declined to the left hand, while he shunned the error of the right hand? Whether hath he not so gone about to cure the heat of the liver, as to leave a cold and phlegmatic stomach uncured?

And whether doth he not trespass against that rule of his own last cited, when he adviseth this as the best and only way to suppress all kind of sins, and to reform and purge the churches of this kingdom, that the sword of excommunication and suspension be not drawn, but only the sword of the Spirit and the sword of the magistrate? *Vindic.*, p. 57. Finally, Whether, in this kingdom, there be more cause to fear and apprehend an arbitrary, tyrannical, papal, domineering power over the consciences of Christians (where church discipline is to be so bounded by authority of parliament, that it be not promiscuously put in the hands of all, but of such against whom there shall be no just exception found, yea, are or shall be chosen by the congregations themselves, who have also lately abjured, by a solemn covenant, the Popish and Prelatical government)? Or whether we ought not to be more afraid and apprehensive, that the ordinances of Christ shall hardly be kept from pollution, and the churches hardly purged from scandals, there being many thousands both grossly ignorant, and grossly scandalous?

4. I desire it may be (upon a review) seriously considered, how little truth, wisdom, or charity, there is in that suggestion of Mr Prynne, p. 57, that the lives of the generality of the people are "more strict, pious, less scandalous and licentious in our English congregations, where there hath been powerful preaching, without the practice of excommunication or suspension from the sacrament, than in the reformed churches of France, Germany, Denmark, or Scotland,

for which I appeal to all travellers," &c. I confess it is a matter of great humiliation to the servants of Christ, that there is occasion to exercise church discipline and censures in the reformed churches, yet this is no other than what was the condition of the apostolic churches; 1 Cor. xii. 21, "I fear (saith the Apostle) lest, when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness, which they have committed." And this is not the only testimony concerning scandals and disorderly walking in those primitive churches; but as for those who are so rigid in their censures against the government of the reformed churches, I answer to them, as Jerome did of the Montanists: "They are rigid, not to the end that themselves also might not commit worse sins; but this difference there is between them and us, that they are ashamed to confess their sins, as if they were righteous: we, while we repent, do the more easily obtain mercy."¹ Mr Prynne, and others of his profession, are not very willing that such an ecclesiastical discipline be established in England, as is received and settled in Scotland and other reformed churches; but if once the like sin-searching, sin-discovering, and sin-censuring discipline, were received and duly executed in England, then (and not till then) such comparisons may (if at all they must) be made, between the lives of the generality of the people in England, with those in other reformed churches, which of them is more or less licentious and scandalous.

AN APPENDIX TO THE THIRD BOOK.

WHAT ARE THE CHIEF OBSTACLES HINDERING EXCOMMUNICATION?

A Testimony of Mr Fox, Author of the Book of Martyrs, taken out of a Treatise of his, printed at London, 1551, entitled "De Censura Ecclesiastica Interpellatio J. Foxi," the Eighth Chapter of which Treatise is here Translated out of Latin into English.—That the thought and care of ex-

communication hath now so far waxed cold, almost in all the churches, is to be ascribed (as appeareth) unto three sorts of men. The first

¹ Rigidi autem sunt, non quo et ipsi perjura non peccent: sed hoc inter nos et illos interest, quod illi erubescunt confiteri peccata, quasi justi: nos dum pœnitentiam agimus, facilius veniam promeremur.

is of those whose minds the wealth of this world, and high advancement of dignity do so lift up, that they are ashamed to submit the neck to the obedience of Christ. What (say these)! Shall that poor fellow lay a yoke on me? What! Should I be subject to this naughty and rude pastor? But let go, good Sir, your vain, swelling, empty words; how rude soever he be, yet, if he be your pastor, you must needs be a sheep of the flock, whom, if he doth rightly instruct, so much the more dutifully you must submit. But if otherwise, it is the fault of the man, not of the ministry. To those, at least, yield thyself to be ruled, whom thou knowest to be more learned. But go to, thou which canst not suffer a man to be thy pastor; to whom then wilt thou submit thyself? Unto Christ himself, thou sayest! Very well, forsooth. This, then, is of such importance, that Christ, for thy cause, must again leave the heavens, or, by his angels or archangels, feed and govern thee, whom these mean men, the pastors, do not satisfy. But what if it so pleased the Lord by these mean pastors, as thou callest them, to cast down and confound all the highest stateliness and pride of this world, even, as of old, by a few and contemptible fishers, he subdued not only the high and conceited opinion of philosophers, but even the sceptres of kings also? Now, what will thy boasting magnificence say? But hear what Christ himself saith of them, whom thou, from thy high loftiness, lookest down upon as unworthy: "He that despiseth you, despiseth me," saith he. And, moreover, whoso despiseth Christ despiseth Him from whom he is sent, and who said unto him, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for thy possession: Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces, like a potter's vessel." Wherefore, seeing thou dost acknowledge so great a Lord, so many ways above all majesty whatsoever can be named, let it not be grievous to thee (my brother whosoever thou art, or with how great power soever thou art highly advanced), laying aside thy high looks and pride, to be humbled under his mighty hand; and do not think it a light matter (whereas thou entertainest, with so great applause and honourable respect, an earthly king's ambassadors), that thou shouldst disdain the ambassadors of him, who alone hath power over all kings

and lords. If thou yieldest unto a mortal physician thy wounds to be handled, yea, to be cut also, and to be burned and seared (if need be), how cometh it that thou canst less endure the same thing also, in the curing of the diseases of the soul, from the spiritual Physician, especially seeing, in so many respects, better is the health of the soul than of the body? Nor do thou so account any whit, in this regard, to be impaired of thy honour, if, unto thy bishop or pastor, yea, rather herein to Christ, thou be subjected. Yea, contrariwise, so account as the thing is indeed, that there is no true glory but in Christ, and in his sheepfolds, that none do more prosperously reign than they which every way do serve him, without whom, as there is no glory, so is there no safety and salvation. Neither let it seem disgraceful to thee, what, so many ages ago, the most high monarchs of the world, and most potent emperors, have done before thee, amongst whom Philip, as he was the first of all the emperors who was made a Christian, so I meet with no other more famous example, and more worthy of all men's imitation. He, willing to be present at the solemn assemblies of the church on Easter, and to communicate of the sacrament, when, as yet, he was judged not worthy of admission, it is reported that Fabian the bishop withstood him, neither did receive him before he confessed his sins and stood among the penitentiaries. What would those our proud giants, fighters against God, do here, if they had stood in the like condition and high place? But this no less mild than most mighty emperor, was nothing ashamed (forgetting in the meanwhile his imperial majesty), of his own accord, to submit himself to the obedience of his pastor, undergoing everything whatsoever in the name of Christ was imposed upon him. O, truly noble emperor, and no less worthy bishop! But these examples, in both, are too rare amongst us this day.

Another sort is of those which would be Christians but in name and title only. They promise an honest enough show of Christian profession; they dispute both learnedly and everywhere, with great endeavour, of Christ; they carry about in their hands the gospel; they frequent sacred sermons, have cast off all superstition; they feed with the perfect; they marry, eat, and are clothed, so as they hold no difference, either of times or places. Finally, Whatsoever is pleasing in Christ

they take and stiffly hold. But if ye look into their life, they are epicures, wasters, ravenous, covetous, sons of Belial; not Christ's servants, but slaves of their belly, who, according to the satirist, think virtue to be but words, as the wood to be but trees. And of these there is a great store everywhere, who, seeing only for their belly they follow Christ, they leave nothing undevise and unenterprised to hinder excommunication, that so they may the more freely satisfy and serve their own lusts. So the covetous man feareth that his covetousness be called in question, which he will not forsake. The adulterer, he that buyeth or selleth men into slavery, the dicer, the whoremonger, the drunkard, would rather his intemperance to be concealed. So the robber, the murderer, the incendiary, is afraid to be laid open or made known. So he that delighteth to be fatted and enriched with the damages of the commonwealth, is unwilling to have any bridle to curb and restrain him. The cheater, that with false wares beguileth the people; the seller, that with unjust gain outeth counterfeit wares; the deceiver, who cozeneth and circumventeth his neighbour. Last of all, whosoever are thus affected, that they savour or follow nothing but their belly, their ambition, and the purse, they do not willingly endure that their liberty of sinning should be stopped to them.

Moreover, after these, others not much unlike them, come into the same account, which, out of some places of Scripture perversely wrested, if they find out aught that may flatter their affections, hence forthwith do they promise a wicked liberty of sinning to themselves and others, whence follows a very great corruption of life, together with injury of the Scripture. While these men are not sufficiently shaken and stricken with the sense of their sin, and force the Scripture, violently wrested to defend and maintain their perverse affections, from which Scripture it hath been meet to seek all medicines of their vices. But little do these men, in the meanwhile, consider how dear it cost Christ, which they make so small account of. They do not mark and weigh how horrible a thing sin is before God, which no otherwise could be expiate and purged, but by the death of his only begotten Son, which hath utterly ruined not whole cities, but kingdoms also, and monarchies.

Which things, if these and all other epicures did more diligently think of, it would come to pass, I suppose, that neither the custom of sin would so much like them, and, withal, the matter itself would so far draw them, that more willingly they would have recourse unto these so many ways wholesome remedies of the church, as unto the only medicine of man's life.

THE END.

